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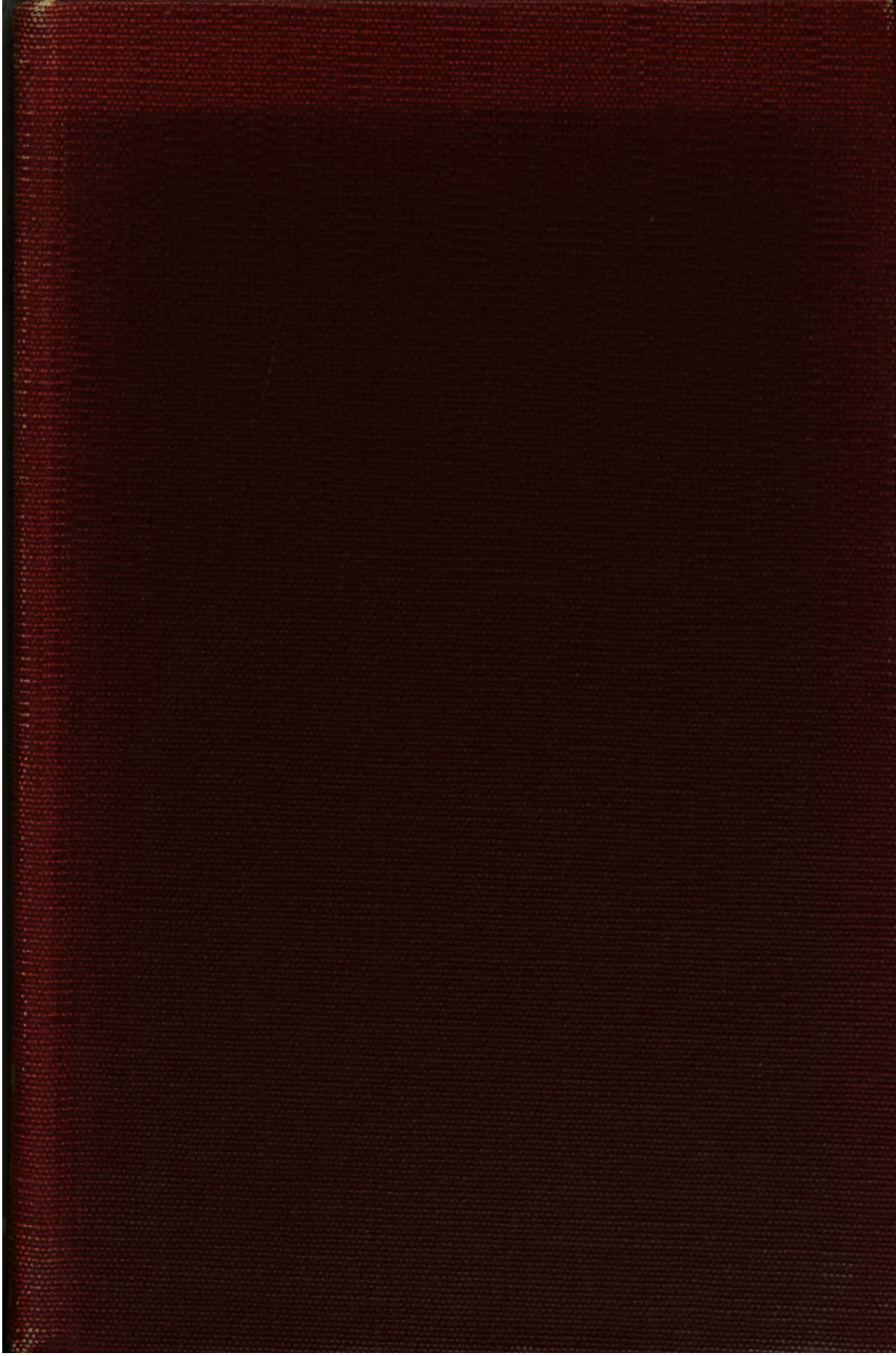

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JAPANESE TRAINING AND RESEARCH IN THE RUSSIAN FIELD

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School of International Relations
University of Southern California
Far Eastern and Russian Research Series, No. 1

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FAR EASTERN AND RUSSIAN RESEARCH SERIES

The Far Eastern and Russian Research Series of the School of International Relations, University of Southern California, originated in a research project on the Russian Impact on Japan made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

The Project itself is designed as a broad approach to the subject, utilizing not only the resources of this university, but also the knowledge and experience of Japanese and other scholars and researchers in the field. A team of three students of Far Eastern and Russian affairs constitutes the core of the Project staff: Research Associates Peter Berton and Paul Langer and Associate Professor Rodger Swearingen, who also serves as the Administrative Director. Several consultants at leading universities and research institutions in the Far East have assisted with materials and suggestions. Further useful contact has been maintained with the main centers of Far Eastern and Russian research in the United States, especially with Columbia and Harvard universities, where the principal Project members received their training.

Research studies scheduled for publication during 1956 and 1957 include (1) Japanese Training and Research in the Russian Field, (2) Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan, (3) Soviet Institutions for the Training of Asians, (4) Soviet Indoctrination of Japanese Prisoners of War, (5) Documentary History of the Japanese Communist Movement and of Its Ties with the U. S. S. R. and Communist China, and (6) two chronologies: (a) Russo-Japanese Relations and (b) The Postwar Japanese Communist Movement.

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INTRODUCTION

Research on the Russian impact on Japan, especially when it deals with such important questions as Soviet techniques of indoctrination and propaganda and the Japanese response, can proceed only after a thorough study of Japanese interest, training, research and publications in the Russian field. At the same time, because of Japan's long and intensive concern with Russia, the subject of Japanese training and research in the Russian area is important in its own right.

To the foreign scholar in Japan, even when he has an adequate knowledge of the language, the general absence of comprehensive surveys of source materials and of specialized personnel in his field is a most perplexing problem. The absence of essential bibliographic and other research tools and the inadequate communication among scholars and among non-academic research organizations also hamper the Japanese specialist. This situation certainly obtains in the field of Russian studies. Information on the nature and scope of the substantial prewar and wartime Japanese work on Russia has not been available in organized form. The Japanese student of Russia tends to be familiar with a relatively narrow segment of the field: in most cases, he is unaware of developments in other institutions; seldom is he acquainted with the resources of other libraries; his only foreign language competency is Russian; and he often displays ignorance of or indifference toward available resources or current research in the West. Moreover, the gulf which separates the pro-Communist from the anti-Communist and the sharp line which has been traditionally drawn in Japan between the government and the university tend to accentuate the traditional parochialism.

Thus, apart from constituting the essential point of departure for the study of the Russian impact on Japan, an inventory of Japanese resources, methods and accomplishments in the field should be of use to both the Japanese and the Western scholar of Russia and Japan.

In terms of training and research in the Russian field, it has been the purpose of this study to answer such questions as:

1. What is the nature, scope and level of prewar Japanese training and research?
2. Which, if any, of the research products of the prewar and wartime periods have value today?
3. What is the character and size of the major Japanese library holdings today and where are they located?
4. What is the extent and caliber of current Japanese personnel resources?
5. What are the principal training centers and what is the nature and size of their programs?
6. What is the scope of current Japanese research and research organizations?
7. How do postwar Japanese publications compare with prewar

publications in volume and quality and which are the most important publications currently available in Japan?

8. How does the Japanese training and research in the Russian field compare with that in the United States and what is the Japanese potential?

Approached from the political and ideological perspective, answers have been sought to questions such as these:

1. What is the character and intensity of Japanese interest in Russia?

2. Does Japanese research and training show any marked ideological trend?

3. What is the political orientation of institutions and personnel?

4. Which political and cultural organizations are active in Russian training and research?

5. What is the political complexion and impact of current Japanese publications?

The material presented here was gathered in the United States and Japan during several years of research. In addition to the principal research collections in the United States (The Library of Congress, The Hoover Library, etc.), all major Japanese institutions, research organizations and libraries throughout the country, from Hokkaido in the north to Kyushu in the south, were visited by one or more of the authors. A systematic study of Japanese writings on Russia, historical as well as current, of Russian writings on Japan, of Japanese translations from the Russian, of Japanese and Soviet periodical literature, as well as of complete files of publishers' annuals and other bibliographic reference works, forms the documentary basis of this survey and provides the data for the statistical tables included. Participation by the authors in Japanese scholarly conventions and seminars, as well as discussions and correspondence with more than one hundred leading scholars, Japanese government officials and Diet members, former military officers, diplomats and foreign correspondents active in Russian affairs, and with former Moscow-trained Japanese Communist Party leaders, provide personal observation and detail not available from published sources.

In the process of gathering the material which went into this work it was possible also, we believe, to make a modest contribution to Russian studies in Japan, both by introducing recent Western writings to the Japanese research community and by contributing articles to Japanese professional and literary journals. Frequent consultation with Japanese specialists provided a valuable opportunity to exchange views with them and to test tentative findings.

This study is divided into three parts: (1) Early Development of Russian Studies in Japan, (2) From the Russian Revolution to the End of the Pacific War, and (3) Russian Studies in Postwar Japan. Major emphasis is on this last part, both because of its immediate interest to the Western scholar and because of its integral relationship to other studies in progress, especially those on the Soviet indoctrination of Japanese prisoners of war and on the ideological relationships and the policies of the Japanese Communist Party. It will be noted that besides examining the resources, training, research and publications on Russia, discussion of certain Japanese political and cultural organizations has been pro-

vided under separate headings. These latter organizations, though not primarily concerned with training and research, have their own peculiar training and research function and do exert sufficient influence on some aspects of the development of Russian studies in Japan to warrant treatment within this framework. Finally, a number of appendices contain illustrative material on pertinent Japanese research and publications and provide a guide to organizations in the Russian field.

Because of the vast amount of Japanese published and unpublished material in the Russian area, it was possible to provide only a descriptive comment, and not a critical evaluation, for all the disciplinary and topical fields.

Preparation of a second study entitled Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan has been completed and the volume is now in press. In addition to describing the backgrounds, training, publications and affiliations of some 175 selected scholars, writers and translators, researchers, political figures and government officials, this companion volume also contains the following rosters of Japanese with training and/or experience in the Russian field: early Japanese language students in Russia; Japanese who have attended the Communist University for the Toilers of the East (KUTV) or the Lenin Institute and other revolutionaries; former Japanese Ambassadors and Ministers and military attaches in Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union; Moscow correspondents; chiefs of the Russian sections of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the Imperial Army General Staff, and of the Naval General Staff; principal members of the present Soviet section of the Foreign Ministry; faculty members of major centers of Russian studies; and the staffs of the principal research organizations and periodical publications, as well as advisors, directors, officers and staffs of political and cultural organizations in the Russian field. An asterisk after the name of a person mentioned in the present volume indicates that his biographical sketch can be found in the companion work.

The second volume also contains a bibliographical note on the sources used in the preparation of this study and an index to both volumes.

As a first survey of the subject in English or Japanese it is hoped that this study of Japanese Training and Research in the Russian Field may be of service to scholars in Japan as well as in the West.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are grateful to the Ford Foundation for making this study possible. As advisors to the project, Professors Philip E. Mosely of Columbia University and the Council on Foreign Relations, Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard University and Ross N. Berkes of our own institution provided guidance in launching this project and helpful suggestions as the study progressed.

We are indebted to Professor Paul E. Hadley of our institution for taking the time from an already crowded schedule to read the manuscript and for offering useful advice. We should also like to express our appreciation to our student-assistants for their part in bringing this study from the rough draft to its final form: Mr. Larry Nishihara helped with the checking of the Japanese documentation and with many other essential aspects of the project; Miss Marie Raser contributed secretarial skill; Miss Ann Lipp typed and re-typed from illegible drafts; Mr. Edward Gable devoted (as did for that matter all of the student-assistants) overtime hours to the numerous details that completion of such a study invloves; while Miss Bonnie Houser typed virtually the entire manuscript in its final form.

The staffs of the major research libraries and archival repositories in this country and abroad generously placed their facilities and resources at our disposal. Mr. Andrew Y. Kuroda of the Japanese Section of The Library of Congress deserves special mention for his kind assistance over the years. Without the aid and timely suggestions of many friends and colleagues in the United States and in Japan, who are too numerous to thank individually, this study would have been impossible.

Finally, it remains to thank Chancellor Rufus B. von KleinSmid and the University Administration for their continued interest in the project and for enabling us to publish the results of this research.

P. B.
P. L.
R. S.

Los Angeles
May 1956

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JAPANESE TRAINING AND RESEARCH IN THE RUSSIAN FIELD

PART I
EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN STUDIES IN JAPAN

CHAPTER I FEUDAL JAPAN

Japan's study of the West dates back to the middle of the sixteenth century when the first European missionaries landed on the islands' shores. Shortly thereafter, the dictatorial military government of the ruling Tokugawa clan imposed on Japan a policy of strict isolation which was to last several centuries. Japan was cut off from the world. A small Dutch trading post at Nagasaki became Japan's one window to the Western world and the Dutch language, the vehicle for the introduction of knowledge of Europe and America.

Japanese concern with Russia did not develop until the second half of the eighteenth century when the steady Russian advance across Siberia and down the Kamchatka Peninsula and the Kurile Islands brought the peoples of the two countries face to face. The Russians needed provisions for their settlements in Kamchatka and Alaska badly and wanted to trade with Japan. But the Japanese wished to be left alone.

Russian interest in Japan goes back to the end of the seventeenth century when the conqueror of Kamchatka, Vladimir Atlasov, came upon a Japanese castaway who had been living somewhat uneasily with the natives for several years and returned with him to St. Petersburg. When the Japanese was presented to Peter the Great, the Tsar is said to have ordered that the Japanese sailor be taught Russian to enable him in his turn to teach his native language to "four or five [Russian] children." To encourage the study of Japan and of the Japanese language was in line with Peter's policy of developing Oriental studies in Russia, but this particular interest in Japan could also have been inspired by stories he had heard from sailors while working as a youth in a shipyard in Holland or by the exaggerated accounts of Japan's alleged wealth given by Russian explorers returning from the Far East. Reflecting this positive Russian interest a Japanese Language School was founded in St. Petersburg in 1705. Several shipwrecked Japanese sailors, from time to time, served as instructors there. Two of these Japanese sailors, Soza and Gonza (alias Kuz'ma Schulz and Demian Pomortsev), were even admitted to the Russian Academy of Sciences. As for their pupils, records show that four students of the school, by that time transferred to Siberia, were officially promoted to "Corporals of the Japanese Language." 1734 seems to be the year when the first European work on Japan was translated into Russian. Several decades later, in 1773, a Russian professor of history at Moscow Imperial University wrote a book on Japan and Japanese history based on Western European sources.

The Japanese authorities, on the other hand, not only did not encourage the study of world affairs and foreign languages, but specifically forbade it. Japanese were even prohibited from leaving the country. Only a small group of "Dutch scholars" in the Translation Bureau of the Astronomical Institute (Temmondai) were acquainting themselves with the Western calendar and astronomy, medicine and mathematics, and, above all, with

military science. At a time when the Russians were studying Japanese and reading books on Japan, in Japan not a single Japanese knew the Russian language. Musukoubiya or Mosukobiya (Moscovia) was only a name on a map.

But Russia promptly jolted the Japanese from their complacent isolation. The Russians, who had reached the Pacific Ocean in 1639, the Bering Strait in 1648 and Kamchatka in 1696, in 1711 arrived at a group of islands northeast of Japan which they named Kurily or Smokies. During the next several years Russian traders unsuccessfully tried to reach Japan. In 1734 the northern Kuriles were declared Russian territory. Five years later a Russian ship was sighted off the coast of northeastern Japan. In 1742, another Russian expedition employing two Japanese interpreters, pupils of the Japanese fishermen-professors, explored the Sakhalin-Kurile area. By 1768 the Russians had occupied the remaining Kurile Islands and thereby became neighbors of the Japanese inhabitants of the northern island of Ezo now known as Hokkaido.

In 1771, a strange visitor arrived in Japan. Baron Moritz Aladar von Benyowsky, a Polish adventurer born in Hungary and a Russian exile, managed to organize a small rebellion in Kamchatka, capture a government vessel and sail off. On his way to Europe, he stopped over for fresh water and provisions in Japan and in a letter addressed to the director of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki warned of an impending Russian attack upon the island empire. The very idea of an attack from the Russian Far Eastern outposts is incredible considering the situation of the Russian colonies in the Northern Pacific where only a few Russians and natives barely managed to subsist. This the Japanese, however,did not know and they took the warning quite seriously.

The Benyowsky visit, coupled with a Russian request for trade which followed in 1778 when a Russian party made contact with local inhabitants in the southern Kuriles, and by Russian landings in Sakhalin five years later, prompted the military rulers of Japan to give some thought to Japan's northern defenses and to explore the no man's land beyond. This gave rise to a new type of literature concerned with the so-called "northern problem." The northern problem was really a combination of three questions, all interrelated: the problem of Russia, Japan's northern neighbor; the matter of colonizing Japan's northern possessions, especially the island of Ezo; and the northern defenses. The writing of books on the whole range of the "northern problem" constitutes the beginning of Russian studies in Japan.

One of the earliest studies on the northern problem, "The Northern Seas Question" (Hokkai-Ron), was written by Yoshio Kosaku (Kogyu) in 1778. The first Japanese work on Russia — in view of the scant information and the speculative nature appropriately entitled "Reflections on Rumors of Red Ezo" (Aka Ezo Fusetsu Ko — Red Ezo, of course, meaning the land of the Red Barbarians or Russia) — was written in 1783 by Kudo Heisuke. Kudo, who had studied medicine with the Dutch in Nagasaki, was stirred by the warning of Benyowsky and became concerned over the northern problem. In these writings for which he is now chiefly remembered, Kudo advocated not only the colonization of Ezo and the strengthening of the defenses of both Japan proper and of Ezo, but also the study of foreign countries as well as the granting of trade rights to Russia. Kudo urged trade

with Russia as a means of accelerating the colonization of Ezo. He makes an important point which is perhaps symbolic of the Japanese approach to foreign studies: Japan should acquaint herself with Russian policy and her customs and traditions so as to be able to deal with Russia more effectively.

Tanuma Okitsugu, the virtual dictator of Japan at that time, of course, was aware of Benyowsky's earlier warning. When he read Kudo's memorials, he asked the Matsumae clan, whose domains included Ezo, to submit reports on Russian activity in the area. Dissatisfied with the Matsumae report, Tanuma in 1785 ordered the first inspection of Ezo, and in the following year he sent an expedition to explore Sakhalin. These and many subsequent Japanese expeditions to the northern areas produced reports dealing with Russia and are thus pertinent to the field of Russian studies. The explorer of Sakhalin, Mogami Tokunai, upon his return, wrote up his experiences in "The Story of Ezo" (Ezo Soshi), which contained two appendices on Russia. Another book, "Ezo Jottings" (Ezo Jui), written in 1786 by a member of the expedition, has a special appendix entitled "Stories of the Red [Russian] and Santan [Manchurian] Peoples" (Sekijin Santan no Setsu), which describes Russian activity in the Kuriles as well as the hardships of life in these desolate and apparently worthless regions. But this report was either buried in government files or if read at all had little impact. Thus, for example, Hayashi (Rin) Shihei characterized Ezo as a treasure island and advocated its occupation and colonization. In his books on the geography and conditions in neighboring countries ("A General Survey Map of Three Countries" — Sankoku Tsuran Zusetsu) and on military defense ("Military Treatise of a Maritime Nation" — Kaikoku Heidan) he warned of the Russian threat to Japan's security and called for the strengthening of the northern defenses. For this expression of opinion on matters of government policy Hayashi was arrested and ordered deported to his clan in northeastern Japan. Among other Japanese writers, Shiba Kokan urged that Japan sell rice to Russia, while Sugita Gempaku recommended trade with Russia, not because he considered trade, as such, desirable, but because Japan was too weak to refuse; and the time which could be gained through such delaying tactics could be used to build up Japan's defenses.

If the visit of Benyowsky produced "northern defense" literature which included mention of or concern with Russia, the first official Russian mission to Japan gave rise to the study of Russia. In 1772, Catherine the Great conceived an expedition to the Kuriles and Japan. Several reasons, including European commitments in the Russo-Turkish War, postponed realization of such a plan until 1792 when Lieutenant Adam Laxman, an official Russian envoy, visited the island of Ezo to return several Japanese castaways and to explore the possibility of establishing commercial relations with Japan. The Russian trade offers were rejected but the Russians were given permission to enter the port of Nagasaki. Among the Japanese repatriated by the Russians was Captain Kodayu who proved to be a fresh, excellent source of information on Russia.

In 1782, Kodayu, with a crew of seventeen and a cargo of rice, left a port in Western Japan headed for Edo but was instead caught in a typhoon and eventually swept to the Aleutian Islands. After several years, the survivors were taken to Kamchatka, and after several more years to Irkutsk, the capital of Siberia, where they remained for one year. Eventually, on

1791, Kodayu was escorted to St. Petersburg. He stayed there for ten months. Kodayu inspected the city most thoroughly, we are told, "from cathedrals and museums to houses of ill repute." He was even granted an audience with Catherine the Great who gave him gifts and the highest Russian medal for "outstanding exploration and colonization." Kodayu's trip from Siberia to the Russian capital was arranged by Professor Eric Laxman, who was instrumental in arousing official interest in Japan, and whose son Adam was appointed the head of the expedition which returned Kodayu and a few of the Aleutian survivors to Japan. Two Japanese sailors were baptized and stayed on in Russia as language instructors at the Japanese Language School at Irkutsk.

Kodayu was the first Japanese of learning and ability to have visited Russia. Upon return home he became a living encyclopaedia on things Russian. To begin with, Kodayu was granted an audience with the Shogun which was carefully recorded. Based on talks with Kodayu and his shipmate Isokichi, Dr. Katsurakawa Hoshu in 1794 filled eleven volumes (plus a supplementary folio of maps and illustrations) with information on Russia and related topics. This "Summary Report on a Raft Drifting in the Northern Seas" (Hokusa Bunryaku) is a most detailed work based on eyewitness accounts from returned fishermen and in a very real sense may be regarded as the first Japanese Russian research report. The Tokugawa dictatorship used such information about foreign countries only for its own reference. Kodayu and his shipmates were forbidden to talk publicly about their experiences. The draft copies of Hokusa Bunryaku were all burned and only one copy was retained in the government secret files.

Kodayu brought several maps and books from Russia which in subsequent years were copied and translated by government scholars. Kodayu himself was often called to the Astronomical Institute (the center of Western studies) to help in the study of his Russian books. Several scholars studied Russian with him, a language in which he had become reasonably proficient.

Kodayu's return to Japan in 1792 gave rise to many books on Russia and the northern problems. It should be pointed out that it was not until 1774 that the first Western book, a Dutch work on anatomy, was translated into Japanese. The new Russian field is distinguished from the earlier Dutch-Western studies in that Russian studies were not so much stimulated by interest in science as by the necessity of learning about a potential enemy. This is not to suggest the absence of material on Russia in the Dutch works. Dr. Katsurakawa, in a book entitled "Russian Geography" (Roshia-shi), for example, extracted information on the subject from Dutch sources. Another scholar, Maeda Ryotaku, in 1793 compiled "Russian History" (Roshia Honki), also a translation from Dutch sources. Again in the same year, Shinomoto Ren of the Edo Governor's office wrote "A Strange Report on a Raft in the Northern Seas" (Hokusa Ibun), which was based on Kodayu's evidence and contained many Russian words. An eight-volume "Strange Tales about Countries Beyond the Seas" (Kankai Ibun) and a companion volume "Explorations of Northern Areas" (Hokuhen Tanji) contain much information on the Russian language and geography based upon the accounts of returned fishermen. A two-volume "Strange Report on the Kuriles" (Chishima Ibun) included a brief history of Russia. Other works were: "White Waves of the Kuriles" (Chishima Shiranami), a guide to

coastal defense and how to counter "barbarians"; "Interesting Tales of Foreign Countries" (Ikoku Kidan); a book on the Russian language (Roshia Kigo) prepared by the younger brother of Dr. Katsurakawa; and "A Story of Russia" (Roshia Kokudan). Another castaway, Tsudayu, wrote "The Comings and Goings of People Driven by Strong Winds" (Nampu Hisuiryu Sho Orai).

The most substantial Japanese work on Russia, the Kuriles, Sakhalin and Manchuria took over ten years to compile and involved the interrogation of natives and castaways and perusal of available Dutch works, as well as a thousand miles of travel in the north. The eight-volume "Graphic Report on Neighboring Countries" (Henyo Bunkai Zuko), by Kondo Morishige, explorer and Director of the Archives, represents a carefully collected compendium of information on Russia, with many maps and illustrations depicting life in Russia— in a way, the total Japanese knowledge of the area. This work utilized the three most important sources of information on Russia in the Tokugawa period: Dutch and Chinese sources, reports of natives and fishermen, as well as "northern" information obtained directly from exploration and travel.

What was the reaction of the Japanese to the arrival of the first Russian official mission, and what measures were taken by the Shogunate? Rumors about the splendor of the Court of Catherine the Great captured the imagination of one Honda Toshiaki who exalted her above the wise rulers of ancient China or the military heroes of Japan. Honda was convinced that latitude alone determines the climate of a country. Noting that Kamchatka was in approximately the same zone as the highly civilized London and Paris, he suggested that Japan move its capital to Kamchatka, potentially a richer region than Japan. Honda was especially excited when he heard of the death of Catherine, and he urged that Japan seize this opportunity to occupy Kamchatka. Honda further advocated that Japan should not wait for foreigners to come to trade with Japan but that rather Japan should carry its trade abroad in Japanese ships. The first step, he said, should be the establishment of commercial relations with Russia. He submitted a memorial to Matsudaira Sadanobu, the leading statesman of the time, urging the government to settle Ezo in order to establish a natural frontier with Russia thus preventing the Russians from encroaching upon Japanese territory. Another view advocating the colonization of Ezo was that of Ohara Kokingo who wrote in 1897 on the "Danger From the North" (Hokuchi Kigen). Honda not only urged the development of Ezo but also the exploitation of all neighboring territory. Japanese who considered Ezo foreign territory, as well as those who urged the relinquishment of Ezo and of other possessions in the North, were all branded traitors by Honda. The government did not share Honda's confidence in the fabulous riches of the northern country nor in the need for the establishment of trade, much less his desire to occupy Russian possessions. One of the leading political writers of the time, the historian Nakai Chikuzan, considered Ezo worthless and wrote in 1789 that Ezo should not be colonized but that it should remain a buffer between Russia and Japan. The government was concerned only with the defense of Japan. The arrival of the Laxman mission in Hakodate and the ensuing debate on the northern defense problem prompted the Shogunate in 1799 to remove portions of the northern areas from the Matsumae jurisdiction and to place them directly under the central government.

The Tsarist government did not take advantage of the permit to visit

Nagasaki, originally given to Lieutenant Laxman, until 1804 when Captain Krusenstern on a round-the-world expedition was ordered to include Japan in his itinerary. Russian envoy, Nicholas Resanov, on board Krusenstern's flagship, brought with him four Japanese fishermen and approached the Japanese authorities about a trade agreement. Resanov spent several months at Nagasaki in protracted negotiations. When the Russian offer of trade was finally turned down by the Japanese, Resanov left in disgust, his only accomplishment being the compilation of a Japanese-Russian dictionary and of a Japanese language textbook. Enraged by the failure of his mission, Resanov decided to teach the Japanese a lesson: he ordered two young naval lieutenants, Khvostov and Davydov, to raid Japanese northern settlements in the hope that the Japanese would be sufficiently scared to agree to accept Russian trade offers. These Russian raids did not achieve the intended result.

The mission of Resanov and especially the northern raids forced the Shogunate to take counter measures: defense in the north was bolstered, new expeditions were ordered to the northern regions and Russian studies were given official blessing. The Japanese northern expeditions found in 1808 that Sakhalin was an island, some forty years earlier than the Russian explorer Nevelskoi made the same discovery. The explorer Mamiya Rinzo, in whose honor the Strait of Tartary is called Mamiya Strait by the Japanese, wrote up his experiences in a three-volume "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Totan Kiko), in which he described the topography and climate as well as the life of the natives and their customs. A four-volume "Explanatory Maps of Northern Ezo" —(Kita Ezo Zusetsu), another work on Sakhalin, appeared several years later.

In 1808, the Shogunate asked the astronomer and librarian Takahashi Sazaemon Kageyasu to learn the Russian and Manchurian languages in order to be able to read diplomatic documents. This is the official beginning of government study of the Russian language in Japan. The following year the Shogunate instructed the interpreters of Dutch to begin the study of the Russian and English languages. Prior to this the repatriates brought back by Resanov were interrogated for forty days, resulting in a 16-volume report. The Russian raids likewise were reflected in numerous diaries and travel accounts, as well as in politically inspired memorials to the government. One of these, by the samurai Hirayama Kozo, advocated crushing the Russians by force and opposition to any trade concessions which might be construed by the "red barbarians" as a sign of weakness. At the Calendar Bureau of the Astronomical Institute, maps of Russia were produced under the supervision of Takahashi. The latter also helped to translate from the Dutch, Captain Krusenstern's description of his trip around the world, originally published in St. Petersburg between 1809 and 1813. In 1809, Takahashi wrote a "Research Report on Northern Ezo" (Kita E Kosho) in which he exploded the myth that Sakhalin was a peninsula. Other works produced during this period include translations of treatises on Russian history (Roshia Kokushi, 1806 and Teishaku Roshia Kokushi, 1809) as well as "Maps with Explanations of Various Countries of North Eastern Tartary" (Tohoku Dattan Shokoku Zushi).

Opportunity to avenge the Russian raids of 1806-7 presented itself to the Japanese much earlier than they had anticipated. In 1811, a small group of Russian sailors headed by Captain Vasilii Golovnin was

captured by the Japanese. The Russian party went ashore from their ship sent out to survey the southern Kuriles. The subsequent two-year imprisonment described by Captain Golovnin in his "Narrative of My Captivity in Japan" proved an important stimulus in the development of Russian studies in Japan. Curious as they were about things Western, the Japanese literally besieged Golovnin with questions. In the beginning, the Russians were afraid to start teaching the Japanese in the fear that this would make them indispensable and would deprive them of any chance of returning home. But eventually the Russians relaxed. Some Japanese managed to learn from them the Russian language and acquired information on Russian customs and life. At first, only local residents studied with Golovnin and his party. Among them were the Ezo interpreter Uehara Kumajiro, who had previously been captured by the Russians and who had spent some time in Russian territory; a Doctor Toko, who was interested in geography; and a young man named Murakami Teisuke. When news of the Russian prisoners reached Edo, the Shogunate saw in this situation the opportunity to train its first Russian experts. Two Japanese, the Dutch scholar Baba Sajuro, who drew maps at the Calendar Bureau, and the mathematician Adachi Sanai were appointed "Officials in Charge of Investigating Russian Writings" (Roshia Jisho Torishirabe Goyokakari), and sent in 1813 to study with Golovnin. The result of the Captain's two-year "sojourn" in Japan (Golovnin was later exchanged for a Japanese prisoner the Russians kidnapped in retaliation) was not only the training of several Japanese in the Russian language, but also the preparation of a number of dictionaries, grammars and books on Russia. Several of these books deserve special mention. In 1814 Baba wrote a "Short Treatise on the Russian Language" (Rogo Shosei), a Russo-Japanese dictionary (divided into 12 parts: astronomy, geography, housing, furniture, food, utensils, clothing, weapons, etc.), which included the Russian words originally recorded by Kodayu, now checked and corrected by the Russian prisoner. Baba also wrote "Fundamentals of Russian Grammar" (Robumpo Kihan), apparently based on a short Russian grammar drawn up from memory by Golovnin. Murakami Teisuke used a French-Dutch dictionary in which he had the Russian Captain insert the Russian equivalents. The interpreter Uehara, in his "Document Concerning the Ezo Language" (Ezo Go Sen), appended some 150 Russian words with pronunciation. Nakagawa Goroji, who had been a prisoner of the Russians, wrote several manuscripts on his experiences, one entitled "Foreign Lands Miscellany" (Ikyo Zatsuwa). In 1835 Adachi compiled a "Russian-Japanese Dictionary" (Roshia Jisen); and among other books, he translated a Russian textbook on arithmetic brought to Japan by Kodayu. Baba also translated a book on trade and another entitled "Complete Russian Vaccination" (Roshia Gyuto Zensho), a book picked up by Goroji in Russia.

The period of forty years after the release of Golovnin marks a lull in Russo-Japanese relations. The Russian government's attention was absorbed by European affairs. Russian ships were ordered to keep clear of Japan. During these four decades only a few Russian vessels visited Japan, bringing back several Japanese repatriates. In addition to the books occasioned by Golovnin's internment, several more were produced in connection with other returnees ("Russian Language" — Oroshia no Kotoba, containing some three hundred Japanese words with their Russian equiv-

alents in the katakana script compiled by a returned fisherman, Kogure Shigeyoshi; a report by the captain of a Japanese vessel shipwrecked in Russian waters; "A Castaway in Russia" — Roshia-koku Hyoryu Bunsho, which included some 260 Russian words. Other books on Russia dealt with history, topography and climate [Roshia Shiryaku, Roshia Fudoki, etc.]).

The opening of Japan by Commodore Perry in 1854 was paralleled by a similar Russian expedition of Vice-Admiral Evfimii Putiatin. Following the conclusion of the Japanese-American Treaty of 1854, a Russo-Japanese Treaty was signed at Shimoda in 1855, followed by a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce.

One of the results of these Russo-Japanese negotiations was the opening of a Russian consulate in Hakodate, Ezo. Russian studies in Japan, in particular, received a strong impetus from the arrival in 1859 of the first Russian consular mission, which consisted of the Consul and Diplomatic Representative Iosif Antonovich Goshkevich, his family, a secretary, a naval officer, a doctor, an Orthodox priest, and male and female servants, fifteen in all. Practically all the Russians functioned in one way or another as language teachers. The same was true at Nagasaki, where visiting Russian naval officers were besieged by ambitious young Japanese and on occasion gave Russian lessons. Goshkevich, son of a priest and himself educated in an Orthodox seminary, spent eight years in the Orthodox Mission in Peking studying Chinese, and upon his return to Russia entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As the Japanese Language School in Irkutsk was closed some forty years prior to the opening of Japan, there were apparently no Russians with a knowledge of Japanese; and Goshkevich, because of his knowledge of Chinese, was appointed the official interpreter for the Putiatin Mission. While in Japan, he helped to smuggle a young samurai out of the country, and when the Russian ship was captured by the British (the Crimean War was in progress), Goshkevich utilized the nine months of British internment to teach the young Japanese Russian, and to learn Japanese himself. Upon their release and return to Russia, Goshkevich, with the help of his Japanese tutor, compiled a Japanese-Russian dictionary (Russko-Iaponskii Slovar' — Wa-Ro Tsugen Hiko), which was published in 1857 by the Asiatic Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This dictionary, of some 500 pages and over 10,000 words, was the first published Japanese-Russian dictionary worthy of the name. Earlier Japanese attempts represented hardly more than a random collection of words. Tachibana Kosai, the Japanese who collaborated with Goshkevich, was a colorful figure who left his mark on the history of Russo-Japanese relations and on Russian studies in Japan. An adventurous, wandering samurai, proficient in both Japanese sword technique as well as in Western firearms, Tachibana studied Dutch, and before the arrival of the Russians, was a gambler, embezzler, ex-convict and a Buddhist monk. When he met the Russians, he sold them a map of Japan and a Japanese dictionary, both items specifically guarded by the security conscious Japanese against falling into foreign hands. Arrested, Tachibana managed to escape and to hide on a Russian ship, eventually smuggling himself out of Japan, a crime for which several less fortunate Japanese had been executed. Upon arrival in Russia, Tachibana was baptized, taking the name of Vladimir Iosifovich Yamatov (after his godfather

Iosif Goshkevich and a Russianized version of Yamato, the poetic name of Japan). For many years, Yamatov remained an employee of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and when Japanese was introduced into the curriculum of the Department of Oriental Languages of the St. Petersburg University, he became its first Japanese Professor.

The chaplain of the Russian Consulate, Ivan Makhov, compiled a Russian textbook for Japanese, which was published in Hakodate in 1861. He called the 20-page booklet "The Russian Alphabet — A Gift to Japanese Children from a Russian Government Official" (Russkago Chinovnika Podarok Iaponskim Detiam — Russkaia Azbuka). However, in the Japanese translation this official turned out to be "a Russian samurai." Makhov's successor, the priest Nikolai, was destined to play an important role in the propagation of Orthodox Christianity in Japan as well as in the growth of Russian studies. Born Ioann Dmitrievich Kasatkin, the son of a deacon, Nikolai was graduated from the St. Petersburg Orthodox Academy. While a student there, he happened to come across Captain Golovnin's account of his Japanese experiences, became fascinated by the Japanese, and immediately volunteered to serve in the newly-opened Russian consulate in Hakodate. The new Russian priest arrived there in 1861, relieving Makhov who had fallen ill. Nikolai could not immediately engage in missionary work as the ban on Christianity was still enforced in Japan. But, this did not prevent him from attracting several young Japanese who were eager to learn Russian and to absorb foreign knowledge. These young men were to become Japan's first Russian experts.

The opening of Japan and the arrival of the Russian mission had other immediate repercussions in the field of Russian studies. It naturally further heightened Japanese government interest in such matters. It also gave impetus to the translation of several books on Russia and on the Russian language ("General Survey of Russia" — Orosu Soki, translated from the Chinese; Uehara Kumajiro's work on the Ezo and Russian languages was published in 1855 and a Russian dictionary — Roshia Jisen, actually a Japanese-Russian-Dutch dictionary by Sakaki Raiho in 1856). Unable to agree upon the demarcation of the Russo-Japanese frontier in Sakhalin, the Shogunate put the island directly under the control of the central government and ordered new expeditions to the northern area. In 1856 the Translation Bureau of the Astronomical Institute was reorganized into the Office for the Study of Barbarian Writings (Bansho Shirabe-dokoro), which engaged largely in translation work and in the teaching of Dutch. As yet, no foreign teachers were employed. In addition to Dutch, the English language was added in 1859, followed by French in 1861 and German and Russian in 1862. In the following years, a government language school in Nagasaki began offering instruction in the Chinese, Dutch, English, French and Russian languages. Intensified intercourse with foreign countries convinced the Shogunate that to master Western languages Japanese must be sent abroad. Consequently, in the early eighteen sixties, the first groups of Japanese students were sent to Europe and America. In 1861 the first Japanese was sent by the Shogunate to Nikolaevsk and in the following year another to Vladivostok. In 1865 an initial group of several young men was dispatched to Russia by the governor of Hakodate. They left on a Russian warship. Upon arrival in St. Petersburg the Japanese students studied Russian with the help of their compatriot Tachibana-Yamatov, but

all but one soon returned to Japan when the fall of the Shogunate left them stranded without funds. In 1867 the Shogun resigned and after a brief civil war a new Imperial government was established in Japan.

CHAPTER II EARLY MODERN JAPAN

The newly formed Japanese Imperial government continued the Shogunate's efforts to bring Western civilization to Japan. This program was now more vigorously pursued than ever. Young Japanese were sent to Europe and America; many foreign teachers were invited to Japan; and special schools were founded for the study of foreign languages and Western civilization and science.

In 1868 a "Western School" (Yogakko) was set up in the port city of Osaka. In the new capital of Tokyo, the school which grew out of the Office for the Study of Barbarian Writings (Bansho Shirabe-dokoro), briefly closed during the civil war, was reinstituted in 1868 under the jurisdiction of the Tokyo Prefectural government. At the beginning of the following year, the school consisted of two departments, English and French, each with native English and French teachers. A little later in the same year, the foreign teaching staff had come to include faculty members from Great Britain, the United States, France and Prussia, but still no instructor from Russia. Plans called for a total enrollment of some three hundred students. Bright youngsters capable of mastering a foreign tongue and interested in the new Western subjects were sought throughout the country. (These measures of the Japanese government resemble similar efforts by the United States government some seventy-five years later to bring together superior students to master the difficult and unfamiliar Japanese language.) Feudal clans with revenues exceeding 150,000 koku (750,000 bushels) of rice were asked to send three candidates each, aged sixteen to twenty, to the capital; the smaller fiefs two each; and the smallest (up to 50,000 koku) one of its best students.

But the introduction of foreign culture to Japan posed many problems. The period was one of experimentation, of makeshift policies, of constant change. During the first few years after the Restoration, the Tokyo school went through several reorganizations, not to mention changes of name. It also did not function at all for short periods of time.

As the Tokyo school offered only English and French, the newly created Ministry of Foreign Affairs established a special School of Foreign Languages (Gogaku-dokoro) where instruction was to be offered in German, Russian and Chinese.

In the meantime, the Russian Consular staff in Hakodate, Hokkaido, continued to devote some time and effort to the teaching of the Russian language. In 1868 the government-supported Hakodate School (Hakodate Gakko) became known as the Hakodate Russian Language School (Hakodate Rogakko) when a member of the Russian Consulate and one of his Japanese pupils went there to teach the Russian language and such subjects as mathematics, geography and history, all in Russian.

Intensive study of the Russian language in Tokyo, however, began with the arrival of the Russian priest Nikolai in 1872, the same year a Russian Legation was opened in the Japanese capital. Father Nikolai had converted his first three Japanese in 1868. The following year when the

downfall of the Shogunate promised religious freedom and an end to the persecution of Christianity, he left for Russia to make preparations for an active missionary campaign. Armed with a printing press, Father Nikolai returned to Hakodate in 1871 and in the following year moved to Tokyo.

Single-handed(other Russian priests arrived only three years later) Nikolai soon built up a large school. The Japanese showed intense interest in Western ways and flocked to places where they could study with foreigners. A Moscow publication, dated 1874, describes the activities of the newly established Russian religious mission in Japan. It was apparently part of a campaign to solicit funds for the construction of a Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Tokyo, and made much of the fact that there were three hundred Russian language students and some twenty to thirty students of Orthodox theology. A Japanese historian places the figure at only 140-150 for the Russian language and 20 for those who were receiving religious instruction. Whatever figures we may choose to accept, it is evident that in a single year the Russian priest was able to organize Russian language classes which attracted a large number of students. The significance of Nikolai's role as a teacher was all the greater as the government schools for foreign studies had not yet been firmly organized. Further, it should be noted that although there were literally dozens of private Japanese schools for foreign study in Tokyo, only the largest, Keio Gijuku (the predecessor of Keio University, today one of the two finest private Japanese universities), had as many as three hundred students and only two or three other institutions had an enrollment of a hundred.

Father Nikolai was popular in the highest circles of the Japanese government and among the aristocracy. He was on friendly terms with Foreign Minister Soejima Taneomi,who occasionally sought the opinions and advice of Nikolai and is reported to have told a contemporary that a Christian priest could tell no lies. Soejima sent his own son and two nephews to the Nikolai school. Other members of the aristocracy followed suit by entrusting their own children to the Russian priest. When a Russian Grand Duke visited Japan,Father Nikolai served as interpreter at the audience with Emperor Meiji. Nikolai was offered two thousand yen yearly by the Foreign Ministry, an extraordinary amount for the time, to take a position as Russian teacher at its special school of foreign languages. He declined the offer. This school which was supposed to provide instruction in German, Russian and Chinese was apparently not adequate, for several students of Russian were sent to Nikolai. Other Japanese were attracted to the Russian church school for a variety of reasons: a few were genuinely interested in Christianity, or perhaps specifically in the Russian branch; others wanted to learn a foreign tongue; still others were the so-called "northern knights," acutely concerned over the Russian menace in the north. There were also the ubiquitous Japanese government spies, one of whom, incidentally, became a genuine Christian convert, taking on the name of Yakov (Jacob).

In 1873, a year after the arrival of Nikolai in the Japanese capital, the newly created Ministry of Education reorganized the Tokyo foreign language school, as well as the two provincial schools in the commercial city of Osaka and in the port city of Nagasaki, for many decades the center of foreign studies in Japan. During the following year several

new government foreign language schools were established in Aichi, Hiroshima, Niigata and Miyagi prefectures. By 1874 Japan had ten government institutions and almost a hundred private schools devoted to foreign studies (over half of them in the Tokyo area). These schools were staffed with several hundred teachers, including many foreigners, a few of them Russians, and had an aggregate enrollment of over five thousand students, of whom only about five percent were studying the Russian language. Table 1 below will illustrate the distribution of foreign language schools in Japan and the number of instructors and students. (The place of Russian in the overall foreign studies development will be illustrated by a subsequent table.)

Table 1.

Foreign Language Schools (1874)

University District	Government	Private	Teachers	Students
1 (Tokyo)	2	56	147	3,631
2 (Aichi)	1	8	29	348
3 (Kyoto)	1	11	23	655
4 (Hiroshima)	1	0	5	55
5 (Nagasaki)	1	1	6	68
6 (Niigata)	1	2	32	304
7 (Miyagi)	3	4	5	258
Total	10	82	247	5,319

The previously mentioned government school in Tokyo was soon reorganized into a school of foreign languages and a separate school of Western studies, both offering courses in one of the several foreign languages.

The school of Western studies (later known as the Tokyo Imperial University) was organized into several language divisions: the arts and the humanities were taught in French; mining in German; and law, science and engineering in English. It is significant that Russian was not one of the languages through which the Japanese sought to acquire knowledge of the West. Japanese historians have advanced several explanations for this situation: Japan was opened by Americans, hence the overwhelming popularity of English; Russia was a relatively backward country and the Japanese were not satisfied with less than the best Western science and technology had to offer; and Japanese relations with Russia were strained as a result of the Russian raids on northern Japanese settlements in the early nineteenth century, the brief Russian occupation of the island of Tsushima and the controversy over the possession of Sakhalin. Further, we are told: "The Japanese wanted to cast off their old feudal garb and to put on a modern suit; the Slavic attire smelling offensively of feudal aristocracy was rather unwelcome."

The school of foreign languages became the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakko) and absorbed the Foreign Ministry special school of German, Russian and Chinese. The Foreign Ministry students of Russian at the Greek Orthodox school were transferred to the new institution. Many other Japanese students interested only in the Russian language also quit Nikolai's school to go to the new

Tokyo School of Foreign Languages.

At first, five foreign languages were offered at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages: English, French, German, Russian and Chinese. After one year, in 1874, the English department which comprised over one half of the students was organized as a separate school. Thus there were only four language departments operating until 1880, when the Korean language was added, bringing the number of departments back to five. The Tokyo school was planned for 500 students, fourteen to eighteen years of age. The normal program was five years. It was concerned as much with the study of foreign cultures and civilizations as with the study of a foreign tongue as such. All subjects (composition and translation, logic, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, accounting, geography, history, physics, philosophy and gymnastics) were taught in a foreign language and the official history of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages states that even the Japanese teachers instructed in a foreign tongue. Initially, the school's foreign staff numbered fifteen, of whom six were English, one American, three French, three German, and one Russian and Chinese each. This proportion corresponds to the relative standing of these foreign languages in Japan not only at that time but generally throughout the modern period.

In the Russian Language Department the first Russian teacher was Lev Mechnikov, a noted geographer, sociologist and linguist who spoke ten languages. His elder brother was the famous Russian biologist Ilia Mechnikov. The younger Mechnikov was expelled from the Kharkov Medical School for taking part in student revolutionary activity. At the age of twenty, after having attended briefly the Academy of Fine Arts, he went as an interpreter with a Russian diplomatic mission to the Near East, but was again dismissed for his revolutionary tendencies. Two years later Mechnikov fought as a volunteer in the Garibaldi campaign, where he was badly wounded and lost one leg. Later, while living in Switzerland, he met a young Japanese officer Oyama Iwao, subsequently Field Marshal, Elder Statesman and Commander-in-Chief of Japanese forces in the Russo-Japanese War. Mechnikov and Oyama exchanged lessons of French for Japanese, and when the Russian arrived in Japan, he surprised the natives by his knowledge of spoken and even written Japanese. Mechnikov stayed in Japan less than two years and was succeeded by other Russians.

The early Japanese teachers of Russian included many students who had studied in Russia; Ichikawa Bunkichi, one of the first Japanese to study there and to serve as a secretary in the newly established Japanese Legation in St. Petersburg; Furukawa Tsuneichiro, with similar experience in Russia; Nihashi Ken, also a student in Russia and author of a Japanese-Russian dictionary; Kurono Yoshibumi, in later years professor at the Oriental Languages Department of the St. Petersburg University and compiler of a collection of Japanese and Russian proverbs; and Saga Juan, a colorful figure in the history of Russo-Japanese relations who had crossed from the Pacific to European Russia by sled before there was a Trans-Siberian Railroad.

In the Russian Language Department the students used such Russian textbooks as Ilovaisky's Russian history, Tumsky's "Children's World," Shulgin's world history, Alexandrov's arithmetic, Antonov's grammar, Ilonitsky's European geography and maps, and the Lief [spelling ?] dictionaries. Although no Russian literature was taught, literary works

were often used as language texts. The school library consisted of some three hundred Russian books.

The government early realized the importance of training in Russian and Chinese and later in the Korean languages. Scholarships were offered for students in these departments. According to the recollections of one of the early students there were ten times more applicants for scholarships than could be accommodated by the yearly 25 to 30 grants for the study of Russian. Often such government stipends were made available by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and by the War Ministry.

In spite of the great number of candidates and the relatively large number of students, the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages was suddenly closed in 1885 by order of the Minister of Education Mori Arinori. Although much criticism attended the move, it is not clear whether this development was motivated by financial and economic considerations or whether Mori simply was not convinced of the School's usefulness. The students of the German and French departments were transferred to a college preparatory school and the students of Russian, Chinese and Korean were sent to a secondary school. A Russo-Japanese dictionary project then under way (in which teachers Furukawa, Saga and Kurono had collaborated) was turned over to the Ministry of Education. A chapter closed in the history of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, exactly two hundred years after the establishment of the Astronomical Institute from which it had developed. Russian studies in Japan had suffered a serious setback.

What were the results of these twelve years of intensive study of foreign languages and foreign culture and specifically what were the accomplishments in the Russian field? Judging from the yearly quota of five hundred students and the dozens of scholarships offered annually, one might expect during the twelve years the school to have turned out thousands of foreign language specialists. Indeed, some five thousand students did go through the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. The early enrollment ranged from 269 to 528, averaging some four hundred. The number of students in the French department fluctuated between 75 and 180, totaling 1433 or an average of 120 per year; in the German department, between 83 and 274, a total of 1772 or an average of 150; in the Russian, between 14 and 79, a total of 567 or an average of 47; in the Chinese, between 26 and 66, totaling 511 or an average of 43; and in the Korean, between 15 and 29, a total of 114 or an average of 23 students per year. Thus, Russian ranked third among the five languages taught at the school. Table 2 below shows the number of students enrolled annually in each of the language departments for the twelve-year period, 1873-1884, and the relative standing of the various languages.

From these impressive figures which follow, it appears that the Russian Language Department alone trained some five hundred students or an average of some fifty per year. But how many students actually succeeded in completing their studies? The number of graduates was surprisingly small. The first group of graduates, in 1879, totaled three from the French department and two from the Russian. The next year, out of fourteen graduates, five had majored in Russian. In 1881 there

were only three graduates, all from the Russian department.

Table 2.

Enrollment, Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, 1873-1884

	STUDENTS						
Year	Russian	English	French	German	Chinese	Korean	Total
1873	14	236	75	96	32		453
1874	79	(made	136	179	29		423
1875	37	separate	147	161	26		371
1876	47	school)	180	274	27		528
1877	78		164	203	49		494
1878	58		133	169	52		412
1879	50		132	148	43		373
1880	33		124	152	47	29	385
1881	54		88	111	46	27	326
1882	47		83	83	66	24	303
1883	40		89	101	48	19	297
1884	30		83	95	46	15	269
Total	567	(236)	1,434	1,772	511	114	4,634

The total number of school graduates during the twelve years under consideration was only sixty-three, divided as follows: twenty-five from the French department, twenty from the Russian, fifteen from the German and only three from the Chinese. Table 3 below shows the data for the entire period.

Table 3.

Graduates, Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, 1873-1884

	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	Total
Russian	3	5	3	3	2	4	20
French	2	7	0	9	4	3	25
German	0	2	0	0	7	6	15
Chinese	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
Total	5	14	3	12	14	15	63

The Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages played a part in the development of Russian studies in Japan greater than the small number of graduates would suggest. Among the students of the Department during this early period mention must be made of the diplomat Kawakami Toshihiko, in later years Japanese Minister to Poland and president of Japanese fishery and mining concerns with Russian interests; Kurono Yoshibumi and Suzuki Otohei, teachers at their alma mater, the latter for some years; and Hasegawa Tatsunosuke, better known by his pen name Futabetei Shimei, the father of Russian literature in Japan.

Control of the island of Sakhalin remained an issue between Japan and Russia for a long time. Neither the Putiatin Mission nor subsequent negotiations between Tsarist Russia and the Tokugawa regime succeeded in delineating the frontier between the two countries. After the Imperial government took over in Japan, a Colonization Office (Kaitakushi) was established in 1869 with jurisdiction over the northern areas which included the island of Ezo (then renamed Hokkaido), Sakhalin and the southern Kuriles. Kuroda Kiyotaka, who soon became head of the new agency, favored the development of Hokkaido and the abandonment of Sakhalin to Russia, arguing that Japan in the process of modernization could afford neither the luxury of colonizing too much territory nor the danger of a clash with her northern neighbor. As Kuroda's views were not generally accepted in Japan, the Sakhalin issue remained a burning, controversial one.

In 1867 the explorer Okamoto Kampo, who was the first Japanese to sail around Sakhalin, published a book on the areas north of Hokkaido entitled "A New Account of Northern Ezo" (Kita Ezo Shinshi) in which he warned that Japan must promptly colonize Sakhalin lest it fall into Russian hands. Four years later he wrote "Urgent Task at the Northern Gates" (Hokumon Kyumu), now arguing specifically against the Kuroda policy. Another writer Hayashi Kenzo, on the other hand, after a trip to the north in 1873 advocated the division of Sakhalin between Japan and Russia in his "Journey Through the Northern Seas" (Hokkai Kiko). Many other books on the subject were published during this period in Japan, some advocating such drastic action as moving Japan's capital to the island of Hokkaido

In 1872 Russia and Japan agreed to exchange envoys and a naval officer Enomoto Takeaki (Buyo), who had studied in Holland, was appointed to the St. Petersburg post. Enomoto reached the Russian capital in 1874 and in the following year succeeded in signing an agreement with Russia giving the Kuriles to Japan in return for renunciation of all Japanese claims to Sakhalin.

The colonization of the northern areas required many specialists versed in modern science and technology as well as Japanese conversant with Russian affairs. The Colonization Office dispatched capable young men to study in several foreign countries. In 1871 Kuroda sent seven students abroad, of whom four were to proceed to the United States and three to Russia. Two of the latter, however, managed to change their assignment by arguing that with their northern accents they would be unable to learn Russian. The third student assigned to Russia, Niki Hikoshichi, reached St. Petersburg in 1871, and after three years of study joined the staff of the Japanese legation. Upon his return to Japan, Niki worked in the Colonization Office and later became a successful businessman, largely due to his knowledge of Russia and his contacts there. Several other students were sent to Russia by the Colonization Office in subsequent years.

During the middle eighteen seventies a small Japanese colony flourished in St. Petersburg: Minister Enomoto Takeaki; the famous deserter Tachibana Kosai, now styled Vladimir Iosifovich Yamatov; Ichikawa Bunkichi, a member of the Japanese legation and, upon his return to Japan, Professor at the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages: Saga Juan, the first Japanese to cross Siberia (nearly

twenty years before another Japanese, Major Fukushima Yasumasa, made a trip from Berlin to Vladivostok on horseback, in 1892), who returned to become an official at the Colonization Office and also a teacher at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages; Onodera Roichi, the translator of Ilovaisky's Russian history textbook; Shiga Urataro, a secretary in the legation who had studied Russian with a Tsarist naval officer in Nagasaki and who later served with the Colonization Office; the diplomat Nishi Tokujiro, who was to become the Japanese Minister to Russia; and Baron Marinokoji Hidemaro, a friend of the young Emperor Meiji. The latter attended a special school for the children of Russian nobility and upon his return to Tokyo in 1880 became the Imperial Court's Russian expert. This background helped to minimize the effects of the unfortunate incident of 1894 when a fanatical Japanese policeman wounded the visiting Russian Crown Prince, the future Nicholas II.

With the development of Japanese travel to Russia a body of literature on the northern neighbor appeared in the form of travel accounts. Units of the new Japanese Navy paid a courtesy call to Vladivostok in 1876. Commissioner Kuroda made a long cruise which included a stopover to Vladivostok described by Suzuki Daisuke in "Vladivostok Journey" (Urajiosutoku Kiko), published by the Colonization Office in 1879. Kuroda himself wrote a three-volume "Tourist's Diary" (Kanyu Nikki). The first Japanese envoy to Russia, Enomoto, who returned home in 1878, described his travel in "Siberian Diary" (Shiberia Nikki). The diplomat Nishi Tokujiro, who had returned to Japan via Central Asia, produced a two-volume "Central Asian Report" (Chu Ajia Kiji), which was published by the Army Library in 1886, the year he was sent back to Russia, this time as the Japanese Minister. Other representative books in the travel category which broadened the Japanese public's knowledge about Russia include "Journey through Russia" (Koro Kiko) by the previously mentioned Minister of Education Mori Arinori, "A Report on the Amur River" (Kokuryuko Kiji) by Takeda Hizaburo and "Along the Coast of the Bering and Okhotsk Seas" (Beringu-kai, Ohotsuku-kai Engan Ryokoki) by Aoki Toshiro.

Meanwhile, with the establishment of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages in 1873, most pupils of Father Nikolai who were primarily interested in the Russian language had transferred to the new government institution. Enrollment at the Russian church school declined substantially before it rose gradually to about thirty to fifty students yearly. The school itself, originally known as a School of Foreign Languages (Gogakko), was renamed Orthodox Theological Seminary (Seikyo Shingakko—Dukhovnaia Seminaria). In due course a separate school was established for girls. Both seminaries were seven-year secondary schools open to young Japanese with elementary education. Some fifteen teachers, including Russian priests, comprised the faculty and provided substantial Russian language training in addition to such subjects as theology and philosophy. The texts used were almost exclusively Russian.

By 1884 there were over one hundred male students in various church schools (including one for psalmists) and about thirty-five girls, all with some background in Russian. Over a hundred Japanese were enrolled in the church school in Hakodate, where since 1873 a Greek Orthodox missionary school had been offering Russian language instruction. In 1879 this secondary school enrolled over three hundred Japanese boys

and girls. By the turn of the century the enrollment in the mission schools had declined markedly. There were so few applicants that in some years no new classes were started.

As in the case of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, the Nikolai seminaries had a large turnover and only a few graduates. The number of graduates fluctuated between five and twelve with the total for the entire Meiji period (1868-1912) probably not exceeding one hundred. The best graduates who had an excellent command of the Russian language were sent by the Russian church to study at the Orthodox seminaries in Kiev, St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kazan. The first one to go, Alexander Matsui Toshiro, was sent to St. Petersburg in 1882, but he died of typhus in Russia three years later. The next to be sent were Simeon Mitsui Michiro and Arsenii Iwasawa Heikichi, who spent four years in Russia (1883-1887). Upon return to Japan the students were to become instructors in their alma mater: while Mitsui did rise to the position of chief officiating priest, Iwasawa chose to become a Russian language instructor at the Military Academy. Other students and alumni of Nikolai's seminary included Dr. Sato Shosuke, in later years President of Hokkaido University; Abe Hiroshi, a Governor of Tokyo; Ando Kensuke, a provincial prefectural governor and a mayor of Yokohama; army captain, police inspector, and governor Oyama Tsunamasa; Minister Kato Masuo; Counsellor of the Japanese Legation in Russia Omae Taizo; the earlier mentioned Suzuki Otohei, later head of the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages; diplomat and business executive Kawakami Toshihiko; and Kurono Yoshibumi, Professor of Japanese at the Oriental Languages Department of the St. Petersburg University.

With the help of a Japanese disciple, Father Nikolai compiled a small Russo-Japanese dictionary which, until the appearance of the "Russo-Japanese Dictionary" (Rowa Jii) in 1887 compiled under the auspices of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and the Ministry of Education, was copied by hand and widely used by the students in both the Greek Orthodox school and at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. The noted writer-translator Futabatei Shimei is said to have personally copied this dictionary for his own use.

Nikolai's contributions to Russian studies in Japan were not restricted to the teaching of the Russian language. Himself a lover of literature, Bishop Nikolai (he was elevated in 1880) assembled a good collection of Russian classical literature which was housed in a three-storied library building on the cathedral premises. This collection, unfortunately completely destroyed in the great earthquake and fire of 1923, contained practically all Russian classics and many rare books.

First alone, then with a staff of Japanese assistants, Nikolai translated the holy scriptures from Russian and Church Slavonic into Japanese. These translations were published by his own publishing company, The Love and Compassion Company (Ai-Ai-Sha). Several periodical publications of the Russian church organizations in Japan, although devoted to ecclesiastical matters, contained articles on Russian literature, contributing thereby to the introduction of Russian culture to Japan. From the middle to the end of the Meiji era, the following publications appeared: "The Orthodox Church Report" (Seikyo Shimpo), a biweekly official organ of the Russian church in Japan; (Shinkai), a monthly philosophical journal

by the teachers of the men's seminary; "Brocade" (Uranishiki), a journal issued by the girls' seminary; and "The Mission" (Shimei), organ of the church youth league. The last two, especially, contained articles on and translations from Russian literature.

As Japan gradually emerged from intellectual isolation, exposing itself to the manifold currents of Western thought, the Japanese reader was introduced to all the great Russian writers. The first of the great Russian writers to become widely known in Japan was Ivan Turgenev. A Tokyo newspaper mentions his name in 1879 and from this year on Turgenev's fame spreads among the Japanese reading public. Strangely enough, Turgenev's reputation, in the beginning at least, seems to have been based more on his association with the Nihilist movement than on the literary quality of his work. The Russian writer, we are told, was first believed by many Japanese to be the leader of a political movement fighting for progress and liberty. This could not but arouse the sympathies of the young generation in Japan then clamoring for political freedom and social change. Nihilism—the meaning of which was not too clearly understood—became the fashion in Japan, as evidenced also by the publication of many Japanese books on the subject. In the early eighteen eighties, the name of Bazarov, the central figure in Turgenev's "Fathers and Sons," was on the lips of many young Japanese, although none of them could possibly have read the famous novel; for only in 1886 was a first attempt made (by Futabatei Shimei) to translate this story, and the manuscript remained uncompleted and unpublished.

The earliest published Japanese version of a Russian literary work appeared in 1883 as "Strange Tales from Russia—Flowery Hearts and Butterfly Notions" (Rokoku Kibun—Kashin Choshi-roku). This rather unusual title concealed excerpts from Alexander Pushkin's "Captain's Daughter," which Takasu Jisuke, a former student at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, had dressed up as something vaguely resembling a Japanese play. Little, if anything, of the original flavor was left in this first "translation." The great novelist Count Leo Tolstoy suffered a similar fate at the hands of the Japanese. A portion of his masterwork "War and Peace" was issued in 1886 under the title "Weeping Flowers and Bitter Willow Trees—Traces of Bloody Battles in Northern Europe" (Kyuka Enryu Hoku-O Kessen Yojin). The Japanese "translator," who had studied with Father Nikolai, transformed the great epic into a romantic tale describing in florid style the fall of the hero, Napoleon.

The first faithful Japanese translation of a Russian literary work was made by Futabatei Shimei, a graduate of the Russian Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. The year 1888, when Futabatei published a brief section from Turgenev's "A Hunter's Diary" (Zapiski Okhotnika) under the title "Rendezvous" (Svidanie—Aibiki) constitutes a milestone in the development of Russian studies in Japan and also in the annals of modern Japanese literature both for its modern style and for the unwonted simplicity of the story.

Futabatei Shimei, the son of a samurai, was prevented by defective eye-sight from making the Army his career. He therefore entered the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages in 1881 to study Russian. Futabatei's letters as well as the accounts of contemporaries suggest that this decision

was influenced by Japanese resentment over the abandonment of the island of Sakhalin to Tsarist Russia in 1875. Futabatei was convinced that the nature of Japan's relations with Russia would determine the future of his country. There is documentary evidence of the young man's dreams one day to serve as Japanese Ambassador to the Court of the Romanovs. But as Futabatei studied the Russian language and became acquainted with Russian literature, his views changed, and he abandoned plans for a diplomatic career. As a student he avidly read the writings of Belinsky, Gogol, Chernyshevsky, Dostoevsky and Goncharov. Yet it was Turgenev who exerted the most profound and lasting influence on him, and it was as a translator of Turgenev that Futabatei first made a name for himself. At the same time Futabatei became famous overnight as an original writer. In 1887 his first novel, "Floating Clouds" (Ukigumo) appeared. It was considered by Japanese literary critics a forerunner of modern Japanese literature, and showed the influence of Feodor Dostoevsky's "Poor Folk" (Bednye Liudi) and Ivan Goncharov's "A Very Ordinary Story" (Obyknovennaia Istoriia).

The role of Futabatei in Japan has been compared to that of Karamzin in Russia. His translation of Turgenev was written (as was his novel) in colloquial Japanese, a complete departure from the traditional practice of using semi-classical literary language. Although the Turgenev piece appeared in a widely read magazine ("The People's Friend"—Kokumin no Tomo), it took more than a decade for the new style, at first considered quite vulgar, to win full acceptance in Japan. Futabatei's predecessors had been satisfied with retelling (rather than translating) the Russian story in pseudo-classical Japanese, changing in the process the style, content and approach. This was done perhaps as much because of an insufficient knowledge of the Russian language as for its greater appeal to the Japanese reader, reared as he was on a literary diet of Chinese and Japanese romantic and heroic tales. Futabatei, a brilliant exponent of language reform, a talented writer and an artist who could appreciate the philosophical thought as well as the beauty of the Russian original, employed a revolutionary technique. Each sentence, each word became sacred to him. Lovingly toiling for hours over a single line of Turgenev's tale, he attempted to retain in his translations the precise meaning, the rhythm and even the word order of the original Russian. Futabatei himself tells the story of how one day, unable to find the right translation for a Russian popular expression, he visited a public bath-house to listen to the customers' colloquialisms in the hope of discovering what the dictionary would not reveal. Anyone familiar with the two languages and the tremendous differences in their structure, vocabulary and cultural traditions cannot but admire Futabatei's feat, a veritable tour de force. In his later years, as Futabatei grew in stature as a creative writer and as his understanding of Russian literature deepened, he gradually abandoned his faithful adherence to close translation and began to reproduce instead the "atmosphere," "thought" and "deeper meaning" of the original work.

Futabatei was not the only Japanese who saw in Turgenev his literary and philosophical ideal. His first Turgenev translation and the many that he was to produce in later years were read widely and the lyric melancholy of Turgenev's writings found a ready response among

Japan's youth. Many young Japanese memorized entire passages, and a whole generation of future Japanese authors found inspiration in the delicate, yet fresh, writing which stood in such marked contrast to the traditional literary fare. The naturalist-realist writers, Tayama Katai, Shimazaki Toson, Tokutomi Roka and Kunikida Doppo, to mention but a few, were deeply influenced in their formative years by their first contacts with Russian literature. In fact, an examination of Doppo's celebrated story "Musashi" (The Plains of Musashi) reveals entire phrases borrowed from Futabatei's first Turgenev translation. A great many Japanese writers thereafter imitated the Turgenev-Futabatei style and imagery.

Until Futabatei's untimely death in 1909, at the age of forty-two, his career was largely devoted to Russian translation work and newspaper reporting on and from Russia. He had received his training with Japan's first modern Russologists, Furukawa Tsuneichiro and Ichikawa Bunkichi, at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. After a brief career as an instructor of Russian at the Military Academy and the Ministry of the Navy, Futabatei joined the staff of his alma mater (by that time revived), where he taught from 1899 to 1902. He inspired and trained a number of future Russian translators and interpreters. Immediately upon the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, Futabatei joined one of Japan's leading newspapers, the Asahi, as a Russian expert. In 1908 he went to Russia as that newspaper's special correspondent. He died the following year on his return home.

In the two decades of Futabatei's active life as a student of Russian literature, he translated some thirty Russian works, the majority of them by Turgenev, others by Nikolai Gogol, Leo Tolstoy, Maxim Gorky, Leonid Andreev and Ivan Goncharov. In the process he appears to have mastered Russian to such a degree that he could translate Japanese stories and even a medieval play into Russian. If Russian literature came to occupy an important, and at times a dominant, position in Japan, it is largely due to Futabatei's pioneering work and his rare combination of linguistic ability, originality, literary talent and artistic taste.

Although the writings of Count Leo Tolstoy reached Japan somewhat later than those of Turgenev, Tolstoy must be ranked first among the Russian literary figures who have profoundly influenced Japan. Like much of the Russian literature of the nineteenth century, Tolstoy's major works found their way into Japan mostly in their English translation. With a few exceptions direct translations of Tolstoy belong to the twentieth century. By the eighteen nineties Tolstoy began to rival Turgenev in popularity in Japan largely because of the efforts of such noted writers as Mori Ogai, Koda Rokan, Tokutomi Roka, Uchida Roan and Tayama Katai. The last-named was so impressed by "The Cossacks" (in an American translation), which he had happened to pick up in a Tokyo store in 1893, that he sat down immediately to translate it. Such Japanese writers, though strongly influenced by the artistic qualities of Tolstoy's writings, were even more strongly attracted by Tolstoy's philosophy of life, his personality, his ceaseless search for truth and his deep concern with solutions to the social problems of his time. It is this Tolstoy that particularly appealed to the Japanese. As a writer Tolstoy's influence in Japan made itself felt largely after the turn of the century.

The first Japanese translations of Tolstoy's writings appeared

around 1892 under rather peculiar circumstances. Around that time the magazine of the Greek Orthodox girls' seminary, "Brocade," carried a translation of Tolstoy's "Childhood" (Detstvo). The unknown translator was later established as Konishi Masutaro, just back from Russia after having studied at the Kiev Orthodox Seminary. Among the souvenirs Konishi had brought back was a copy of Tolstoy's "Kreutzer Sonata," a novel then proscribed in Russia. With the assistance of the novelist Ozaki Koyo, Konishi prepared a translation of this work. Its publication, in 1894, caused considerable excitement in Japan, partly because of the theme and the fame of its author, and partly due to the great popularity of the co-translator Ozaki.

These early cultural contacts between Russia and Japan were not altogether a one-way street. Konishi, for instance, while a student in Russia, visited Tolstoy several times at his Yasnaia Poliana estate, where reportedly they talked about Oriental philosophy, the young Japanese translating and interpreting Laotse to Tolstoy. In those years many a Japanese writer, artist and intellectual made the pilgrimage to Yasnaia Poliana. With the appearance of a Japanese translation of "Resurrection" at the turn of the century, Tolstoy became an influential factor in Japanese intellectual life. Thus, in 1900 alone, a single book-store in Tokyo sold 20,000 copies of English language translations of Tolstoy. Even a writer of the stature of Tokutomi Roka returned from a visit with the great Russian humanist inspired to lead the simple life of a farmer.

Russian language textbooks, grammars and dictionaries began to appear early in the Meiji Period. The first Japanese-Russian dictionary was prepared by Ogata Iko, one of the Japanese who had studied in Russia, and was published by the Colonization Office in 1873. Two years earlier a book entitled "Basic Russian" (Rogo Chuso) was written by Oshima Ryoichi. One of the alumni of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, Takasu Jisuke, produced a "Pocket Russo-Japanese Conversational Manual" (Rowa Shuchin Kaiwa) and a "Pocket Russo-Japanese Dictionary" (Rowa Shuchin Jii). In 1887, a substantial "Russo-Japanese Dictionary" (Rowa Jii) was completed and published by the Ministry of Education. This dictionary was originally compiled at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages by the Japanese staff at that institution: Furukawa Tsuneichiro, Saga Juan, Kurono Yoshibumi and an alumnus, the noted writer-translator Futabatei Shimei. In 1904, another teacher of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and sometime commercial attache in Vladivostok, Nihashi Ken, compiled a ten-thousand-word "Japanese-Russian Dictionary" (Nichi-Ro Jiten). To fill the need of the times, a "Russo-Japanese Dictionary of Military Terms" (Waro Heiyo Jiten) was produced in 1905. Generally, however, Japanese students of Russian used Alexandrov's Russo-English and English-Russian, Makarov's Russo-French and French-Russian and Pavlovsky's Russo-German and German-Russian dictionaries. As a matter of fact, the Russo-English part of Alexandrov's dictionary was translated into Japanese and formed the core of a Russo-Japanese dictionary edited by Suzuki Otohei and Yasugi Sadatoshi* of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages.

Among Russian grammars and language textbooks the most substantial was one prepared by S. Glebov, a member of the Russian consular staff in Hakodate. This 575-page "Russian Grammar" (Roshia Bumpo)

was translated into Japanese by Iwasawa Heikichi, a graduate of Nikolai's school and of an Orthodox Seminary in Russia and an instructor in the Army Military Academy. The grammar included a chrestomathy with stories describing the might of Russia. How widely used this early Russian grammar was may be judged by the fact that the work was reprinted many times, even as late as the nineteen thirties. In 1897, the Hokkaido Russian Language School (Hokkai Rogo Gakko) published a short "Russian Grammar" (Rogo Bunten—Etimologiia Russkago Iazyka), prepared by a student of Russian literature Konishi Masutaro, and a 400-page "Russian Conversational Manual for Self-Study" (Dokushu Nichi-Ro Kaiwa), which included a short survey of Russian grammar compiled by Omura Tokutaro.

Parallel with these Japanese efforts to learn the Russian language, attempts were also made to translate into Japanese books on Russia. Some of these were textbooks needed in school, others were necessary for the reference of government officials, still others were designed for the general public. The latter can be broadly classified as books dealing with Russian affairs or with the "northern" problem.

The Russian history of Ilovaisky, the standard textbook in Russian secondary schools, was translated into Japanese (Rokoku Shinshi) as early as 1875 by Onodera Roichi, who had studied with Father Nikolai and in Russia (twenty years later this standard work was retranslated by Lieutenant [later Admiral and Navy Minister] Yashiro Rokuro and published in 1893 by the Naval Officers' Club). Another book on Russian history (Rokoku Enkakushi) was translated by Chiba Bunji, member of the second graduating class of the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. This book was published in 1883 and reissued in 1884 (under the title of "Russian History"—Roshia Kokushi). Anisimov's Russian Criminal Code was translated by Terada Minoru in 1882 and a book on Russian education (Rokoku Kyoiku-Ho) in 1891 by Takasu Jisuke, a graduate of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages.

The translation of important Russian books for the reference of public officials was started by the Foreign Ministry as early as 1868, immediately after the establishment of the Imperial government, with a confidential translation of regulations of the Russian Foreign Ministry. Other examples of such work are a translation of portions of the Russian official Gazette done by Saga Juan under the title "History of Kamchatka" (Kamusakka Chiho-shi). Saga also translated a study of Siberian life (Shiberi Shimpo) and another on the Cossacks, "Affairs of Tartary" (Dattan Jijo). This last subject was also of great interest to the War Ministry, which is known to have sponsored research on the Russian Cossack organization in an effort to improve the military effectiveness of the agrarian militia in Hokkaido.

Books on Russia for the general public often bore such titles as "Russian Affairs" (Rokoku Jijo). In 1872 or 1873 a biography of Tsar Peter I appeared in Japanese, probably a translation from the Dutch. The life and reforms of Peter the Great were avidly read and studied by the future leaders of modern Japan and are said to have greatly influenced Ito Hirobumi, one of the greatest statesmen of modern Japan. Hara Takashi, a young student at one of the private schools of foreign studies and subsequently the first commoner Prime Minister of Japan (1918 until his assassination in 1921), in 1879 translated a French book on the national

strength of Russia (Roshia Kokusei Ron). Translations of other books on Russia included "Record of Russian Disturbances" (Rokoku Henran Jikki, 1883), "Aggression—The Russian National Character" (Taho Shinryaku Rojin Kishitsu, 1887). In 1890 a book on the projected Trans-Siberian Railroad was published, describing its origins, future development and suggesting what the Japanese policy should be. Six years later a translation of Maximov's book on Russian Far Eastern policy did much to awaken the Japanese public to the "Russian menace."

There were many Japanese patriots who believed that the Japanese ought to learn Russian, the language of a potential enemy. But the disappearance of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages in 1885 had left only the Greek Orthodox Church school as a training center for the Russian language. In 1892, the Oriental Association (Toho Kyokai) helped establish in Tokyo a new Russian Language School (Roshia-go Gakko). A large number of applicants presented themselves, and more than eighty were immediately admitted to classes. The school aimed not only to teach the Russian language, but also to train "samurai knights to control the wild eagles of the West who were polishing their claws for an invasion of East Asia."

After the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France in 1895, which diminished Japan's share of the spoils from her victory over China, anti-Russian feeling in Japan ran perhaps even higher than that toward the other more remote countries. The study of Russia and her language now became more urgent. In 1896, shortly after the Triple Intervention, another Russian Language School (Rogo Gakkai) was established in the city of Sapporo in Hokkaido with the support of the Governor of Hokkaido and the Army (later including such influential military leaders as Generals Kodama Gentaro, Minister of War; and Terauchi Masatake, Vice-Chief of the Imperial General Staff and Commandant of the Army Staff College).

Little was known at the time about this school. A graduate of Nikolai's Theological Seminary was hired as an instructor and a year later a retired Russian Army officer, a Pole, was added to the staff. When the Chinese language was introduced into the curriculum, the school became known as the Russo-Chinese Language School (Roshin Gogakko). In addition to these languages the school offered the usual secondary school courses as well as economics and international law for the advanced students. The required Russian language grammars and textbooks were prepared and published by the school. Although the Imperial Army General Staff and each army division dispatched language officers (both commissioned and non-commissioned) there for instruction, the school's emphasis was on the training of "civilian patriots" attracted from all over the country. Despite support from the Army and the Hokkaido Provincial Government, the school was constantly in financial difficulties. Its operating expenses proved especially heavy, since it was not only a language school but a center from which certain Japanese, after perfunctory language training, were dispatched to Siberia "on important missions." Leaders of the ultrapatriotic, intelligence-conscious Amur Society (better known by the not quite accurate English translation, The Black Dragon Society), like Uchida Ryohei, who operated a "photography store" in Blagoveshchensk on the Amur River, often lectured to students and

undoubtedly gave them many practical hints and suggestions. Upon "graduation" a number of students left for Siberia and especially for Kamchatka and Sakhalin generally disguised as businessmen.

The Russo-Chinese Language School operated on both the middle (secondary) school and college levels. The students in the middle school division consisted of regularly enrolled youngsters and a group of non-commissioned officers. The latter, mostly professional soldiers with little formal education, were often drunk, regularly terrorized the boys by constant quarrels, and apparently derived minimum benefits from this educational experience. The college division, on the other hand, trained many good students including a number of army officers. Among the civilian graduates, one went on to become a Consul-General, another became the director of a Russian language school in Harbin, while still others ended up as successful businessmen in the foreign trade field. Many graduates proved their worth as interpreters and translators during the Russo-Japanese War. The army students assigned to the school subsequently had ample opportunity to apply their training. Short-lived as it was, the Sapporo Russo-Chinese Language School made a practical contribution to Russian studies in Japan at the time of greatest need.

Operations on the continent in connection with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 created a demand for more Chinese and Russian interpreters and translators. To be sure, the military services had all along maintained an independent interest in Russian affairs. In training terms, this had taken the form of some instruction in the language and on the area with the Army Schools. Provincial regiments and divisions even had Russian language study groups (Rogo Kenkyukai) where graduates of the Nikolai seminary and the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages passed on their knowledge of the language. As the war clouds gathered, official interest increased and Russian language instruction in the Army was stepped up. Throughout the early period the military forces appear to have relied heavily upon the existing foreign language schools even to the extent of granting special civilian scholarships to encourage the study of Russian. The Japanese Army's "research on Russia" at this time took essentially two forms: (1) the translation of important economic and military materials and (2) the collection and evaluation of information for military intelligence purposes.

Japan's personnel resources in the Russian as well as Chinese and other fields fell far short of her evident needs. Minister of Education Mori's mistake in closing the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages was apparent. By 1896, a plan to re-establish a government school of foreign languages was debated and passed by the Imperial Diet, and in the following year the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages was reborn. While the early school had been a secondary school, the new Gaigo, as it was called for brevity in Japanese, was a three-year junior college. As in other Japanese colleges and universities of the period all non-language, or content courses, were taught in Japanese rather than in a foreign tongue as had been the practice in the old school. This was, of course, due to the fact that during the twenty-five years which had passed since the organization of the old school many Japanese had absorbed enough of the new learning to qualify as purveyors of Western knowledge. Foreigners, it may be noted, continued as principal language instructors.

When the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages was re-established in

1897, seven language departments were organized: English, French, German, Russian, Spanish, Chinese and Korean (Italian was added two years later). Further, students had the choice of one of three specializations: economics, international law and education. Main emphasis was placed upon an intensive study of one principal and one secondary foreign language.

The staff, which when the School reopened in the interval between the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars, consisted of fifteen full professors and eight assistant professors by the time of the Russian revolution had almost doubled. The first head of the Russian Language Department was the writer-translator Futabatei Shimei, who served for three years from 1899 to 1902. Although the actual program of the Russian Language Department differed little from other language departments, due to the personality of Futabatei and to the popularity of Russian literature in Japan, the emphasis was on the study of language and literature. Many literary works were used as language texts. These were supplemented by mimeographed material prepared by the teaching staff.

With the departure of Futabatei, Suzuki Otohei, an alumnus (class of 1881), became the new department chairman. Suzuki, who had also studied with the Reverend Nikolai, returned to teach at his alma mater after an unsuccessful attempt at a business career. He remained at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages for many years. Having had a varied experience in Russian affairs, Suzuki was not only a teacher of the Russian language in the narrow sense but a "teacher of Russia" as well.

One of Futabatei's very few surviving pupils is Yasugi Sadatoshi. * A graduate of the Tokyo Imperial University, he became interested in the Russian language and for two years every evening he attended a two-hour class at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. Yasugi must have proved a very promising student, for in 1902, he was sent on a three-year Ministry of Education scholarship to St. Petersburg. There he studied with the eminent Slavic scholar Baudouin de Courtenay. The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War interrupted Yasugi's studies in Russia and he returned to Japan in 1904 after only two years. Back in Japan, Yasugi became a teacher in his second alma mater, the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, where eventually he was made chairman of the Russian Language Department and Professor Emeritus after his retirement in 1941.

The deterioration of Russo-Japanese relations in the first years of the twentieth century greatly increased the demand for Russian language specialists. When the war finally broke out in the beginning of 1904, the Ministry of Education granted special permission to graduate the Russian Department students ahead of schedule. Thus in 1904, the regular class of 1904 as well as those not scheduled to complete their studies until 1905 and 1906 were all "graduated." An accelerated program continued even after the Russo-Japanese War. In 1906 one-year intensive courses in Chinese, Russian and Korean were inaugurated. How great was the military's need for trained Russian specialists may be judged from the fact that even Russian experts of the Foreign Ministry had to be drafted. The re-establishment of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages prior to the second major conflict within a decade helped to meet this great demand.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the Amur "Black Dragon" Society supported research on Russian, Chinese and Korean affairs relating to Japan's continental policy. Material on conditions

in Russia was then exceedingly scarce in Japan. The Society attempted to establish itself as a Russian research center. To judge by the available evidence the organization may have fallen short of the hopes of its promoters and the exaggerated claims of its future historians. A few new maps of Manchuria and Eastern Siberia were compiled. One of its leaders, Uchida Ryohei, anticipating Japanese victory in the event of a war with Russia, wrote a book urging the destruction of Japan's northern neighbor. Although the Japanese government prohibited the distribution of Uchida's book and confiscated the copies already printed, it was subsequently issued under another title.

In 1901 the Society started the Amur ("Black Dragon") Language School (Kokuryu Gogakko) in a high school in the heart of Tokyo for instruction in the Russian language. Students were given free tuition and occasionally even pocket money. The school later moved to the Society's Tokyo headquarters where it functioned up to the Russo-Japanese War.

When the Russo-Japanese War broke out, Bishop Nikolai refused to be repatriated to Russia, insisting that his place was with the Japanese in Japan. Many of his students were drafted into the Army to serve as interpreters and translators. When Russian prisoners-of-war began to arrive in Japan—there were altogether over 70,000 officers and men including general officers—Nikolai sent his Japanese priests to the prisoner-of-war camps to conduct Orthodox services in Russian. He also published the Bible in Russian as well as Japanese-Russian conversational manuals for distribution in the camps.

Contrary to what one might expect, the popularity of Russian literature continued to grow after the Russo-Japanese War. Literary critics began to say that Russia, defeated in war, conquered Japan with its literature. Tolstoy's fame continued. Gradually Dostoevsky and a number of other Russian authors came to be more widely read. Russian literary figures even became the heroes of Japanese literary works, as for example in a short story by the famous Japanese writer Akutagawa Ryunosuke centering around Tolstoy and Turgenev.

It is true that Dostoevsky's name had been known to the Japanese as early as those of Turgenev and Tolstoy. But apparently it took the Japanese reader—and even the literary critics—much longer to appreciate the greatness of this Russian writer. Dostoevsky's most popular great work, "Crime and Punishment," had been introduced into Japan in 1892 through an English translation by Uchida Roan, a close friend of Futabatei and an author in his own right. "As if blinded by a flash of lightning and deafened by a crash of thunder on the prairie, I was moved more deeply than ever before," Roan described his first encounter with the great Russian novelist. But Roan's reaction to Dostoevsky was as untypical as it was strong. Only after the turn of the century did Dostoevsky find a wider audience among the Japanese. The first direct translation of "Crime and Punishment" did not appear until 1914. This delay appears to have been due in part to the difficulty of Dostoevsky's style.

The important role Russian literature played toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century is best evidenced perhaps by the many leading Japanese writers who devoted some time to the translation of a Russian work. To name but a few of them: Tayama Katai, Ozaki Koyo, Uchida Roan, Ueda Bin, Tokutomi Roka and Mori Ogai.

Others, while not directly involved in the translation of Russian literature, showed clearly its influence in their writings. A good example is the Shimazaki Toson novel "Apostasy" (Hakai), one of the most famous works of modern Japanese literature.

It was especially Tolstoy's influence that led to the rise of the idealistic "White Birch" (Shirakaba) school of Japanese literature, a school that reached its peak after 1910. One of its founders Mushakoji Saneatsu, like Tolstoy an aristocrat, organized a Tolstoy study group at the exclusive Peers' School. Later, in 1918, imitating his hero Tolstoy, Mushakoji established a Tolstoyan "utopian" community on the principle of brotherly love, described in one of his best-known stories. Several similar villages sprang up throughout Japan and traces of this movement are said to exist even today. "Tolstoy Studies" (Torusutoi Kenkyu) a journal devoted to the discussion and propagation of Tolstoy's philosophy (rather than his literary works) appeared for a while around 1916, following shortly after the birth of "Russian Literature" (Roshiya Bungaku), a journal published somewhat irregularly by students of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, admirers of Tolstoy and other Russian writers.

Apart from the novelists mentioned, by the beginning of World War I a great many Russian authors had been translated into Japanese: Chekhov, Gogol ("The Inspector") Garshin, Pushkin, Lermontov, Andreev ("Heart"), Gorky, Korolenko, Alexei Tolstoy, Zaitsev, Sologub, Solov'ev, Kuz'min, Artsybashev and Kuprin. How closely the Japanese were then following literary developments in Russia is evidenced by the fact that Gorky's "Petty Bourgeoisie" (Meshchane), first published and staged in Russia in 1902, had been translated into Japanese and performed in Tokyo barely two years later. Gorky's popularity in Japan dates from that event.

The Russian theater, and especially the Stanislavsky school, was a source of inspiration for the Japanese "modern theater" movement. Thus, in 1915, Chekhov's "Cherry Orchard" played successfully for over a month at the Imperial Theater in Tokyo. It remained a favorite with Japanese theater-goers. Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928), founder with the famous actor Ichikawa Sadanji of the "Free Theater" (Jiyu Gekijo—1909) and translator of Chekhov and Gorky, visited Moscow in 1911, where he came under Stanislavsky's influence. Eventually (1924) this experience led him and the young Moscow-trained director Hijikata Yoshi* to establish Japan's leading modern playhouse the Tsukiji Little Theater (Tsukiji Sho-gekijo) in the Tsukiji district of Tokyo.

The great popularity of Russian literature in Japan was related to the appearance of a growing number of competent Russian language translators following in the footsteps of Futabatei.

Although few of the young generation of translators could yet rival Futabatei in linguistic competence, they included a number of gifted men. An unusually high level of technical and literary excellence was maintained by Saganoya Omuro (real name: Yazaki Chinshiro), also a graduate of the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, and almost as prolific a translator as his contemporary Futabatei. Outstanding among the younger generation of translators was Nobori Shomu.* Converted to the Greek Orthodox faith at the age of seventeen, he became an ardent admirer of Pushkin, Gogol and Turgenev, while studying at the Orthodox seminary in the later eighteen nineties. In 1904

Nobori published a book on Gogol. Ever since, Nobori, as a writer, literary critic, journalist, translator and teacher (at the Military Academy, Waseda University and other colleges) has been one of the leaders in Russian studies in Japan. A prolific translator, he gave the Japanese reader faithful versions of many of the major works of Russian authors besides writing frequently on Russia and Russian literature. Other translators of the time included Senuma Kayo, a graduate of Nikolai's girls' school and known principally for having introduced Chekhov (about 1893); and Yonekawa Masao* and Nakamura Hakuyo,* both 1912 graduates of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and still active today.

After the Russo-Japanese War, relations between the former enemies began to take a turn for the better, encouraged by their respective allies, France and Great Britain, with a gentle assist from American diplomacy. This growing rapprochement between Russia and Japan was evidenced in the public and secret agreements of 1907, 1910, 1912 and climaxed by the Russo-Japanese Alliance concluded during the First World War, in 1916.

"To promote friendly relations with Russia and to encourage scientific research on Russia," the Japan-Russia Association (Nichi-Ro Kyokai) was organized in Tokyo in 1906 with the direct support of the government, the military and the Imperial Court. In addition to the formal duties of such "friendship organizations," like welcoming Russian dignitaries to Japan and maintaining cordial relations with the Imperial Russian Embassy in Tokyo, the Japan-Russia Association also encouraged the development of trade between the two countries, provided a trade inquiry service and lecturers in the Russian field, served as an information center for the Russian press, and sponsored research on the Russian economy. During the First World War, the period of closest relations between Russia and Japan, the Association launched a fund-raising drive "to aid Russian war sufferers."

Closer relations and an enlarged volume of trade demanded more Japanese with a knowledge of the Russian language. To meet this need the Association in 1917 organized Russian language classes in Tokyo. Sixty Japanese were graduated from this program before it was decided that to really be effective such a school should operate in the Russian atmosphere of North Manchuria. After the Bolshevik Revolution these plans were successfully implemented with the establishment of the Japan-Russia Association School (Nichi-Ro Kyokai Gakko), a full-fledged Russian area institute in Harbin (later to be known as the Harbin Institute—Harupin Gakuin, see Chapter IV, page 36).

At the height of the Japan-Russia Association's activity during World War I, its membership reached some four hundred persons including important Japanese and prominent members of the Russian community in Japan. A Prince of the Blood, Kan'in Kotohito, served as the nominal President; the Russian Ambassador ex-officio as Honorary President; General Terauchi Masatake, the Governor-General of Korea and former Minister of War, a firm believer in closer ties between Russia and Japan, headed the Association, but it was actually run by Goto Shimpei, the first President of the government-controlled South Manchuria Railway Company.

A physician by profession, Goto Shimpei was an admirer of scientific research methods in the social as well as in the natural sciences. As soon as he had accepted the Presidency of the South Manchuria Railway

Company, Goto organized a substantial research division patterned after German research institutions and strong on research methodology. Russia naturally provided an area of particular interest to the Company. Russian geography, natural resources, economic conditions and transportation received study and Russian works on these subjects began to be translated into Japanese. The study of Russia was greatly facilitated when Japan obtained from Russia as one of the spoils of victory in the Russo-Japanese War, a lease on the Liaotung Peninsula. This area included in addition to the naval base of Port Arthur, the nearby city of Dalny, or Dairen, which had been built up by the Russians from a small Chinese village into a Russian city. The presence of so many Russians in Japanese-controlled territory of course stimulated Japanese studies of Russia. The South Manchurian Company gradually expanded its Russian research section and made an effort to build up a good Russian collection. Over the years, this developed into the excellent Dairen Library. (Details of the activities of the South Manchuria Railway Company in the Russian field are given in Chapter V, page 47). Goto was also largely instrumental in sending Company employees for study to Russia. In one year alone he is known to have sent five men and one woman.

The South Manchuria Railway Company and the Japanese Government continued this program and even some Japanese families sent their sons for study to Russia. The military detailed for the same purpose a small number of officers, usually of lieutenant or captain rank. During the World War, several field grade officers were attached to Tsarist Army units, an arrangement which proved valuable in training military Russian specialists. The Foreign Ministry maintained a small number of language students in Russia on three-year tours of duty. To assure maximum utilization of this foreign experience, the Ministry's language students in order to qualify were required to have a good background in the Russian language (such as several years' training in the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages). It was not unusual for the Foreign Ministry to give such candidates a language examination consisting of the translation of an editorial from a Russian newspaper. The Ministry of Education continued its modest program of sending a select number of promising young scholars to Russia for a period of three years, not only to study the language and literature but also to pursue general work in the social sciences.

The improvement of relations with Russia and the development of trade resulted in an increase of travel between the two countries. Japanese businessmen and journalists traveled freely in Russia and especially in the Maritime Provinces and other areas of the Russian Far East. During summer vacations groups of Japanese students, like those from the Marine Products (Fisheries) Institute or the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, toured the nearby Russian cities of Nikolaevsk, Khabarovsk or Vladivostok.

The development of trade also led to the publication of commercial handbooks, some of them bilingual; periodicals devoted to Russo-Japanese trade, like the short-lived Japanese-Russian Business News (Nichi-Ro Jitsugyo Shimpo), published in Sapporo, Hokkaido during the World War; and many books such as "Russo-Japanese Trade" (Nichi-Ro Boeki), prepared by the Japanese Kwantung government which administered the leased

territory in Manchuria. Other writings on Russia included travel accounts ("Russian Journey" — Roshia Kiko by Nishida Hakutaro), works on the Russian Far East ("Russia in the Far East" —Kyokuto no Roshia by Ito Genichiro), conditions in Russia ("Life in Russia" — Roshia no Seikatsu by Yamada Koryu), Russian foreign policy("The Front and the Back of Russian Policy" — Rokoku Seisaku no Omoteura by the same author) and compilations like "Study of Russia" (Rokoku no Kenkyu), prepared in 1916 under the auspices of the Institute for the Scientific Study of Education (Kyoiku Gakujutsu Kenkyukai). This work contained contributions on the Russian government, Army, Navy, the economy, Russo-Japanese trade and customs agreements, Russian foreign policy (by Waseda University Professor Kemuyama Sentaro), religion (by Senuma Kakusaburo, a graduate of Nikolai's school and of the Kiev Orthodox Seminary), Russian intelligentsia (by Yasugi Sadatoshi* of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages) and on Russian literature (by the noted translator Nobori Shomu*).

The increased demands for Russian translators and interpreters in connection with the expanding Russo-Japanese trade found its expression in the organization of short-term Russian language courses by the Society for the Study of the Russian Language during the World War. This organization with five language instructors offered language courses (including a correspondence course) as well as a translation service.

The graduates of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages were by this time filling most of the positions in the Russian field, including those with the Russian research section of the South Manchuria Railway Company, the Foreign Ministry's corps of non-Foreign Service officer Russian specialists, as well as with Japanese business concerns engaged in trade with Russia. Among the outstanding graduates, mention must be made of Matsuda Mamoru* (class of 1903), who after serving as an interpreter with the Armed Forces during the Russo-Japanese War, taught Japanese for several years at the Oriental Institute (Vostochnyi Institut) at Vladivostok and later returned to teach at his alma mater during the twenties and thirties; Miyagawa Funao,* considered the Foreign Ministry's outstanding Russian specialist between the world wars; the late Fuse Katsuji, for many years Moscow correspondent for one of the leading Japanese newspapers; Baba Tetsuya, a prolific writer and translator of Russian literature and later Professor in the Russian Literature Department of Waseda University; Hara Hisaichiro,* likewise a prolific translator and also later Professor of Russian Literature at Waseda; and the translator Yokemura Yoshitaro* (whose biographical sketch appears on page 118).

Waseda University, one of the leading Japanese universities in the literature field,acknowledged the importance of the study of Russian literature by inviting the noted scholar Nobori Shomu* as visiting lecturer for four years from 1915 to 1919, shortly before establishing a separate full-fledged Department of Russian Literature (see also Chapter IV, page 40).

Russian studies in Japan were dealt a blow by the closing of the Orthodox Seminary in 1918 shortly after the Russian Revolution. Although Russian language classes continued on a small scale during the inter-war period, the school of divinity, which had proved such an excellent training ground for Russian specialists, if not for a great number of Orthodox priests it was supposed to produce, ceased to exist. Graduates of the Nikolai

seminary took up many of the positions offered in the Russian field and two of its graduates, Yuhashi Shigeto* and Hirooka Tamotsu,* are today prominent members of the Russian specialist staff of the Foreign Ministry.

Finally a word should be said regarding the role of Russian ideological and political movements in stimulating Russian studies in Japan.

It has been pointed out that the popularity the Russian writer Turgenev enjoyed among the Japanese readers was at first greatly enhanced by Japanese interest in the Russian Nihilists. For a short while, in the early 1880's, the Russian Nihilist and terrorist movements attracted much attention in Japan and, in the words of the historian Sir George Sansom, gave rise to a "mild form of terrorism" among the Japanese advocates of democracy. As a result,among the first Japanese translations from the Russian were several accounts of the Russian terrorist movement, published under such titles as "Strange Tales about the Suppression of the Nihilist Party" (Kyomuto Taiji Kidan) and "Interesting Anecdotes about the Criminal Case Involving a Russian Heroine" (Rokoku Kibun Retsujo no Gigoku). The latter story dealt with Vera Zasulich and her attempt on the life of Police Chief Trepov.

The Tolstoy vogue in Japan during the decade before World War I had strong ideological overtones. The great Russian writer's humanism and pacifism significantly influenced the young Socialist leader Sakai Toshihiko and the anarchist Kotoku Shusui. Encouraged by a letter from Count Tolstoy, they opposed the war with Russia to the last. Continued Japanese interest in the Russian pacifist and revolutionary movements is evident from the many translations made of literature on the subject after the Russo-Japanese War. These included an autobiography of the Russian revolutionary Father Gapon and the Russian Marxist Leo Deutsch's account of his exile in Siberia.

Prince Peter Kropotkin's anarchism found wide response among Japan's intellectuals and artists. The noted novelist Arishima Takeo, for instance, went from Christianity to Tolstoyan humanism to anarchism and eventually renounced his wealth and turned over his land to his tenant farmers. Kropotkin's works were translated into Japanese and continued to be discussed throughout the First World War. The young Professor Morito Tatsuo, for example, was dismissed from the Tokyo Imperial University for having displayed a scholarly but too lively interest in the teachings of Kropotkin.

While the impact of Russian anarchism had been felt at the close of the nineteenth century, Marxism of the Russian type became widely known among the Japanese only decades later, although there is no evidence of Japanese translations of Georgi Plekhanov around the turn of the century. Not until the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution and the subsequent dispatch of Japanese troops into Siberia, however, did the Japanese public become aware of Lenin, Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders. The Soviet experiment turned the attention of many young Japanese toward Russia, thereby introducing a new factor into the development of Russian studies in Japan.

PART II
FROM THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TO THE END OF THE PACIFIC WAR, 1918 - 1945

CHAPTER III SETTING

The impact of the Russian Revolution proved both the most important stimulus and the greatest obstacle to the development of Russian studies in Japan during the inter-war period.

In 1918 and after, Japanese troops occupied much of the Russian Far East, partly in an attempt to stem the advance of Bolshevism, but also in an ill-disguised move to gain a foothold for future expansion. Japan attained neither of these objectives, for by the end of 1922 Bolshevism was on the upsurge and Japanese troops were withdrawn from all Soviet continental possessions. But the five years of military occupation of Siberia had brought many Japanese, military as well as civilian, into contact with the Russian people. Russian refugees, fleeing before the communist tide, poured into Manchuria. Some of them reached Japan.

Japanese witnesses of the October Revolution and its aftermath, correspondents like Kuroda Otokichi* and young diplomats like Ashida Hitoshi* described their experiences in Russia in books and in many newspaper reports which were avidly read in Japan. The daily and periodical press kept this interest in Soviet Russia alive by substantial news coverage. In fact, the Japanese foreign correspondents were among the first to recognize the importance of events in Russia and to seek interviews with the Bolshevik leaders. These Japanese newsmen systematically reported on Russian domestic conditions as they traveled extensively throughout the country and especially in the Russian Far East. Of the material they filed which still retains its value today, perhaps the best example is that of the late Fuse Katsuji, a graduate of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and a correspondent for the giant Mainichi newspaper chain. His reports and widely read recollections, because of their freshness, perceptivity and insight, belong in the category of primary sources. Lenin's oft-quoted statement, "The West is digging its own grave in the East..." was made to Fuse.

But more important in fostering Japanese interest in Russia than these published accounts and chance physical contacts was the influence of ideas radiating from the continent. The political, economic and social revolution inaugurated by the Meiji leaders was by this time moving at a fast pace. One effect of the Russian Revolution was to quicken this tempo.

During the nineteen twenties the impact of Soviet Russia on Japan made itself increasingly felt as the Japanese radical movements gained in depth and virulence. Revolutionaries like the late communist leader Tokuda Kyuichi, the anarchist Yoshida Pin and the socialist Suzuki Mosaburo (present head of the Socialist Party) attended the Far Eastern Peoples' Congress in Moscow and returned to share their impressions with comrades

at home. Nozaka Sanzo*, currently the First Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), made his first trip to the Russian capital in 1921. Comintern representatives traveled back and forth between Moscow, Shanghai and Tokyo. Young Japanese made their way to Soviet Russia to enter special schools, notably the Communist University for the Toilers of the East (KUTV). Moscow began to send funds, propaganda and trained leaders into Japan. Though the Communist Party remained illegal, Soviet ideological writings which reached Japan through underground channels were translated and circulated among intellectuals, students and workers. Pro-communist cultural and political organizations active in Japan's major cities promoted study of the Russian language and Soviet life.

Alarmed by communist activity and by the popularity of Soviet subversive ideas, particularly in university circles, the Japanese government introduced strict controls affecting research, publishing and teaching in the Russian field. In the single month of October 1930, twelve magazines were withdrawn from circulation and thirteen books, among them an introduction to socialism, were banned. Any attempt on the part of a Japanese scholar to concern himself seriously with the study of developments in the Soviet Union met with more than suspicion. During the nineteen thirties, when some fifty thousand Japanese were apprehended for "crimes of thought", the mere reading of Lenin or Stalin invited the danger of arrest and imprisonment. Few were willing to run such a risk. But prerevolutionary Russian culture, especially the classical literature, continued to enjoy widespread popularity in Japan and remained, up to the eve of the Pacific War, a fruitful and much safer field for scholarly study, translation and writing.

Official Japanese interest in Soviet affairs, on the other hand, developed rapidly as diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union were resumed in 1925—Japan's traditional strategic preoccupation with its Russian neighbor, the economic importance of the fishing grounds in Russian waters and of the Japanese oil concessions in Northern Sakhalin together with the growing ideological threat of Soviet Communism constituted sufficient motivation. The Japanese advance, in the nineteen thirties, into Manchuria and North China and into other areas contiguous to the Soviet Union made this task only more urgent. Almost every major Japanese policy-making or operating agency needed Russian researchers, translators and interpreters. For personnel trained in the Russian language the government leaned heavily on the Tokyo and Osaka Schools of Foreign Languages and on the Harbin Institute. Russian research, now virtually a government monopoly, was conducted largely in one of four official agencies or semi-official organizations: the Imperial Army General Staff, the Foreign Ministry, the Research Division of the South Manchuria Railway Company and, later, in the East Asia Research Institute.

CHAPTER IV TRAINING

1. The Harbin Institute (Harupin Gakuin)

One of the foremost prewar Japanese centers for the training of Russian specialists was the Harbin Institute in North Manchuria.

The origins of the Institute go back to the year 1916, a time of Russo-Japanese cooperation, when Ida Kohei, an employee of the South Manchuria Railway Company, returned from a visit to Moscow with the conviction that in the future Japan would need more and better-trained Russian specialists and that such training could most effectively be carried out in Manchuria.

Ida found it easy to convince his company, as well as the Kwantung military government, the administrative agency for the Japanese territory in Manchuria, to endorse his idea and to put up an initial subsidy of 50,000 yen (about $25,000) each. The influential Viscount Goto, then Chairman of the Japan-Russia Association, obtained the support of the Tokyo government and of the major Japanese political parties for Ida's venture. Thus, shortly after the end of the First World War, a small initial group of students from Japan enrolled at the new school in Harbin. To avoid international suspicion, as Ida's widow later stated, the Institute was placed under the administrative supervision of the Japan-Russia Association as an extension of its Russian language school in Tokyo rather than directly under the South Manchuria Railway Company, an instrument of Japanese expansion on the continent. The Institute was, however, from its inception, a government-sponsored institution and a tool of Japanese national policy, although prominent Russian residents served as advisors. An effort was made to give the Institute the appearance of a joint Russo-Japanese venture.

Harbin, situated in the proximity of the Soviet Union and virtually a Russian city with Russian cultural traditions and a large Russian population, offered a splendid training ground for the education of would-be Russian specialists. It was also fortunate for the school that a large number of cultured Russian refugees had fled from Communist persecution to live in that city. They proved excellent teachers. Financially, the Institute's future was assured from the beginning by yearly contributions from the Japanese Foreign Ministry and from the South Manchuria Railway Company amounting in 1938, for instance, to the equivalent of some twenty thousand dollars.

The Harbin Institute was a forerunner of what in this country are called "area institutes." The students, all graduates of Japanese middle (high) schools, were encouraged immediately upon arrival to change their habits and to acquaint themselves with the Russian way of life. The first class of trainees, we are told, had to give up the accustomed wooden clogs (geta) for Western shoes and to substitute bread at least twice a day for the usual Japanese fare of boiled rice. Teachers also encouraged students to associate with members of the local Russian colony.

The curriculum of the three-year training program was well rounded.

It included an average of five Russian language courses per year adding up to 16-20 weekly contact hours, supplemented by eight hours of Chinese or Mongol taught as a second language. Around this essential language core was built a broad program of content courses emphasizing, although not limited to, Russia. Included were geography, history, economics (economic theory, finance, bookkeeping), law (international, constitutional, commercial and civil law of both Japan and the Soviet Union) as well as other general subjects such as philosophy and psychology. The daily language work acquainted the student also with the Russian classics. In short, the curriculum was designed to produce efficient translators and researchers familiar with both Japan and Russia.

Manchuria became Manchukuo in 1932 and Japanese control of Harbin was complete. Growing Japanese interests and commitments on the continent increased official concern with Russian affairs, and in 1939 the Institute was expanded and reorganized as a government college of Manchukuo. The three-year course of study was lengthened to four years. In line with the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity policy for the first time non-Japanese were to be admitted. A twenty percent quota was established for subjects of Manchukuo. Since the language of instruction remained Japanese (and perhaps for other reasons), however, only a few non-Japanese were admitted. The student body remained 90% Japanese, an increasing number of whom received government support. The four-year program was divided into two periods of two years each: the first devoted in the main to language work, the second to Roshiagaku (Russian area studies, better rendered perhaps by the German Russlandkunde), a concept which may well have been inspired by the Auslandhochschule in Berlin. This second area training period provided the type of instruction that is now generally offered on a graduate level in American regional programs ranging from law to economics, and from history and political science to literature. Although this type of instruction aimed at providing the Japanese government with interpreters, translators and researchers in the Russian field, several of the government agencies detailed selected personnel for special one-year intensive courses. This system was introduced in 1940, mostly with the needs of the Japanese Army and the Foreign Ministry in mind. A special three-year evening course was designed to give locally employed Japanese some background in the Russian language and Soviet affairs.

The Institute's library of some ten thousand volumes ranked among the best general collections on Russia in that part of the world. It was particularly strong on Imperial Russia; weaker on Soviet Russia, as government research had first claim on available Soviet publications.

The faculty of the Harbin Institute fluctuated between thirty and forty professors, lecturers and assistants, a number of them native Russians. The larger part of the Japanese teaching staff came from Japan's major universities, while a few had practical experience with Soviet affairs in the Imperial Army General Staff and in various other government agencies. That members of the faculty engaged also in Russian research is manifest in the annual "Collection of Essays of the Harbin Institute" (Harupin Gakuin Ronso), published from 1940 to 1942 under the editorship of Professors Onoe Masao* and Gomamoto Katsuichi.* These essays on the history of Russia, Soviet law, Russian linguistics and literature

include "The Development of Soviet Criminal Legislation," "One or Two Observations on the Marriage System of the Mongols," "A Chronology and Bibliography of Russo-Japanese Relations," and a "Chronology of Siberian History."

In the fifteen years between 1922 when the Institute graduated its first class and 1937, a total of six hundred students was graduated. Virtually all of them found employment in the Russian field in Japan or in Manchukuo. Confidential Japanese government reports reveal that a number of these alumni attached to the armed forces served in various capacities on both sides of the Soviet-Manchurian and Soviet-Inner Mongolian borders. Others were employed as translators and researchers by the Manchukuo and Japanese governments, the South Manchuria Railway Company, the Japan-Russia Fisheries Company, and the Japanese business concerns in North Sakhalin. As Japan became more involved on the continent, the demand for Russian specialists increased. In 1937, for instance, of 53 graduates only four could be spared for service with the Japanese Foreign Ministry and other agencies in Japan. The remainder were needed on the continent. The relationship between the demand for and supply of the Institute product in the late thirties is suggested by figures from another confidential Japanese government report which in 1938 listed only 51 graduates for 164 openings. Competition between Japanese military organizations, the Foreign Ministry and the South Manchuria Railway Company grew with the intensification of hostilities on the continent, the army getting the major share of trained personnel. By 1941 most Institute students had semi-military status and upon graduation were drafted into the Kwantung Army's intelligence units.

With the occupation of Manchuria by Soviet troops in the late summer of 1945 the Harbin Institute ceased to exist. Its students and faculty, especially those with military affiliation, were taken to Siberia. The younger students were returned to Japan in the early postwar years and a few of them now hold academic positions in the Russian field or work as translators. Most professors were detained in the Soviet Union until 1950. A few former faculty members, charged with war crimes by the Soviet authorities, still remain unrepatriated.

2. Tokyo and Osaka Schools of Foreign Languages

The Tokyo and Osaka Schools of Foreign Languages constituted the only government colleges in Japan proper where a Japanese could obtain training in the Russian field.

The early beginnings of the Tokyo School have already been described. Objectives and patterns of the three-year course of instruction underwent little change. As in the past, the curriculum was designed with a practical aim in mind, namely, to produce competent translators and interpreters with sufficient background in Russian affairs to qualify for work with the government and Japanese business concerns. In the immediate prewar period the student in the Russian Language Department had the choice of four majors: literature, commerce, law and, for the future colonizer of the continent, "colonial affairs." This disciplinary specialization was more strongly reflected in course work outside the

Russian field. In the Russian courses the stress was on language study, though some instruction was provided, as at the Harbin Institute, in literature, history and Soviet affairs. The regular day program was augmented by evening extension classes in the Russian language.

The faculty of the Russian Language Department without exception had a primary interest in the Russian language and literature. Professor Yasugi Sadatoshi,* then probably Japan's leading Russian linguist, continued to head the teaching staff of several Japanese and foreign instructors. During these years Professor Yasugi compiled a Russian-Japanese dictionary which is still considered among the best works of its kind produced anywhere, and developed grammars and textbooks from which a generation of Japanese learned the Russian language. Yasugi was ably assisted at the School by Professor Matsuda Mamoru,* a former lecturer at the Oriental Institute (Vostochnyi Institut) in Vladivostok and the author of a two-thousand-page Japanese-Russian dictionary.

A small "Russia Society" (Roshiya Kai), composed mostly of students of the Russian Language Department, was intermittently active on the campus of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. This group gathered for many lectures and discussion meetings and occasionally arranged welcome parties for visiting Soviet scholars and writers, like the one for the well-known Soviet author, Boris Pilniak, in May 1932.

In the early nineteen twenties the Tokyo School graduated only an average of fifteen to twenty students yearly from its Russian Department. Gradually the number increased as did the demand for Japanese able to read and speak Russian. This trend continued into World War II and reached its high mark in 1944 when 41 students were graduated in Russian. During the period from the end of the First World War to the surrender of Japan in 1945, a total of over five hundred students completed the Russian program at the Tokyo School. In addition, a number of army and navy student-officers were trained for short periods.

The Osaka School of Foreign Languages was established in 1921 with private assistance, but as a government-supported institution for the training of interpreters and specialists in international affairs. Its students were almost exclusively from Western and Central Japan. The Osaka School was patterned after the older and larger Tokyo School and never quite achieved the latter's reputation.

The Tokyo and Osaka Schools of Foreign Languages succeeded in placing their graduates among a wide range of employers. Every year a few joined the staff of the Foreign Ministry and other government and semi-governmental agencies in Japan and Manchuria as translators and researchers. Some made use of their training with the Japan-Russia Fisheries and the North Sakhalin Mining Company, which alone in the late thirties employed as many as twenty-five graduates in Soviet-Japanese liaison work. Other students of the Russian program became translators of Russian literature, journalists and writers or themselves helped develop Russian studies in Japanese colleges and universities. Some of the better-known alumni of this period include Jinzai Kiyoshi*, one of the promising translators and students of Russian classics; Maruyama Masao*, a well-known journalist and expert on the Soviet Union; Kurahara Koreto*, a leading figure in Japanese proletarian literature (and now a Central Committee

member of the Japanese Communist Party); and Takeo Hajime*, a prominent conservative member of the Japanese National Diet.

3. Waseda University

In spite of the continuing Japanese interest and admiration for Russian literature, in spite of its increasing influence on Japanese writers, as late as the end of World War I, there was no chair of Russian literature in a Japanese university. One of Japan's two outstanding private universities, Waseda in Tokyo, sought to bridge this gap through its Faculty of Literature, famous for having produced some of the country's leading writers and critics.

During the war Professor Katagami Noburu (d. 1928) of Waseda's English Literature Department chose to go to Russia , rather than to accept an offer to study English literature in Europe and the United States. He entered Moscow University remaining there for several years. Upon his return to Japan, Katagami organized at Waseda University in April 1920 a Department of Russian Literature. The faculty also included Hara Hisaichiro*, a well-known translator of Tolstoy, and Baba Tetsuya, both graduates of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, as well as a native Russian instructor, The latter, Alexander Vanovsky, was one of the early members of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, a delegate to its first underground Congress and one of the organizers of the Kiev and Moscow uprisings. By the time Vanovsky reached Japan after the Russian Revolution, he had drifted away from revolutionary activity into what he called religious socialism and in his later life developed an intense interest in Shakespeare and in Japanese mythology. During twenty years at Waseda he trained the generation of scholars who today constitute that university's faculty of Russian literature.

The early studies of Russian language and literature at Waseda were greatly hampered by limited library resources and by a lack of adequate language texts and grammars. Professor Katagami, upon retirement in 1925, donated to the University his entire Russian library, carefully gathered during the stay in Moscow. These books formed the nucleus of Waseda's excellent Russian collection.

The first class in Russian literature at Waseda in 1921 numbered seven freshmen. Between eight and thirteen students were accepted annually for the next several years and in March 1926 the first class was graduated. By then the original group had dwindled to four students, among them Okazawa Hidetora* and Kuroda Tatsuo*, at present the senior members of the faculty. Until the end of the nineteen twenties the Department continued to train a modest number of students, the total not exceeding twenty-six with no more than thirteen enrolled in any single year. The size of the faculty fluctuated between four and six instructors, including one and, later on, two native Russian teachers.

The mounting interest in Russian literature is perhaps reflected in the appearance of a Russian Literature Society at Waseda (Waseda Daigaku Roshia Bungakkai) with its own quarterly "Studies in Russian Literature" (Roshia Bungaku Kenkyu) and a number of student discussion groups where members even attempted to present papers in the Russian

language. Russian language was also taught in the Waseda Higher Institute (Waseda Koto Gakuin), a three-year preparatory school.

The Russian Literature Department at Waseda attracted not only students who were interested in Russian literature for its aesthetic value or pursued the more prosaic aim of mastering the language, but those who desired a better understanding of Russian social thought. Among them was a Buddhist priest, an admirer of Leo Tolstoy who wanted to read the works of the master in the original. Others were interested in more radical ideas, the ideas of the Russian Revolution and the creation of a better world.

With the rise of radical movements in Japan in the twenties, the police viewed with growing suspicion the dissemination of "un-Japanese" ideas. The Russian Literature Department at Waseda not surprisingly drew the attention of the authorities as a possible breeding ground of "dangerous" thoughts. Russian was the language that permitted the student to read Lenin and Stalin as well as other suspect Soviet publications. Graduates of the Department, often labeled "red" or "dangerous," encountered difficulties in finding employment even outside the government. The tightening of controls in Japan from the late nineteen twenties on transformed government suspicion into direct pressure on Waseda's Russian Department. No longer were new students accepted and by 1936, when the last group graduated, the Department was closed. Russian language instruction on a modest scale and a course on Russian literature somehow continued to survive under the Faculty of Literature, though the number of students was very small.

Waseda's prewar Russian Literature Department came to exert an important influence on Japanese intellectual life as a surprising proportion of its fifty graduates became prominent writers, journalists, and translators in the Russian field.

4. Other Institutions

During the inter-war period about fifty Japanese universities, junior colleges and secondary schools maintained Russian language classes. In practically all these institutions instruction was limited to a course in elementary Russian, and attendance was not heavy. Even Tokyo Imperial University, Japan's leading academic institution, did not offer advanced or, for that matter, intermediate Russian. Generally, Russian language instruction was stronger on the junior college and the secondary school levels than in the universities.

Among the institutions of higher learning, in addition to the previously mentioned Waseda University and the Tokyo Imperial University, Russian language classes were held at the Takushoku (Colonial) University and at the Tokyo University of Commerce (Tokyo Shoka Daigaku), a school emphasizing training for international trade. Occasionally private universities in the Tokyo area engaged well-known translators of Russian literature as visiting lecturers: for instance, Nobori Shomu* at Nippon University or Yonekawa Masao* at Meiji University.

On the junior college level Russian language was, of course, taught at the schools of foreign languages and colleges of foreign trade. The

outstanding example was the Tenri School of Foreign Languages (Tenri Gaikoku-go Gakko), established in 1925 near Nara in Western Japan by the Tenri religious sect. This school was particularly strong in Russian, and it regularly employed a native-Russian instructor in addition to the Japanese staff. Other institutions in this category which maintained Russian language instruction included the First School of Foreign Languages (Daiichi Gaikoku-go Gakko) in Tokyo and the Osaka and Nagoya Foreign Trade Language Schools (Boeki Gogakko). Russian was also taught at the Utsunomiya Higher Agricultural School (Utsunomiya Koto Norin Gakko) and at the Marine Products (Fisheries) Institute (Suisan Koshujo).

Although the significance of the Greek Orthodox Church as a Russian language training center greatly decreased after the closing of its Divinity School in 1918, short-term day and evening Russian language courses continued to be offered at the Cathedral in the university district of Tokyo.

Among the higher commercial schools (Koto Shogyo Gakko), resembling an American business college, Russian was taught in the following city schools: Nagasaki and Oita on the southern island of Kyushu; Yamaguchi, Hikone, Kobe and Wakayama in Western Japan; Takaoka on the Japan Sea; Fukushima in Northeastern Japan and Otaru on the northern island of Hokkaido.

In the secondary commercial schools (Shogyo Gakko) instruction in Russian was offered at the Aichi Prefectural Commercial School (Aichi Kenritsu Shogyo Gakko) in Nagoya, the Tokai Commercial School (Aichi Kenritsu Tokai Shogyo Gakko), another Aichi Prefectural school, Fukui Prefectural, Tsuruga Commercial School in Tsuruga, a port on the Japan Sea important for its trade with Russia; Kanazawa, Nanao and Komatsu Commercial Schools in Ishikawa Prefecture also on the Japan Sea; Nagasaki and Sasebo Commercial Schools in Nagasaki Prefecture in Kyushu, Aomori Commercial School on the northern tip of Honshu and Hakodate, Otaru, Sapporo and Asahigawa Commercial Schools in Hokkaido, an area offering numerous employment opportunities in Soviet-Japanese trade, fisheries and concessions; and in the Tokyo area at the Commercial School attached to Hosei University (Hosei Daigaku Fuzoku Shogyo Gakko) and at the Tokyo Prefectural First Commercial School (Tokyo Furitsu Daiichi Shogyo Gakko).

Thus apart from the Harbin Institute, the Tokyo and Osaka Schools of Foreign Languages and Waseda University, some Japanese academic training in the Russian field, largely restricted to elementary Russian, was offered in a surprisingly large number of institutions.

5. Military Programs

The emergence in the nineteen twenties of Russia, Japan's traditional enemy, as the center of an aggressive international Communist movement accelerated the development of the Imperial Army's Russian training program. Of course, a number of Japanese military specialists on Russia had been produced at the time of the Russo-Japanese War. The first systematic Russian program, however, was launched after the Bol-

shevik Revolution by General Araki Sadao (later War Minister and Minister of Education), who had been attached to the Tsarist Army during World War I. Regular instruction in the Russian language was expanded on all levels: provincial and central Army preparatory schools, the Military Academy, the War Staff College and the Army Paymasters' School. Each of these institutions employed several Slavic language instructors, including such authorities on Russian language and literature as Yonekawa Masao* on the faculty of the War Staff College and Nobori Shomu* at the Central Army Preparatory School and at the Military Academy, who had also served on the Army Foreign Language Examination Board.

Russian language classes at both the preparatory schools and at the Academy averaged fifty students. Russian training at the War Staff College was divided into two programs: a general course for about twenty officers per year without previous experience in the Russian field, and an advanced course for about ten officers yearly who had gone through the entire Russian language program in the Army preparatory school and at the Military Academy. In addition to its own Russian program, the Army every year sent three or four junior officers to the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages for more specialized training. In the early thirties some of these Soviet specialists rounded out their education as exchange officers with the Red Army. In 1929 the Red Army proposed, and the Japanese army accepted, a plan to attach two exchange officers of captain or major rank, for a period of two years to a cavalry regiment and an air group in the opposite country. This exchange tour of duty was later shortened to one year. In addition to the more obvious intelligence value, this program, which continued for several years, provided useful training experience for the Japanese Army's Soviet specialists. A good example is that of Major (later Lieutenant-General) Doi Akio,* who subsequently served as head of the Army's continental headquarters for intelligence on the Soviet Union in Harbin and as chief of the Russian section of the Imperial General Staff.

Thus, the Japanese Army trained a number of officers for as long as ten years, beginning during their formative years with the study of the Russian language in the Army preparatory school, through more advanced work at the Military Academy to a final specialized course at the War Staff College. These officers became Japan's military experts on the Soviet Union. Their careers normally included service with the Russian Section of the Intelligence Department of the Imperial Army General Staff, several overseas tours of duty, first as assistant military attaches and then as military attaches to the Soviet Union and its neighbors, as well as assignments in the intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria and Mongolia.

The career of one of the chiefs of the Russian Section of the General Staff, a Lieutenant-General, may serve to illustrate: seven years in an Army preparatory school and the Military Academy in the Russian program; three years of service as a language officer in the Russian Far East during the Siberian intervention; several years at the War Staff College and regimental duty; two years in Manchuria studying Russian tactics on the battlegrounds of the Russo-Japanese War; three years in the Russian Section of the General Staff; three years as assistant military attache in Moscow; two years again in the Russian Section; four years on the staff

of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria, in intelligence and counter-intelligence work; two years as chief of the Russian Section of the Army General Staff; and, finally, three years as military attache in Moscow.

While it is true that there were, in Japan, at the end of the Pacific War, only a handful of military officers with such thorough training and extensive experience in Soviet military affairs, the Japanese Army did have at its disposal several hundred junior officers, who had made their careers the study of the Soviet Union.

Although the Army's Russian program was quite substantial, the Japanese Navy's interest in Soviet affairs remained comparatively small. In contrast to the Army, where the hypothetical enemy was always Russia, the Navy directed its attention elsewhere. Further, neither the unfavorable strategic position of the Soviet Navy nor its small size apparently warranted the development of an autonomous Japanese naval training program in the Russian field. The Navy's needs for Soviet experts were filled by sending two or three ensigns yearly to the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. Most of these officers continued to specialize in Soviet affairs and subsequently filled the posts of naval attaches in the Soviet Union or as part of their training were assigned to warships of the northern fleet.

6. Foreign Ministry

In contrast to the Army authorities who had early realized the need for officers professionally trained in Russian affairs, the Japanese Foreign Ministry did not encourage narrow area specialization of its foreign service officers until the late thirties, nor did it provide them with a language and area training program. On the staff level, however, the Ministry had for a long time employed a group of Russian specialists. These men, mostly graduates of the Russian Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages or the Greek Orthodox Nikolai Institute, normally entered the Ministry as staff members and not through the highly competitive Foreign Service examinations. The Foreign Ministry regularly sent a number of these new employees as students to Harbin, Khabarovsk or Leningrad to improve their knowledge of the Russian language and to acquaint them with the Russian scene.

The Ministry also maintained a Russian language program within its own training institute (Gaimusho Kenshujo). In the period preceding and during World War II there were three Russian language classes, averaging some fifteen students per year. The teaching staff was composed of both Japanese and White Russian instructors.

The majority of the Ministry's Russian staff specialists, some thirty in number, served as researchers in Tokyo and as translators and interpreters in the Moscow Embassy or in the Japanese consulates at Alexandrovsk, Petropavlovsk, or elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Several of these men became vice-consuls; a few were eventually selected to head consulates in Russia and in its neighboring countries, but promotions to diplomatic rank were virtually unheard of. Thus, the Ministry's Russian specialists always remained in a somewhat technical capacity throughout their careers and did not reach the policy-making level.

The foreign service officers, on the other hand, were transferred from country to country. To serve more than twice in the same country was rare. This policy, of course, precluded single area specialization of junior and senior diplomats. Nevertheless, an effort was made to develop a corps of Soviet area specialists by alternating the assignments of a small group of foreign service officers between the Soviet Union (and its neighboring countries) and the Ministry's Soviet section in Tokyo. As will be seen, such tours of duty were not restricted to the Soviet circuit.

The careers of several Japanese diplomats will help to illustrate the personnel policy of the Foreign Ministry with reference to Soviet specialization. Kubota Kan'ichiro* (presently Ambassador to Mexico) spent two years in Moscow followed by two years in the Soviet section and three years as Consul-General in Harbin before he took command of the Soviet political section in Tokyo in 1942. Prior to his specialization in Soviet affairs Kubota had been stationed in France and Belgium. Takeuchi Ryuji* (now Minister to Belgium), after tours of duty in England and China, was appointed in 1937 to the Soviet Union, where he remained for two years. Then, serving again in China and in France, he was sent once more for two years to Moscow, from where he was appointed head of the Ministry's Soviet political section. The present Ambassador to Western Germany Kase Shun'ichi* was stationed first in China and Germany, then a year in Poland, over a year in the Soviet Union, four years in the Soviet section in Tokyo, four years in the United States, followed by a second tour of duty in Moscow and then an appointment, in 1935, as head of the Soviet political section of the Foreign Ministry. Narita Katsushiro* (currently Ambassador to Chile), after a brief tour in London, spent three years in the USSR followed by three years in the Soviet section. After subsequent appointments in Germany and Manchuria, he was transferred to head the Soviet political section in 1940.

In the thirties and early forties the Foreign Ministry relied upon a system of cumulative practical experience in the Soviet Union and its neighboring countries and in the Soviet section in Tokyo to produce Russian specialists among its foreign service officers. Though graduates of the renowned Tokyo Imperial University and grounded in international law, they lacked specialized language and area training in the Soviet field. One or two tours of duty in Moscow, plus assignments in the Soviet section in Tokyo, have constituted the standard background for a chief of the Soviet political section of the Foreign Ministry.

The heads of the Soviet research section had more concentrated background in Soviet affairs and consequently were better prepared for their positions. Miyagawa Funao,* the first chief of the Soviet research section, for over twenty years prior to this assignment had been concerned with Russian affairs, spending most of his time in Russia and adjoining countries. Miura Kazuichi* (in 1955 reportedly slated for the top post in Afghanistan), the head of the Soviet research section from 1938 to 1940, spent four years in the Soviet Union, four more years in Mukden, Manchuria, then again three years in the Soviet Union, and worked on Soviet affairs in the Foreign Ministry before being appointed section chief. His successor, Ogata Shoji* (now vice-president of the pro-Communist Japan-Soviet Friendship Association), chief of Soviet research from 1941-1944, is an example of still heavier concentration in Soviet assignments. Nine

years in the Soviet Union, over a year in the Soviet section in Tokyo, again a tour of Soviet duty followed by a second assignment in the Soviet section, plus five years service in Manchuria, compensated for his lack of formal area training.

Only in the late thirties did the Ministry find it necessary and desirable to give a small group of promising young career diplomats intensive Russian language and area training. Riga, the capital of Latvia, was chosen as the center of studies. It may be noted that the United States used the same city as a Russian training center and listening post. The Japanese plan called for three years' training, but the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union shortly thereafter necessitated transferring these young men to other Slavic countries, such as Bulgaria or Yugoslavia. The spread of the war interrupted this training program, which, though short-lived, proved valuable. The three or four young career foreign service officers trained under that arrangement, and known subsequently as the "Riga Group," served in later years as chiefs of the Soviet section in Tokyo and are today among Japan's authorities on the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER V RESEARCH

1. South Manchuria Railway Company

The South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR) was as much an instrument for the advance of Japanese interests on the continent as a commercial enterprise. Since its establishment in 1906, shortly after the Russo-Japanese War, the SMR maintained closest relations with Japanese forces in the area, the Kwantung Army. As the Japanese military consolidated their bridgehead and gradually spread their control over all of Manchuria and then in the nineteen thirties pushed on into North China and beyond, the Company likewise expanded its activities until its administrative structure began to resemble that of a full-fledged government.

This increasing size and complexity of the SMR organization was also reflected in its research agencies. From a modest beginning before World War I they had increased in number during the nineteen twenties and mushroomed during the thirties. By then there were so many bureaus, departments, sections and branches, all conducting or farming out research, that duplication was inevitable. A company-sponsored survey undertaken in 1935 shocked the investigators when it established that 150 agencies were simultaneously engaged in research of one kind or another. Liaison was deficient and in many cases non-existent. While these general research operations thus presented a fine example of bureaucratic waste, work on Russia, concentrated throughout the inter-war period in a few agencies, was better coordinated.

As early as 1907, the research-minded directors of the SMR had set up in Dairen a Research Division which was to study economic, political and legal issues of direct interest to the Company. Primarily concerned with Manchuria, the Division's scope of activities included also China, Russia and particularly the Russian Far East. Later on, Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang were added. Until its reorganization after the Manchurian Incident (1931), this division conducted virtually all of the SMR's Russian research. In this it had the support of Company directors like Baron Okura Kimmochi* (later known as one of Japan's Russian experts) who fully realized the importance of such work.

Intensive research on Russia was initiated after the end of World War I when the presence of Japanese troops in Siberia and the general political instability in the Russian Far East heightened the SMR's interest in Russian affairs. This is evidenced by the systematic collection of Russian materials: during the immediate postwar years at least twenty thousand Russian volumes were purchased in Harbin or in some cases acquired from as far as European Russia and added to the ten thousand items already in the Dairen Library. A concerted effort was also made to maintain a flow of up-to-date Soviet materials.

One of the organization's first Russian research products was a six-volume "Series of Studies on Labor-Farmer Russia" (Rono Rokoku Kenkyu Sosho), followed by more than sixty volumes (about 50,000 pages), mostly translations of selected documents on economic, political and mili-

tary developments in Soviet Russia. Best-known among these are "Asiatic Russia Economics Research Series" (Ro-A Keizai Chosa Sosho), "Translated Research Materials on Labor-Farmer Russia" (Robun Honyaku Rono Rokoku Chosa Shiryo), and "Research Materials in Translation" (Robun Honyaku Chosa Shiryo).

The Manchurian Incident and the subsequent creation of a Japanese-sponsored "independent" Manchukuo enhanced the importance of the SMR's research activities. Apparently at the urging of the Kwantung Army the Research Division was reorganized in 1932 into a more impressive Economic Investigation Agency (Keizai Chosakai) with a staff of fifteen hundred. Significantly, this Agency opened its main office in Hsinking (Changchun), the capital of the Japanese puppet-state and headquarters of the Kwantung Army. Relations between the company researchers and the military now became even closer. Exchanges of personnel took place, especially in the Russian field where experts with technical or scientific training were not easy to find. From time to time SMR researchers were assigned to counter-intelligence units and on occasions went on extended field trips. The importance of Russian research seems to have been further acknowledged by the establishment within the Agency of a separate Northern Section (Hoppo-han) (primarily concerned with Russian affairs) to which the SMR, military authorities and government agencies could turn for organized data on Soviet affairs. The section operated in and out of Dairen and Hsinking, the latter the principal liaison point with the Army authorities.

Under the direction of Russian expert Mori Mikage and his successors Miyazaki Seigi (a Moscow University graduate) and Shimano Saburo*, the Northern Section developed into one of Japan's major centers for the study of the Soviet Union. In the mid-thirties the Section maintained a staff of twenty-eight Soviet specialists, all college graduates. Though supplemented by several products of the Tokyo Imperial University valuable for their disciplinary background, especially economics, personnel were drawn mostly from Japan's Russian language and area training schools (described previously). A few White Russians completed the Northern Section, which on the eve of the Pacific War had reached its peak strength of one hundred.

The Northern Section had three basic responsibilities in the Russian research field reflected in its administrative structure: (1) collection of materials for the study of the "northern areas", (2) research on the Soviet Union, especially the assessment of Soviet strength and an evaluation of Soviet Far Eastern policy, and (3) "basic research necessary in the event of war with the USSR"—the exact words of a confidential SMR report.

Research reports of primary interest to the government or the military were classified and reached only a limited number of interested agencies in Manchuria and Japan. Research subjects, often suggested by the military, included background studies as well as specialized topical research, covering the entire range of economic, political, ideological and strategic problems. Characteristic monographs are "Siberian Coal-Mining Areas," "The Present Situation in the Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Republic," "A Survey of the Soviet Chemical Industry," "Aviation in the Northern Regions," "Soviet Railway Workers and National Defense Training" and "Ideological Trends in the Soviet Union." (See also Appendix A) Native Russian specialists produced detailed maps of strategic Soviet areas.

Since the bulk of the Northern Section's output, largely secret, was captured by the Soviet forces in Manchuria, burned at the end of the war in Japan or confiscated by the American occupation authorities, it is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the total research accomplished. Interviews with former staff members suggest, however, that in the late nineteen thirties, apart from a monthly periodical (at times quarterly) "Soviet Affairs" (Soueto Rempo Jijo) and a 600-page "Soviet Union Yearbook" (Soueto Rempo Nenkan), an average of about sixty studies, reports and translations were produced yearly. These ranged from statistical ten-page items to heavy two-volume translations. Most of this material was distributed, bearing a restrictive classification, under the title "Research Materials on the Soviet Far East and Outer Mongolia" (Soren Kyokuto Oyobi Gaimo Chosa Shiryo) and "Materials for the Study of the Soviet Union" (Soren Kenkyu Shiryo), the latter consisting largely of translations from Soviet sources.

The Northern Section also undertook long-range projects. A good example is the biographical project: a compilation based on the Section's files, the "List of Important Soviet Individuals" (Sorempo Juyo Jimbutsu Meibo), was completed in 1942 after five years of preparation. With a total of close to four thousand names accompanied by brief biographical sketches, this volume listed the names of the higher officials of the Soviet government, the armed forces, the Communist Party, the Youth League, and the Comintern. Even the state publishing houses, the Soviet courts, banks and scientific organizations were included. The Soviet Far East, an area of particular interest to the South Manchuria Railway Company and to the Japanese government, was treated in a separate section, listing over one thousand Soviet officials and military personnel, arranged both by geographic location and government agency. Upon closer examination this work proves somewhat disappointing due to sketchiness of biographical information. Nevertheless it is perhaps the only available work of its kind. Its Far Eastern Section represents a really unique contribution.

That half of the Economic Investigation Agency's reports originated in the Northern Section suggests the relative importance of Russia within the SMR's overall research operations.

The Northern Section did not operate in a vacuum. In the task of procuring research materials and in evaluating them the Section was aided by other branches of the Company, including its twenty-three libraries and by liaison, apart from the military agencies, with the Third (Soviet) Section of the Foreign Ministry's Research Department and even with such semi-official organizations as the Japan-Russia Association. But the Northern Section was most closely connected with the SMR's second major agency having important Russian research interests, the North Manchurian Economic Research Institute (Hokuman Keizai Chosajo). The exact line of jurisdictional competence between these two organizations is quite obscure, although it appears that the Institute came to concentrate more heavily on local military and intelligence aspects of Soviet research. Joint staff meetings were held from time to time to discuss specific research targets and to facilitate a broad exchange of views among the Russian specialists.

The North Manchurian Economic Research Institute was established in 1934 in Harbin under the auspices of the Economic Investigation

Agency, ostensibly for the study of the economic problems of North Manchuria. While it did engage in such studies, its main purpose appears to have been the preparation of reports on the Soviet Far East, especially on economic and military problems of immediate concern to the Japanese armed forces. With few exceptions, the Institute's reports were classified and available only to a limited number of agencies, the distribution list averaging 130 copies. On this list we find the Imperial Army General Staff, the Kwantung Army, the Soviet Research Section of the Foreign Ministry, certain Japanese consulates and several other agencies of the Japanese and Manchukuo governments.

These research reports, averaging about fifty pages, dealt with such topics as the Soviet air force in the Far East, the Soviet transportation network (including separate surveys of railroads, rivers and highways), border incidents, the activities of Russian emigres in North Manchuria, as well as political and social developments in the Soviet Far East. Background studies were distributed under the title "Materials on the Soviet Union" (Soren Shiryo), while urgent items were labeled "Intelligence Reports on the Soviet Union" (Soren Joho). In compiling such reports the Institute's researchers could draw on a collection of twenty thousand Russian books and on substantial holdings of current Russian language publications including as many as twenty-seven different newspapers and thirty-seven kinds of periodicals. Intercepts from a monitoring service and intelligence obtained through other agencies supplemented printed information on the Soviet Union.

The staff of the North Manchurian Economic Institute during the first years of its operation averaged a little over ten persons, most of them assigned to Harbin from the Northern Section's headquarters in Dairen. By 1945 the number of Institute personnel had grown to thirty Russian specialists. Most of them shared the fate of their colleagues in the Northern Section who were led off to the Soviet Union after Japan's surrender to remain for periods of varying length in Soviet camps and prisons. Many of these Japanese died there or are unaccounted for; several have since been repatriated and an undetermined number are thought to be still alive in the Soviet Union.

2. Foreign Ministry

Throughout its existence the Japanese Foreign Ministry wrestled with the problem of whether the research and policy-making functions should be independent or an integrated, combined operation. At the end of World War I, a separate "Temporary Research Department" came into being, largely to assemble data and prepare background studies for the Versailles Peace Conference. Until 1934, nevertheless, research was one of the functions of the political bureaus and sections. Russian affairs were handled in the First Section of the European-American Bureau.

The Ministry was reorganized in 1934 by Hirota Koki, who had been appointed Foreign Minister in the preceding year following a two-year assignment as Ambassador in Moscow. The existing two regional bureaus, the Asian and the European-American, were now divided into three: the East Asian, European-Asian and American Bureaus. Policy on Soviet affairs

became the responsibility of the First Section of the European-Asian Bureau. A separate Research Department was created within the Ministry, having essentially the jurisdiction and duties of the Office of Intelligence Research of the U.S. Department of State.

The person selected to head the new Research Department's Third (Soviet) Section was the previously mentioned Miyagawa Funao*, a Soviet expert and the Ministry's top Russian language interpreter. At the age of twenty-one, in 1911, he left the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages in favor of an assignment in the St. Petersburg Embassy as a language student. From this time on, specializing in Russian affairs, he steadily rose in the service to become finally one of the very few staff members ever to be promoted to diplomatic rank. Miyagawa directed Soviet research for three years, until 1937.

About the time of the China Incident, the Soviet Research Section was expanded. Its staff, until then consisting of some twenty or twenty-five researchers, was doubled to process the increased flow of materials from diplomatic posts throughout the world, from the Axis governments which began to furnish information under the secret clauses of the Anti-Comintern Pact, and from military intelligence operations in Manchuria and elsewhere along the Soviet border.

Despite some friction, the Russian sections of the Foreign Ministry attempted to maintain liaison with the Imperial Army General Staff, the Kwantung Army in Manchuria and the South Manchuria Railway Company. While it could have been expected that the Army would concentrate on the military and strategic problems, the SMR on economic and the Foreign Ministry on political questions, in fact the jurisdictional lines were never that neatly drawn and there was much duplication and competition between agencies—apparently a universal phenomenon.

What materials collected or produced by the Russian researchers of the Foreign Ministry have any value today?

In Tsarist times the Embassy staff in St. Petersburg and consular personnel in other key cities systematically covered such publications as Birzhevoi Kur'er, Birzhevye Vedomosti, Novyi Ekonomist, Russkoe Slovo, Utro Rossii, Novoe Vremia, Rech', Peterburgskii Kur'er, Golos Moskvy, as well as Vestnik Azii, Russkii Vostok, Kharbinskii Den', and non-Russian language papers like the Journal de Pekin, the Ostasiatische Lloyd and the North China Daily News. With the departure of Japanese diplomatic personnel after the Bolshevik Revolution, for seven years (until the resumption of relations in 1925), the kind of systematic Russian press coverage previously available to the Japanese government proved difficult. The standard items including Pravda, Izvestia, Vestnik Narodnogo Komissariata Inostrannykh Del and Gazeta Vremennogo Raboche-Krestianskogo Pravitel'stva, nevertheless, found their way into the Ministry's topically arranged clipping files, now part of the archives in Tokyo. The reopening of an embassy and consulates in the Soviet Union again produced a steady flow of Russian research materials.

Along with press coverage, periodic consular and diplomatic reports still constitute a fruitful source of information. Such documents range from regular descriptions and analyses of domestic, political and economic developments (e.g., "Conditions in the U.S.S.R., 1921-1924," 236 pp; "Conditions in Eastern Siberia"; a thousand-page report on polit-

ical condtions in the USSR in 1929) to more specialized topical reports ("German Economic Influence in the Russian Market before World War I"; "Materials for the Study of Russian Far Eastern Policy"; "Summary of Russian Economic Activity in North Manchuria"; "Prospects for a Russo-German Separate Peace during the First World War"). Some of the more important of these items were reproduced in the Ministry's confidential publication entitled "Diplomatic Reports" (Gaiko Yoho).

The output of the Tokyo staff may be analyzed under three headings: (1) research and data papers; (2) reference works; and (3) a monthly summation of Russian affairs.

Research and data papers fall into three standard categories: (a) incoming field reports (including those from military and other agencies) were synthesized under such titles as: "Russian Policy in Manchuria", "The Kolchak Government", and "Russian Policy toward Japan"; (b) problem studies found in the Ministry's files: "Navigation Rights on the Sungari River", "A Review of Japanese-Soviet Fishery Disputes", "Legal Aspects of the Chinese Eastern Railway Question", "Oil Production Potential of North Sakhalin," "Japanese Investments in the Maritime Province" and a 365-page "Survey of Russian Activity in China in 1928"; (c) additional background papers were prepared for the Imperial Diet, the Versailles Peace Conference, the Washington Conference and for the Japanese delegation to the League of Nations.

Representative of the reference works are several useful indices to the materials dealing with Japan and the Far East in the multi-volume "International Relations in the Era of Imperialism," the collection of Tsarist diplomatic documents published by the Soviets during the thirties. Shortly before World War II, the Ministry published a collection of the principal treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with foreign governments.

To keep the staff of the Foreign Ministry and of other interested agencies abreast of developments in the Soviet sphere, the Soviet research section began publication, in 1934, of a summation of Soviet affairs, the "Russian Monthly" (Roshia Geppo). This monthly report, averaging 150 pages, was about evenly divided between a section of original survey articles and a section entitled "Important Soviet Developments." Occasional reference appendices might contain a guide to Soviet laws and regulations as well as the more unlikely "Survey of Mongol Studies in Japan" —a topic in fact of intense interest to the Foreign Ministry because of Soviet-Japanese friction in the Central Asian area.

Survey articles in the political field, varying from five to thirty pages in length, treat such subjects as the "Political Significance of the Public Trial of the Bukharin Faction," "Flaws in the Activity of Soviet Prosecutors," "Recent Developments in the Komsomol," and "Soviet Patriotism as Reflected in the Short History of the Soviet Union." Articles on recent Soviet-British trade, supply and demand of oil in the Soviet Union, a recent crisis in rail transportation, problems of light industry, Soviet wireless communications, and economic accounting (khozrashchet) convey an idea of the Foreign Ministry's studies of the Soviet economy. Cultural subjects range from "Suppression of Religion and Changes in the Anti-Religious Movement" to "Problems of Russian Language Education in the Soviet National Republics." Japanese concern with the Soviet impact on Asia is suggested by such articles as "Soviet Assistance to China and

the Plan for the Organization of Long-term Resistance," "Mongol National Culture" and the "Present Status of Lamaism in Mongolia." Finally, of more historical interest are treatments of "Russian Mobilization and the Grain Problems at the Outbreak of World War I," and "An Historical Study of the Ukrainian Question."

As a rule, sources are not indicated in the survey-analytical part, but the nature of the original material used may be inferred from the documentation of the second, translation section on Soviet developments. Subdivided into Political, Economic and Cultural, this section consists of translations from the Soviet and foreign press ranging from short news items to excerpts of several pages in length. Detailed chronologies of Soviet political developments and special chronological records such as that of the Changkufeng border incident between the Soviet Union and Japan complete the "Russian Monthly." When in 1938 a high-ranking G. P. U. officer, Genrikh Liushkov, fearing he would be engulfed in the great purges, sought asylum with the Japanese authorities, the "Russian Monthly" carried the full text of Liushkov's personal statement giving the reasons for his defection—a case bringing to mind similar developments in the wake of the recent Beria purges.

While most of the material cited is of Soviet origin, some information is credited to Western newspapers and occasionally to German anti-Comintern sources. Pravda, Izvestia and other well-known Soviet newspapers are conspicuous in the pages of the "Russian Monthly." Other Soviet periodicals cited show something of the range of coverage: party papers like Komsomol'skaia Pravda, Iunyi Kommunist (Young Communist), provincial papers Zaria Vostoka (Dawn of the Orient), Bakinskii Rabochii (The Baku Worker), Sovietskaia Sibir' (Soviet Siberia), Tikhookeanskaia Pravda (Pacific Truth), Ordzhonikidzenskaiia Pravda, Buriato-Mongolskaia Pravda, the Moscow evening paper Vecherniaia Moskva. Data on the Soviet economy were taken from Industriia (Industry), Legkaia Industriia (Light Industry), Mashinostroenie (Machine Construction), Moloto (The Hammer), Vodnyi Transport (Water Transportation), Rabochii Put' (The Worker's Way), Finansovaia Gazeta (Financial Gazette), Aviatsionnaia Gazeta (Aviation Gazette), Krestianskaia Gazeta (The Peasant Gazette), Sovetskaia Torgovlia (Soviet Trade). Other papers included Radio Front, Literaturnaia Gazeta (The Literary Gazette) and Uchitel'skaia Gazeta (Teacher's Gazette).

While the "Russian Monthly" gives an indication of the Ministry's level and intensity of research and reporting on current affairs, the value of historical studies was not overlooked by the Japanese government. Among the unique materials produced by the Ministry and still in its Tokyo archives are some 160 typewritten volumes of documents relating to the diplomacy of World War I. Several of these are marked "Russia" and three others on the Siberian intervention, like the rest of the series, are virtually unknown outside of the Foreign Ministry.

Similar to Columbia University's Oral History Project, the Foreign Ministry, in the middle and late thirties, recorded the experiences of its senior diplomats and of a few high-ranking military officers. Several of these intimate memoirs, at the time classified "confidential," are also in the archives. Authentic and interesting information, nowhere else available, may be found in the recollections of General Akashi Motojiro

on his secret mission in Russia on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War; of Admiral Takeshita Isamu on Theodore Roosevelt's role in that conflict and of General Baron Oi Narimoto on the Siberian expedition.

In the late thirties, the Foreign Ministry inaugurated a project to compile confidential histories of Japan's relations with the major powers. Altogether, six volumes were prepared on relations with the United States, Great Britain and Russia. The histories of Tsarist-Japanese and Soviet-Japanese relations were written by Tanaka Bun'ichiro, * former Consul-General with many years' service in Russia. Japan's relations with Imperial Russia are treated in two volumes: Volume I from 1581 to the Russo-Japanese War and Volume II from the Russo-Japanese War to the Russian Revolution. A third Volume on relations with the Soviet Union takes the story up to 1941. In the midst of the Pacific War, this material, marked "secret," was circulated among a limited number of Japanese government officials. Much of the value of these histories lies in the fact that the original documents on which they are based were in part lost during the war. These volumes are even more valuable because they are largely comprised of excerpts and direct quotations from these original documents. Presenting a factual and often dry account of Russo-Japanese relations, this important work suffers from the defect common to such official compilations. This history barely touches on related internal developments in Japan, especially the role of the military. Why a certain policy was adopted is almost never raised. In spite of such limitations these diplomatic histories are indispensable to the student of Far Eastern international relations during the last century and remain among the most valuable Japanese contributions to the field of Russian studies.

3. Imperial Army General Staff

It would be presumptuous for one who is not a military expert to attempt an evaluation of the research on Russia conducted by the Imperial Army General Staff. Certainly, no part of the Japanese government had reason to be more actively concerned with Tsarist Russia or the Soviet Union than did the Japanese Army, though much of the General Staff "research" appears to have been of a purely military and intelligence character. Little of it was published. Indeed, in the General Staff, the always fine lines between joho (information or intelligence), chosa (investigation or research) and kenkyu (study or research) were especially tenuous.

Topics of greatest, direct interest to the General Staff need no explanatory comments: the organization, capabilities, equipment, training, strategy and tactics of the Soviet armed forces and their fortifications and military establishments. Research was also conducted, or obtained from other agencies, on economic conditions in the U.S.S.R. with emphasis on means of transportation and communication and industry as well as on political, ideological, and psychological factors—in sum, the power potential of the Soviet Union. On the vital question of war or peace with Russia a concentrated effort was made to collect and evaluate data on the Soviet Far East.

Research and intelligence in the Imperial Army General Staff was centered in the Russian Section of the Second (Intelligence) Department,

and in the intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria. The research staff of the Russian section at one time totaled some fifty officers and civilians. The officers included the Soviet specialists trained in the Russian program of the Army preparatory schools, some of them with experience in the Soviet Union. The civilian employees were mainly graduates of the Russian department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and of the Harbin Institute. In addition, local White Russians,in Manchuria, were employed largely for difficult, technical translations, in radio intercept work and for code deciphering, as well as for "special missions."

With the position of the Axis in Europe deteriorating and with the prospect of further intensification of the Pacific War, the Army authorities decided to effect a consolidation of central planning and research with operational intelligence. Accordingly, in 1943 almost the entire personnel of the General Staff's Russian Section was transferred to Manchuria to continue its work at the Harbin Tokumu Kikan, the highly secret organization, created in 1918, which was the Imperial Army's center for intelligence and counter-intelligence work on the Soviet Union, the nerve-center of an intricate espionage network.

Apart from the military attaches and other intelligence sources, the General Staff relied on the South Manchurian Railway, the Foreign Ministry and the East Asia Research Institute for economic and political information on the Soviet Union, while in later years the National Planning Board and the Total War Research Center, where military officers played a key role, came to assume something of a coordinating function as well as certain responsibility for "country studies" and "national estimates."

Much of the General Staff material, in the form of highly classified reports and research data, appears to have been lost. The kind of "research" on the Soviet Union which formed the bulk of the work of the General Staff is illustrated by the War Crimes Trial interrogation of General Kanda Masatane, a career Soviet expert and former chief of the Russian Section of the General Staff:

> "In April 1925, I was transferred [from the Intelligence Department of the General Staff in Tokyo] to the Headquarters of the Kwantung Army... in order to aid in the business of collecting material at the Harbin Tokumu Kikan on the military topography of North Manchuria and the U.S.S.R. At the same time,... I was to investigate methods of drawing up an anti-Soviet strategic plan. I was in Harbin until December 1927 studying the problems of strategy and tactics against Soviet Russia. At the end of 1927 I wrote a report on this subject which I sent... to Major Kasahara [Kasahara Yukio*], then Chief of the Russian Section of the Intelligence Department in the General Staff.... I hereby affirm that the secret document entitled 'Research Materials for a Strategic Plan with Respect to Russia' which has just been presented to me is a photographic copy of the original comprising 50 pages....
>
> The document consists of six sections: (1) Outline of a strategic plan with respect to Russia; (2) Summary of an espionage plan to be carried out in Siberia; (3) Agencies which are to be established for the purpose of carry-

ing out the plan in Siberia and their duties; (4) That part of the plan related to the means of communications in North China; (5) That part of the plan relative to the marshaling of resources in North China; (6) A collection of reference materials. Appendix: Establishments necessary in peace-time in the Far East for the strategic plan vis-a-vis the Soviet Union."

One or two examples of the less secret work on Russia originating in the General Staff may suffice to establish interests other than the obvious military science, order of battle and intelligence orientation. Studies entitled "The Comintern and Related Propaganda Agencies" were produced from time to time for the "information of staff officers." Shortly before World War II, a five-thousand-word dictionary of Russian military terms by two Army captains was published for general distribution under the imprint of the General Staff. For obvious practical reasons a journal entitled "Military Affairs of Neighboring Countries" (Rimpo Gunji) was circulated during the inter-war period.

The surrender of Japanese forces in Manchuria at the end of the war resulted in the destruction of Japan's military centers of Russian research. The mass of research data in Harbin and Changchun was partly burned by the Japanese and partly captured by the advancing Soviet armies. The research personnel were shipped to Siberia and a majority of them have not been repatriated. A few former members of the Imperial Army's Soviet research team continue in postwar Japan their work in the Russian field in private research organizations, at the Foreign Ministry, and at the new and growing security agencies and military establishments.

4. National Planning Board (Kikakuin) and Total War Research Center (Soryokusen Kenkyujo)

In 1937 at the urging of the Imperial Army General Staff the Japanese government established an autonomous National Planning Board, the result of a merger of the Cabinet Research and Resources Bureaus. Shortly after the conclusion of the Tripartite Alliance, in October 1940, the research function of the National Planning Board was supplemented by the creation of an associated Total War Research Center. This structure gave Japan the nearest thing it was to have to a coordinated research and planning agency.

Research on the Soviet Union in the National Planning Board was located in a separate section in the Research Department. The Imperial Army General Staff maintained overall direction and control by placing an Army colonel at the head of this Soviet section. Research was focused on a study of the Soviet economy in an attempt to assess major elements of Soviet national strength and power potential. Various aspects of the Soviet planned economy, finance, commerce, agriculture and labor fell within the agency's area of interest, but special emphasis was placed on natural resources, industry, and the sources of energy (electricity, coal, oil).

The first section chief was Colonel Yabe Chuta, * one of the Army's young Soviet experts, though actual administration and direction of research appears to have been in the hands of Naoi Takeo, * an ex-Commu-

nist experienced in Soviet Affairs. The section was continuously headed by an Army colonel, but admittedly functioning only as a "watch-dog." The General Staff apparently kept hands off the research operations, limiting itself to over-all planning and to requests for special intelligence studies.

The Board's Soviet section employed some twenty staff members, all college graduates. About half of them came from the Russian Department of the Tokyo and Osaka Schools of Foreign Languages, Waseda University and the Nikolai Institute; the others were alumni of leading Japanese academic institutions such as Tokyo, Kyoto or Kyushu Imperial Universities. Mindful of the almost exclusive language and literature background of the majority of the researchers, the authorities made special efforts to acquaint them with the subject matter and the technical terminology which they were to encounter in translation work, mainly by arranging guided tours to factories, mines, and power plants.

Among the staff members mention should be made of Jinzai Kiyoshi,* a well-known writer and translator of Russian literature; Togo Masanobu,* now professor at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies; Yasuhira Tetsuji,* presently professor of economics at Tokyo Municipal University; and Marumo Shinobu,* an agricultural expert, today the Soviet specialist at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Others included Takaya Kakuzo,* a graduate of Moscow's Communist University for the Toilers of the East and a recanted Communist actively cooperating with the government, and Sata Tadataka, in 1956 Director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the unified Social-Democratic Party of Japan.

The Planning Board provided ample funds for the acquisition of source material and for the printing of research results. Some eighty different kinds of Soviet newspapers and magazines were regularly examined, in addition to non-Soviet material mostly from Germany and England. Some of the work of the Soviet section was published in the restricted "Research Monthly" (Chosa Geppo) of the Planning Board's Research Department. A confidential compilation entitled "Materials for the Evaluation of Soviet Economic Potential" (Soren Keizai Kokuryoku Sogo Handan Shiryo) collated most of the research findings. Between 1935 and 1941 the section issued three such volumes.

In 1941 the Planning Board was rocked by the so-called Planning Board Incident when a number of its employees were arrested on suspicion of subversive activities or, in some cases, of harboring subversive ideas. The Soviet section, as the most likely breeding place of dangerous thoughts, was closed.

The Total War Research Center was established as noted shortly after the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact and a few months before the Soviet section in the National Planning Board suspended operations. The Research Center was headed by a Lieutenant-General, significantly the former Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, with a Rear-Admiral as associate director. The function and value to the Japanese government of the Research Center's Soviet research may be judged from its secret 81-page study dated December 15, 1941, and entitled "The Total War Potential of the U. S. S. R."

The document attempts to assess the Soviet Union's total and Far Eastern war potentials before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war as well as the effects of the first six months of hostilities. Six principal factors are examined: the geographic, demographic, economic-natural

resources and industry, economic-transportation, strategic or military, and political. It is somewhat amusing to find as one of the views of the Japanese military authorities of December 1941 the statement:"A seed of political self-destruction lies in a situation where a dictatorial regime oppresses the Russian people." The document concludes that transportation is the weakest link in the total war potential of the Soviet Union, that the military forces in December 1941 numbered 200 divisions, 11,000 aircraft and 10,000 tanks, that the upper limit of the Soviet forces was 300 divisions and that, calculated on the basis of the adequacy of supply with the existing transportation facilities, the maximum possible force which the Soviets could muster in the Far East would be 50 divisions. The final conclusion: "At present, the Soviet Union cannot wage a war on two fronts."

5. The East Asia Research Institute (Toa Kenkyujo)

The East Asia Research Institute was founded in Tokyo in 1938 as a semi-official, government-backed research organization to assess the resources and problems of the growing "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." As a secret document of the Total War Research Center confirms, the Russian Maritime Province was considered part of the inner core while even the "smaller" East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was to encompass all of Eastern Siberia. As a consequence, the organization's scope extended beyond the geographic limits of East Asia to include also the study of the Soviet Union.

While the honor of the presidency of the organization fell to Prince Konoe, it is significant that the vice-president was none other than Baron Okura Kimmochi* who will be remembered as a director of the South Manchuria Railway Company and the prime mover of its Russian Research operations. Although a veil of secrecy shrouded the Institute's activities, it is known that its four hundred researchers dealt with political and economic issues related to strategic planning.

Two major functions of the East Asia Research Institute were the development of extensive, up-to-date files on each area and the preparation of data papers, surveys and research reports, many of them bearing a security classification as high as "secret" and generally restricted to Japanese government circles.

The nature and scope of the organization's efforts are revealed in several biographical works, marked "confidential," published during the war. They also prove useful in establishing the over-all picture of Japanese area research, showing at the same time the relative position of the Russian field-information which, it need not be emphasized, is difficult to acquire for the wartime period.

One of these volumes, prepared by the translation section, represents an inventory of Japan's "non-governmental" translator resources including personnel not affiliated with the East Asia Research Institute. This work is arranged according to language specialty (English, French, German, Chinese, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Greek and Latin, Malay, Dutch, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Pali, Siamese, Turkish, Afghan,

and Annamese) and is further subdivided into General, Economics, Political Science, Literature, etc. Each translator is characterized briefly in terms of date of birth, education, specialization, language proficiency, experience in the field, and principal occupation or affiliation. It is notable that only seventeen Japanese translators of Russian are listed, while English shows two hundred; German, ninety; French and Chinese, fifty translators each. This marked disparity between this number and the number of Japanese known to have been trained in the Russian language may be explained in part by the omission from the roster of many military and certain other government personnel.

Two other volumes, entitled "Specialists and Experts on Eastern Asia" (Toa Kankei Jinshi Yoran Semmonka, Jijo Tsushuroku), are of perhaps greater interest, since they afford a rather good view of Japan's then Russian experts in a variety of disciplinary and other categories. The 641-page first volume, prepared in 1942 in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, contains 1,339 area specialists selected, we are told in the introduction, from the Institute's two-thousand-item biographical file. By 1945 the Institute's area expert file had grown to 3,000 entries of which 700 additional names appear in the second volume compiled only a few months before Japan's surrender. The names of one hundred Institute and other "experts" on the Soviet Union, each accompanied by a brief biographical sketch, appear in the two volumes. A review of their interests and assignments shows the largest single group working in economics (some 25), followed by researchers on government and politics (15). Other specialties include general research on the Soviet Union (10), literature and cultural affairs (10), history and international relations (8), and area specialists on Siberia (6). The remainder is comprised of several researchers each on Soviet agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and fisheries, and at least one specialist each on geography, communications, education, science, medicine, nationality problems, and even port-harbor facilities.

The East Asia Research Institute's own work in the Soviet field was handled by a staff of some forty to fifty Russian specialists, including many graduates of Tokyo and Osaka Schools of Foreign Languages, and several transfers from the National Planning Board. Little of their research, largely translations and compilations, was published. An important part of the Institute's Russian program was its radio monitoring unit with a staff of ten, several of them native Russians. This section issued mineographed daily and weekly radio intercept bulletins, which were, of course, restricted in their distribution and use.

The nature, focus and scope of East Asia Research Institute work in the Soviet field may be judged from a 143-page mimeographed confidential publication of that Institute entitled "Summaries of the Research Products of the East Asia Research Institute" (Toa Kenkyujo Seika Shiryo Tekiyo) prepared for internal use in March 1941. This annotated catalog of Institute research is arranged by country (China, Manchuria, the Soviet Union, South Seas, the Near East and East Asia general) and under each country by category (political, economic, social-cultural and special problems). The following items related to the Soviet Union are listed hereafter:

Political

"The Role of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern in the Bolshevization of the World" (Sekai Sekka ni okeru Soren. Kominterun no Yakuwari).

"Confidential." December 1938. 82 pp. (Mimeographed)

"On the Strategy and Tactics of the Comintern" (Kominterun no Senryaku Senjutsu ni tsuite). "Confidential." January 1939. 64 pp. (Mimeographed)

"A Summary of the Comintern Program" (Kominterun Koryo no Gaiyo). "Confidential." Prepared by Inada Sadao. April 1939. 108 pp. (Mimeographed)

"Recent Ups and Downs of the Comintern and Future Trends" (Saikin ni okeru Kominterun no Shocho to Kongo no Doko). "Confidential." June 1939. 21 pp. (Mimeographed) Includes Comintern activities in countries other than Russia.

"Source Materials and Writings on the Comintern Activities Vis-a-vis China after the [China] Incident" (Kominterun Taishi Katsudo ni Kansuru Jihen-go no Shiryo. Bunken). "Confidential." February 1940. 118 pp. (Printed). Translation from the "Communist International."

"The Communist International" (Kyosanshugi Intaanashonaru). Parts I and II. "Confidential." Translated by Inada Sadao. April 1940. Part I— 194 pp. (Mimeographed)

"The Second World War Has Been Launched —— Propaganda Materials of the Political Division of the Soviet Red Army" (Dainiji Sekai Senso wa Kaishi serareta—Soren Sekigun Seiji-bu Senden Bunsho). "Confidential." Translation. February 1939. 42 pp. (Mimeographed)

"Two Comintern Theses on the Colonial Question" (Shokuminchi Mondai ni Kansuru Kominterun no Futatsu no Teeze). "Confidential." April 1939. 124 pp. (Mimeographed) Excerpts translation of the theses on colonial problems of the Second and Sixth Comintern Congresses.

"An Outline of the Organization of the All-Union Communist Party and a Chart of the Central Agencies of the All-Union Communist Party" (Zenrempo Kyosanto Soshiki Gaiyo oyobi Zenrempo Kyosanto Chuo Shido Kikan Zukai). "Confidential." May 1939. (Printed)

"An Organizational Chart of the All-Union Communist Party" (Zenrempo Kyosanto Soshiki-Zu). "Confidential." July 1940. 21 pp. (Printed)

"Local Administrative Agencies in the Soviet Union" (Sovuieto Rempo no Chiho Gyosei Kiko). "Confidential." Prepared by Kamizawa Torao. March 1939. 79 pp. (Mimeographed)

"Materials on the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League" (Zenrempo Renin Kyosan Seinen Domei ni Kansuru Shiryo). Parts I and II. "Confidential." Translation. December 1939 and May 1940. 90 and 176 pp. (Mimeographed) Translation of documents of the Eighteenth Communist Party Congress and the Tenth Congress of the Young Communist League.

"The Supreme State Organs in the U. S. S. R. and a Chart of Administrative Agencies"(Sorempo Saiko Kokka Kenryoku Kikan oyobi Kokka Gyosei Kikan-Zu). July 1940. (Printed)

M. Midin[?] "The Theories of Lenin and Stalin on the Building of Communism in the Soviet Union" (Sorempo ni okeru Kyosanshugi no Kensetsu ni kansuru Renin oyobi Sutarin no Gakusetsu). "Secret." Translated by Yanagi Haruo.* February 1941. 74 pp. (Mimeographed) Translation from Bol'shevik.

Economic

"On the Availability and Production of Several Important Raw Materials in the Soviet Union" (Soren ni okeru Jakkan Juyo Genryo no Fuzon oyobi Seisan). Token Shoho (Report of the East Asia Research Institute), # 7, 131 pp. Translation from a German periodical.

"The Soviet System of Distribution of Commodities and the Distribution Picture in the Far Eastern Areas" (Soren no Busshi Haikyu Kiko to Kyokuto Chiho no Haikyu Jokyo). "Confidential." Prepared by Kazami Shigeo. April 1939, 67 pp. (Mimeographed)

"The Soviet Union and the Capitalist Countries" (Sovuieto Rempo to Shihonshugi Shokoku). Translated by Kamizawa Torao. December 1939. 258 pp. (Printed) Translation from a report by the Soviet Planning Board.

Colin Clark, A Critique of Russian Statistics (Roshia Tokei no Hihan). "Confidential." Translated by Shinohara Kotaro. January 1940. 138 pp. (Mimeographed)

Social-Cultural

"Nationality Distribution in the Soviet Far East and Soviet Policy" (Kyokuto Soryo no Minzoku Bumpu narabi ni Seisaku). "Confidential." Prepared by Shimizu Takehisa.* April 1939. 88 pp. (Mimeographed)

"The Nationalities of Soviet Russia" (Sovueto Roshiya no Minzoku). Prepared by Consultant Sakuma Shin. January 1940. 101 pp. (Mimeographed)

Miscellaneous

Translation of an article on world economics by the Soviet economist Eugene Varga which appeared in 1938 in Mirovoe Khoziaistvo i Mirovaia Politika (World Economy and International Politics), "Confidential." Translated by Udaka Motosuke.* November 1939. 48 pp. (Mimeographed)

Translation of another article by Varga which appeared in 1940 in the preceding Soviet magazine. Translated by Udaka Motosuke.* Token Shoho, # 6, pp. 69-129.

Translation of an article on American policy and the China Incident in Istorik-Marksist (The Marxist Historian) by Nose Torazo.* Token Shoho, # 8, pp. 84-99.

With the end of the war the East Asia Research Institute was closed; its library and files were confiscated by the American occupation authorities, and many of its staff members were forced to seek their livelihood in unfamiliar fields for almost a decade. Thirty-two of the Institute's Soviet specialists are known to be still alive. (The names of the more important of them are included in a forthcoming companion volume, Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.) The majority have reasserted their active, professional interest in Soviet affairs. Ten of these specialists hold university positions, three are employed in the National Diet Library, three work for the Agriculture Ministry, three are engaged in monitoring Soviet radio broadcasts, while several of them are independent researchers and writers, employed by the Foreign Ministry or by one of the other Japanese government agencies with interests in the Soviet or related fields.

6. Home and Justice Ministries

For obvious reasons, both the security and police agencies of the Home Ministry, as well as the investigative and prosecution divisions of the Justice Ministry, maintained an active research interest in Soviet affairs. Here, four topics of practical import dominated the concern of these two ministries: (1) foreign, subversive ideologies; (2) Japanese Communist movement —especially its relationship to Moscow; (3) the structure and activities of the Comintern and its affiliates; and (4) the organization and operations of Soviet intelligence. For background material on Soviet administration, the ministries availed themselves of Foreign Ministry specialists stationed in Moscow. Thus, the files of the prewar Justice Ministry produced a report on the Soviet legal system (dated May 1932), supplied by the Foreign Ministry and originally prepared by Ogata Shoji, * then with the Japanese Embassy in Moscow (and now a prominent figure in the pro-Soviet movement).

The Japanese government had regarded Marxism as a subversive ideology several decades before the Russian Revolution. The added vitality and political content imparted by the Bolshevik success to the ideology (soon termed Marxism-Leninism) only served to increase the government's apprehension and to stimulate pertinent research. During the nineteen twenties and thirties, the Home Ministry produced voluminous annual studies of what was called in Japan the "social movement" where, along with anarchism and socialism, the impact of Soviet ideology and Comintern activity played a significant part. The most impressive of these documents is an eleven-volume series bearing the imprint of the Ministry's Police Division and entitled, "The Status of the Social Movement" (1932-1943). The Foreign Nationals' Section of the same Ministry regularly put out compilations such as "A Collection of Left-wing Propaganda Material from Abroad," while numerous Ministry of Justice publications, marked "confidential" and labeled "Material for the Study of Ideologies," were circulated by that agency to enlighten its prosecutors on the nature of the Soviet ideological menace.

Closely related to the question of Communist ideology, and consequently of interest to the Japanese authorities, were the Comintern and the Japanese Communist Party (JCP). An early evidence of official concern with the Communist question is the confidential document "The Bolshevization of the Armed Forces," drafted in 1924 by the Police Division of the Home Ministry. The succeeding years saw a wide assortment of similar government research-intelligence reports and information papers, ranging from organizational charts of the Comintern through outlines of the Japanese Communist movement, to specific reports on "Japanese Communists residing in the U. S. A." (dated 1938 and 1939) and on Japanese Communists re-entering Japan secretly from Moscow. Closer examination of one 280-page report by the Police Division of the Home Ministry entitled "Foreign Affairs Section Summary for 1935" points up the nature of such material. The document is essentially a reference guide for government officials and special police agents. Divided into three sections: (1) China and Manchuria, (2) Europe and the United States and (3) Soviet Russia, the work throughout contains information on Soviet affairs and on aspects of international communism. Topics of special interest include

(a) communist propaganda material printed in the U. S. for distribution in Japan; (b) content analysis of left-wing propaganda material from abroad; and (c) intelligence and propaganda activities of the Soviet Embassy in Japan. (A number of such items are described in the authors' bibliography of Japanese communism; see Bibliographical Note.)

Much of Japan's basic work on Soviet intelligence was, as suggested, handled by the Imperial Army General Staff and by special intelligence units (Tokumu Kikan). Certain counter-Soviet investigation and research related to Japan proper was carried out under Home and Justice Ministry auspices. Documents from the Japanese government archives reveal the extent to which these ministries were keeping track of all Japanese and foreign contacts with the Soviet Embassy and with trade and Tass representatives in Japan and the extent of their counter-intelligence work. A case in point is the much publicized Sorge spy case. An extensive Soviet espionage network which had supplied high-level military and political intelligence to the Soviet government for a number of years was uncovered by the Japanese authorities in the fall of 1941. This spy ring, directed by Richard Sorge, a German correspondent on the staff of the German Embassy in Tokyo, had agents in the highest circles of the Japanese government and good contacts in most of the foreign missions. Sorge was arrested a few weeks before the beginning of the Pacific War. Japanese authorities learned that he had forewarned Moscow a month ahead of the planned German attack and somewhat later of Japan's decision to move south rather than against the Soviet Union. Largely responsible for organizing the investigation which led to the breaking of the case was Yoshikawa Mitsusada, then a "thought" procurator specializing in Communism, head of the Japanese Special Investigation Agency during the Occupation and today once more a procurator in the Ministry of Justice.

The Home and Justice Ministries material differs greatly in inclusiveness, analytical content and reliability from document to document. Nevertheless, data of value to the student of Soviet affairs are scattered throughout these thousands of records and publications, many of them available in the United States. The following may be noted as areas of special research interest: (1) analysis of Soviet, Comintern and Japanese Communist Party policies and of Russian-inspired revolutionary activity in Japan; (2) collections of original Soviet propaganda leaflets (in Japanese) and the archives and illegal publications of the JCP; (3) interrogations of Japanese with training in Russia, including firsthand information on the Soviet special schools for Asians; and (4) organizational charts, outlines and reports on Soviet Embassy activities, the Comintern and Soviet intelligence networks.

7. Russo-Japanese News Agency (Nichi-Ro Tsushinsha)

Were there any non-governmental centers of Russian study in prewar Japan? Strictly speaking, there were no Japanese private or university Russian research centers. But several news agencies specializing in Russian affairs deserve mention as they developed over the years into sizable

organizations with staffs of trained translators and researchers. Such organizations usually began by publishing periodical bulletins or magazines devoted to Russia and Russo-Japanese relations, gradually expanding their operations to a point where they could compile Soviet handbooks, yearbooks and other reference works.

The oldest organization in this category was the Russo-Japanese News Agency (Nichi-Ro Tsushinsha), which in 1915 started out as the editor and publisher of "Russo-Japanese Business News" (Nichi-Ro Jitsugyo Shimpo), a bilingual publication in Japanese and Russian. After several years, in 1918, the staff was increased to make possible the publication of a daily bulletin covering political and economic relations between Japan and Russia with special emphasis on trade, fisheries, and the Japanese concessions in the Russian Far East, but concerned also with Soviet domestic affairs, transportation, finance, cultural matters and personalities. This bulletin, "The Russo-Japanese Report" (Nichi-Ro Tsushin), was published for more than two decades, something of a record for such a Japanese publication in the Russian field. For a number of years, starting with 1925, the "Russo-Japanese Report" was bilingual, Japanese and Russian. At the time it was the only regular Russian language publication in Japan.

In 1920 the News Agency began to publish an irregular bilingual magazine in Russian and Japanese entitled "The Voice of Japan" (Golos Iaponii—Nichi-Ro no Yoron). Designed "to promote mutual understanding between the two countries," "The Voice of Japan" emphasized trade relations and economic questions. While the Japanese-language section carried articles on Soviet affairs, the Russian part aimed at a Russian audience and dealt with the situation in Japan. What the circulation of this magazine was, and whether it was read outside the Russian community in Japan, Manchuria and the Japanese-occupied Maritime Provinces is difficult to say. In July 1931, another magazine, "The Soviet Union and Manchuria-Mongolia" (Sovueto oyobi Mammo), was launched, only to be suspended shortly afterwards probably as a result of the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident. For a time, the Russo-Japanese News Agency also issued a monthly entitled "Soviet Review" (Sovueto Hyoron).

Next to the publication of the daily "Russo-Japanese Report," the most valuable work of the Russo-Japanese News Agency was the compilation of the "Russo-Japanese Yearbook" (Nichi-Ro Nenkan—Ezhegodnik Iapono-Sovetskikh Otnoshenii), a comprehensive annual reference work on the Soviet Union and on Russo-Japanese relations. Starting with the issue for the year 1929, this yearbook continued to appear until the very end of the Second World War. During the first years the "Russo-Japanese Yearbook" was a bilingual work of some six hundred large triple-column pages of Japanese and some two hundred pages of Russian text. In 1929, the News Agency claimed to have correspondents in Moscow, Novosibirsk, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Alexandrovsk, Harbin and Berlin. In addition, some material was supplied by the Japanese Foreign Ministry, the War Ministry and other ministries, and by the Imperial Army General Staff, as well as by the Soviet Embassy, the Soviet Trade Mission, the Soviet cultural attache, the Japan-Russia Association and other friendship groups, and Japanese business concerns.

A sample issue consists of Japanese-language sections on (a) Russo-

Japanese Relations and (b) Russia and a Russian-language section. The Russo-Japanese Relations section is divided into (1) General (history of diplomatic relations between the two countries, texts of the most important treaties, current political relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, Japanese policy toward the U. S. S. R. and Soviet policy toward Japan, and rosters of accredited Japanese and Soviet diplomatic personnel; (2) Fisheries (some 150 pages dealing with pending problems, major incidents, the history of fishery relations between the two countries, and the texts of pertinent treaties, agreements and regulations); (3) Concessions (some 70 pages centering around the Japanese oil, coal, gold and timber concessions in the Soviet Union including relevant regulations); (4) Commercial Relations (some 50 pages including a historical survey of Russo-Japanese trade and extensive statistical data); and shorter treatments of (5) Relations Between Japan and the U. S. S. R. in the Field of Transportation and Communications (railroad and air traffic between Europe and Asia, postal matters and telecommunications); and (6) Cultural Relations. Section (b) on Russia itself consists of a 13-page chronology of Soviet Russia supplemented by a detailed listing of significant events of the preceding year and encyclopaedic articles on the organization of the Soviet state, the Communist Party, foreign relations, finance, economy, industry, trade, consumers unions, foreign concessions, labor, military preparedness, education, fisheries, legal position of foreigners, culture (literature, theater, movie industry, radio, religion and publications) and the Soviet Far East. The Russian-language part contains a brief treatment of the geography and government of Japan and a more lengthy discussion of relations, a somewhat abridged Russian translation of the material in the Japanese-language part.

With the absorption of Manchuria into the Japanese orbit, the "Russo-Japanese Yearbook" became a tri-area reference work on Japan, the Soviet Union and Manchuria. Brief biographical sketches of prominent Japanese, Russians and Manchurian-Chinese were added.

While the yearbook hardly adds to Western knowledge of the Soviet Union, a set of the "Russo-Japanese Yearbook" constitutes a unique reference shelf for the study of relations between the two countries, especially in the economic and cultural fields.

Other compilations and publications of the Russo-Japanese News Agency (known also as the Russo-Japanese Trade News Agency—Nichi-Ro Boeki Tsushinsha and, in later years, as the European-Asiatic News Agency—O-A Tsushinsha) have included translations of Soviet official statistical material,* a Soviet economic geography,* a periodic handbook on Soviet-Japanese trade; introductory works on the U. S. S. R. and especially on the Russian Far East under such titles as "The Soviet Union Explained"(Soren Kaisetsu), "The Situation in Soviet Eastern Asia" (Toa Soryo no Genjo), "An Evaluation of Present Soviet Strength" (Soren Gensei Kaisetsu); a "Stenographic Record of the Conference for the Promotion of Soviet-Japanese Trade" (Nisso Tsusho Shinko Zadankai Sokki-roku) held in 1933; and travel accounts and memoirs like "What Will Become of Russia" (Roshia Do Naru) by the Counsellor of the Japanese Embassy in Moscow, Seko Shuichi. The organization also published the "Soviet Union Yearbook" (Soueto Rempo Nenkan) for the South Manchuria Railway Company.

In its desire to promote a better understanding between Japan and

Soviet Russia, the Russo-Japanese News Agency in the twenties and early thirties displayed a friendly and generally uncritical approach to Soviet affairs. Soviet materials and figures were taken at face value and the pages were full of Communist terminology. In later years, as the relations between the two countries deteriorated, as controls in Japan became more severe and leftist terminology was frowned upon, the tone of the News Agency's publications changed. Although listed in early postwar Japanese publishers' annuals, the organization failed to display any of its prewar prominence in the Russian field.

8. Japan-Soviet News Agency (Nisso Tsushinsha)

In 1926, shortly after the resumption of diplomatic relations between Japan and Russia, a Japanese privately owned Russian News Agency (Roshia Tsushinsha) made its appearance in Harbin, Manchuria. It was started by Kondo Yoshiharu,* a journalist specializing in Russian affairs with some ten years of field experience in Harbin. The launching of this organization was suggested by Baron Okura Kimmochi , * then director of the South Manchuria Railway Company much concerned with Russian affairs, and encouraged, or perhaps sponsored, by both the head of the European-American Bureau of the Foreign Ministry, Hirota Koki (shortly thereafter to become Japanese Ambassador to Moscow, Foreign Minister and Prime Minister) and by the chief of the Intelligence Department of the Imperial Army General Staff, General Matsui Iwane.

The Agency's objectives, according to its founder, were "to investigate and study the ever-changing affairs of post-revolutionary Russia; and in this way to assist in the formulation of the nation's foreign policy and to combat alien ideology." It is obvious that the authorities were interested in disseminating their official views and findings on Soviet Russia through a loyal private organization.

The preoccupation of this newly created agency in the first years of its existence was the publication in Harbin of the periodic "Russian Report" (Roshia Tsushin). To make such material simultaneously available in Japan a supplement to this report was issued three times a month in Tokyo. Ranging from thirty to fifty pages in length, these pamphlets entitled "Russian Affairs" (Roshia Jijo) consisted largely of translated material from Soviet, emigre White Russian (Harbin, Prague and Paris) and foreign publications. This was augmented by occasional eye-witness accounts of life and travel in the Soviet Union contributed by Japanese and other travelers and even prisoners. An issue would contain one or more lead articles of current interest plus a number of short special features and smaller items.

Topics dealing with internal developments in the Soviet Union have included "Contradictions between Ideology and Reality in the Soviet Union," the relationship between the Communist Party and the Red Army, recent counter-revolutionary activity, the Soviet insurance system, questions of trade, education and budget, the Communist Party, the Communist Youth League (Komsomol), the movie industry and radio programs. Minority problems were taken up in articles on the independence movement in the Ukraine, the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union, the Koreans

in the Russian Far East, and the Jewish autonomous district of Birobidzhan. Issues in the international Communist movement were often discussed under the headings of Comintern, the Trotsky affair, the Second International or the bolshevization of China. Some attention was devoted to Soviet foreign relations: Soviet-Chinese relations with special emphasis on the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Chinese raid on the Soviet Consulate-General in Harbin, and the trial of Soviet and Chinese Communists in the same city.

Personal reports on life in the Soviet Union included travel accounts of Japanese visitors, as for instance, by a member of the Kuhara Economic Mission or visiting Japanese journalists, as well as reprints from the White Russian and foreign press of the experiences of unwilling guests of Soviet prisons and camps. The latter featured the reactions of a Japanese, an Indian and a Pole.

The special features consisted of a section of translations of the satirical writings of Zoshchenko, Averchenko and other Soviet as well as White Russian writers describing life in Soviet Russia in not too rosy colors; a section explaining new Soviet terms such as the New Economic Policy (NEP), the Third International, Pioneer; a "News From Russia" section; and miscellaneous items dealing with military training in Moscow University, population statistics of Asiatic Russia, or such intimate glimpses of Soviet life as the number of suicides in the U. S. S. R., or four hundred persons in a bread-line in Moscow.

Every three months these pamphlets were assembled for publication in book form. The Russian News Agency produced a number of volumes on the Soviet Union as, for example, a compilation of over 300 pages entitled "Views of New Russia," consisting of twenty-eight contributions on various aspects of Soviet affairs by Japanese experts on Russia, billed as being "in and out of the government" and "of both the right and the left," the latter undoubtedly the right type of "left."

The frankly unfavorable treatment of Soviet affairs by the Russian News Agency was probably responsible for the fact that several requests by publisher Kondo to visit Russia were rejected by the Soviet authorities. It was only when Hirota Koki, one of the sponsors of the News Agency, was appointed Japanese Ambassador in Moscow that Kondo was permitted to make a tour of Russia. This visit was written up in book form as "Russia Viewed from East and West" and provided sufficient material for several lecture tours through Japan, Korea, Manchuria, North China, Mongolia and Sinkiang. The fact that these lectures were backed by the Imperial Army General Staff and the Foreign Ministry must have seemed to the Soviet authorities to have confirmed their earlier reluctance to grant Kondo a visa. During the subsequent years this one junket to Russia provided the basis for from 50 to 180 lectures per year, something of a record in the field.

As the News Agency grew it received increasing support from the authorities. That one of the organization's questionnaires was returned by a hundred government officials, including police officers, members of the Imperial Diet, high-ranking military officers, educators, journalists, other prominent public figures and even by the Minister of Education, attests to the caliber of the Agency's subscribers and supporters.

In 1934, on the advice of the Imperial Army General Staff, the

headquarters of the Russian News Agency was transferred from the Japanese section of Harbin to the most modern building in downtown Tokyo, only two blocks from its competitor, the Russo-Japanese News Agency. The name of the organization was changed to Japan-Soviet News Agency (Nisso Tsushinsha). The "Russian Report" now became the "Daily Japan-Soviet Report," published both in Harbin and Tokyo and even in a Chinese-language edition.

Although called a "News Agency," the organization conducted Russian language courses and solicited research assignments and requests for lecturers on Soviet, Manchurian and Chinese affairs. Some lectures on Soviet topics were broadcast by the government-operated Radio Tokyo. The Agency gradually enlarged its network and at one time boasted branches or correspondents in Osaka, Moji, Hakodate and Tsuruga in Japan proper; in Seoul and Formosa; in Harbin, Hsinking, Mukden and Aigun in Manchuria; in Tientsin, Peking, Shanghai and Canton; in several Soviet cities including Moscow, Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Chita, Blagoveshchensk, Novosibirsk, and even in the European cities of Riga, Warsaw, Berlin, Paris and Constantinople.

The Japanese need for cyclopaedic information on the Soviet Union was filled by the production of a handbook entitled "Materials on Current Soviet Affairs" (Saueto Gensei Shiryo), issued from 1930 to 1934. From 1934 until 1943 this publication was superseded by a more substantial (over 1,000 pages) "Soviet Union Yearbook" (Sorempo Nenkan). This compilation contained some material supplied by the Research Department of the South Manchuria Railway Company, the Foreign Ministry , other ministries, the National Planning Board, the Imperial Army General Staff and associations of Japanese business concerns with interests in the Soviet Union. From time to time pocket-size Soviet handbooks and other reference works were prepared by the growing research staff under the direction of former Japanese Young Communist League leader Sano Hiroshi.*

"The Soviet Handbook" (Sorempo Yoran), for example, published in 1938 constitutes a collection of articles on the Soviet Union by leading Japanese authorities. This compilation includes a general survey by Ando Yoshiro,* then chief of the Russian section of the Foreign Ministry; contributions by Russian specialists Baba Hideo* and Murayama Shichiro; a review of the Soviet economy at the juncture of the Second and the Third Five-Year Plans by Naoi Takeo* of the National Planning Board; a description of life in the Soviet Union by Maruyama Masao,* a journalist fresh from several years' sojourn in the Russian capital; "Russian History Rewritten" by Baba Tetsuya, one of the Russian literature professors of Waseda University; "Soviet Art Under Semi-Wartime Conditions" by translator Yamamura Fusaji*; "New Developments in Russo-Japanese Relations" by the Vice-President of the East Asia Research Institute, Okura Kimmochi*; "Japanese Fishing Rights Have Been Violated!" by Shigemori Tadashi,* one of the chief researchers of the Japan-Soviet News Agency and formerly with the rival Russo-Japanese News Agency; articles on the revival of religion in Russia by the popular translator of Russian literature and a graduate of the Greek Orthodox Divinity School, Nobori Shomu,* on Soviet science by Yokota Mizuho,* on Soviet Far Eastern policy by translator-researcher Hiroshima Sadayoshi,* on the Russian labor force by economist Wada Toshio,* on the budget by researcher Higurashi Nobuo, on finance

by one of the Foreign Ministry's specialists on the Soviet economy Ibe Masaichi,* on the Northern Sea route by the veteran Moscow correspondent Kuroda Otokichi,* on Soviet policy toward the national minorities by Takeo Hajime,* owner of the Russo-Japanese Report Publishers (Nichi-Ro Tsuhosha); and two contributions by the President of the Japan-Soviet News Agency Kondo Yoshiharu,*one on the Red Army and another on "Japanese Public Opinion Toward Russia and the Thesis of the Inevitability of a Japanese-Soviet War."

For ten years prior to the surrender, the Japan-Soviet News Agency issued a monthly magazine devoted to Soviet affairs entitled "Monthly Russia" (Gekkan Roshia, edited by Shigemori Tadashi,* now a prolific commentator on Soviet affairs). Similar to other publications of the Agency, the journal sought to bring together information on the Soviet Union in readable, if biased, form. The lead articles dealt, in the main, with political and economic questions and current events. The contributors included not only journalists but also a few career diplomats, teachers of Russian, numerous translators, as well as several reconverted Communists now willing to place their knowledge of the Russian language and Soviet affairs at the disposal of the imperialist Imperial Government. In addition to the lead articles, the magazine contained numerous special features designed to attract the attention of the general public—a pictorial section, Soviet cartoons, regular features on Russian music, the Red Army, science, aviation, Moscow, Far East and Northern Areas and miscellaneous columns entitled strangely, but obviously to retain a Russian flavor, Samovar, Besedka or Tatianka. Random notes and recollections, travel accounts, reports from the frontiers, round-table conferences, and a literary section including occasional tales from the history of Russo-Japanese relations were designed to make the magazine more interesting. But "Monthly Russia" was more than a popular magazine. It regularly carried reprints from Pravda and Izvestia, speeches by Soviet leaders, important Soviet documents in translation, and even an occasional research section where one could find analyses and historical surveys, as, for instance, a history of the Trans-Siberian railroad.

The organization's scope may be further judged by its periodical publications on the periphery of the Soviet field; an "Anti-Communist Series," a monthly for distribution in Korea and North China; a Chinese-language monthly for Manchuria; "Monthly East Asia Series"; and even a Russian-language daily bulletin containing information on Japan and important statements on the Soviet Union by prominent Japanese. Special publications have included maps, Russian readers and dictionaries, several book series and pamphlets (Japanese rights in North Sakhalin, the Japan-Soviet Neutrality Treaty, the Soviet Union under the air attack, etc.).

The Japan-Soviet News Agency, often called "anti-Soviet" and "reactionary" by rival organizations in the Russian field, in the late nineteen thirties decried the "past left-wing trend in Japanese reporting on the Soviet Union." In one of its publications the News Agency termed the nineteen twenties and early thirties "the leftist period when writers on Soviet affairs were propagandists for the Soviet cause and often tools of the Communist movement." On the other hand the Japan-Soviet News Agency defined—narrowly but not incorrectly—its own mission as the critical study of Soviet affairs and the dissemination of the results of

such endeavor based on the ideology of the Imperial Way. Hardly surprising then is the fact that the Japanese government and especially the military considered this Agency a safe channel for the communication to the people of data and views on a dangerous subject. To the newspaper and business worlds it proved an important source of information on the U.S.S.R. With the intensification of the Pacific War and perhaps due to the increasingly delicate relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, some time before the surrender, the Japan-Soviet News Agency was dissolved.

9. Other Organizations

Japanese research in the Russian field during the two decades before Japan's defeat was carried on under the auspices of a great variety of organizations. The major governmental and semi-governmental agencies as well as the Russo-Japanese News Agency and the Japan-Soviet News Agency have been described. But there were literally dozens of other groups competing in the Russian-Soviet research and publications field. These can be broadly divided into four categories: (1) publishing houses specializing in the Russian field and organizations similar to the above-mentioned news agencies; (2) research departments of Japanese business firms with substantial interests in Soviet trade or with concessions in Soviet territory; (3) "research institutes" concerned with various aspects of Russian and Soviet culture and life; and (4) other government organizations. (Political and cultural groups interested in Russia, including the "friendship associations," have also made a contribution to the field of Russian research and are discussed in the next chapter.)

While some of these groups were bonafide organizations with their own offices, staffs and research libraries, others were merely high-sounding names invented by a translator or compiler to enhance his own prestige or to promote the sale of his book. The office of such an organization was often a twelve by twelve foot study.

The Tachibana Publishing House in Tokyo specialized in Russian language publications. During the thirties Tachibana published a number of introductory Russian language textbooks, conversation manuals, grammars and dictionaries—most of the better-known works by Yasugi Sadatoshi,* Matsuda Mamoru,* Nobori Shomu,* Igeta Sadatoshi,* and Sato Isamu*—including such specialized works as a "Russo-Sino-Japanese Military Conversation Manual," published at the height of the Pacific War in 1943. For some ten years prior to the surrender, Tachibana issued a monthly journal entitled "The Russian Language" (Roshia-go), which contained articles dealing with various aspects of Russian grammar, short passages of accented Russian text with translation and notes. The quality of some of these Russian language works, however, is quite poor; they were produced hastily to take advantage of public demand and often the final draft was obviously not checked by a native Russian. One such textbook, for example, was the joint effort of a Japanese scholar and a foreigner, the Russian language instructor at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, who, unfortunate for the Japanese student, was a Serb and not a Russian. This text as well as other works written with or without the benefit of Serbian specialists abounds in glaring mistakes. For instance, the title

of the Russian manual in the "Foreign Languages in Four Weeks" series, was "Russian by Four Weeks." Tachibana appears to have been the major commercial promoter of Russian language texts and dictionaries. In 1934, for example, this publishing house was responsible for nine out of a total of thirteen such titles produced during that year in Japan. The Tachibana publishers greatly aided Slavic and Mongol studies throughout the world by the reprinting in Japan of the Dal' and Ushakov dictionaries as well as of Kowalewski's Russian-French-Mongol dictionary, long out of print and a rare item on the world bibliographic markets.

Among other publishing houses mention must be made of Namboku Shoin Publishers, whose interest in the Russian field is represented by the publication of two monthlies, "The Study of Russian" (Rogo Kenkyu) and "Leninist Studies" (Renin Kenkyu), Hakusuisha Publishing House, Robunkaku (The Russian Literature Palace), a publishing house in Nagoya, Sobunkaku, Kibokaku, Kyoseikaku, Kobundo, Kaizosha, Dojinsha, Okura Shoten and publishers with such suggestive names as Marx Publishing House (Marukusu Shobo) and Iskra (Isukura-kaku) after Lenin's famous revolutionary paper.

In the "news agency" category reference should be made to Russo-Japanese Report Publishers (Nichi-Ro Tsuhosha) owned by Takeo Hajime,* a graduate of the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and in the postwar period a prominent conservative member of the Japanese National Diet. Takeo's "organization" led a precarious financial existence and the entire staff often consisted only of the owner. For a time Takeo issued a daily bulletin "Russo-Japanese Report" (Nichi-Ro Tsuho) and a ten-day "Collection of Pravda and Izvestia Editorials" (Purauda Izuueshchia Shasetsu-shu). Other organizations in this category included Russo-Japanese Economic Review Publishers (Nichi-Ro Keizai Jihosha) run by a White Russian and responsible for a "Russo-Japanese Economic Review"; (Nichi-Ro Keizai Jiho), a monthly in Russian and Japanese; and the Russo-Japanese Economic News Agency (Nichi-Ro Keizai Tsushinsha) which published a Russian monthly entitled "Russo-Japanese Economic News" (Robun Nichi-Ro Keizai Tsushin).

Japanese business firms with vested interests in commercial relations with Russia maintained staffs of Russian language interpreters, translators and researchers. The largest companies in this category at times employed as many as a hundred and more Russian specialists and on occasion published books and pamphlets bearing on their fields of activity. The following companies and trade associations deserve separate mention: The Russo-Japanese Fisheries Company (Nichi-Ro Gyogyo Kabushiki Kaisha), organized in 1914 as the result of a merger of several Japanese fishery concerns; the North Sakhalin Mining Company (Kita Karafuto Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha) and the North Sakhalin Oil Company (Kita Karafuto Seikiyu Kabushiki Kaisha), both established in the middle of 1926 as semi-government corporations for the exploitation of natural resources in Soviet North Sakhalin, on the basis of the December 1925 Soviet-Japanese agreement; the Russian Forestry Products Company (Roryo Ringyo Kabushiki Kaisha), formed in 1927; the Association of Japanese Marine Products Companies Operating in Russian Waters (Roryo Suisan Kumiai), organized in 1908, in accordance with the agreements incorporated in the Portsmouth Treaty; the Kobe Russian Trade Association

(Kobe Tairo Boeki Kyokai) and the Association of Japanese Exporters to Russia (Tairo Yushutsu Kumiai).

The Telegraph and Telephone Company of Manchuria (Manshu Denshin Denwa Kabushiki Kaisha) is known to have done considerable work on Soviet communications and once provided employment for a number of researchers, among them two recanted Japanese graduates of the Moscow Communist University for the Toilers of the East.

The "research institutes" were often little more than names. One of the more productive, the Russian Problems Research Institute (Roshia Mondai Kenkyujo) gave for its address the private residence of Otake Hirokichi,* the proprietor of Nauka Company, who attached this impressive name to his many translations from the Russian and compilations of Soviet data. These included books on the Five-Year Plans, industrialization, history of the Russian Revolution, nationality problems, the Soviet Planning Board, as well as Russian language textbooks and a 700-page "Soviet Russian Dictionary" (Sovueto Roshia Jiten, in another edition called "Soviet Encyclopaedia" Sovueto Hyakka Jiten), a reference work which also contained a biographical section. The Nauka Company,organized in 1932, was given a monopoly by the Soviet government of the importation and distribution of Soviet materials in Japan.

Research groups devoting an important part of their effort to the study of the Soviet economy, natural resources, military and psychological factors related to war included the Soviet Research Society (Sovueto Kenkyukai), publishers of a monthly "Soviet Economics" (Sovueto Keizai); the Northern Industrial Research Institute (Hoppo Sangyo Kenkyujo) on transportation in the Soviet Far East, on Soviet forests, and on the history of national minorities in Eastern Siberia; the Institute for the Scientific Study of National Psychology (Seishin Kagaku Kenkyujo) on the common front of Soviet nationalities during the war; the Research Institute for Oriental Problems (Toho Mondai Kenkyujo) on Soviet capacity for resistance; and the Research Institute for National Defense (Kokubo Kenkyukai) —two volumes on the battle of Moscow.

Other groups in this category have used such names as Society for the Study of Soviet Culture (Sovueto Bunka Kenkyukai), Soviet Scientific Research Society (Sovueto Kagaku Kenkyukai), Society for the Study of Soviet Literature (Sovueto Bungaku Kenkyukai), Society for the Study of Soviet Education (Sovueto Kyoiku Kenkyukai), Society for the Study of Northern Culture (Hoppo Bunka Kenkyukai), and Society for the Study of Soviet Affairs (Sovueto Jijo Kenkyukai). The only research group with a university affiliation was the Russian Literature Society of Waseda University (Waseda Daigaku Roshia Bungakkai),which issued occasional papers entitled "Studies in Russian Literature" (Roshia Bungaku Kenkyu).

A discussion of "research institutes" in the Russian field would not be complete without mention of the Society for the Study of Russian Affairs (Roshia Jijo Chosakai), organized at the Dairen headquarters of the South Manchuria Railway Company. This group, active in the early nineteen thirties, consisted of some one hundred persons, largely employees of the SMR. It was headed by Baron Okura Kimmochi,* then one of the directors of the Company and later Vice-President of the East Asia Research Institute. The Society acted as a distributor of "Soviet Affairs" (Sovueto Rempo Jijo), a monthly prepared by the Russian section

of the Research Department of the SMR and was largely responsible for the publication of the 1931 "Soviet Union Yearbook" (Sovueto Rempo Nenkan), the bulk of it compiled in the Company's Russian section. In Tokyo, this yearbook was distributed by the SMR-affiliated East Asia Research Bureau (Toa Keizai Chosakyoku). The latter in turn should be mentioned for the publication of the comprehensive "Large Russo-Japanese Dictionary" (Rowa Dai Jiten, a 1300-page work containing 150,000 words and six million Chinese characters) which took some fifteen years to compile.

A number of groups engaged in the study of foreign affairs merit inclusion in this listing of Japanese organizations for their work on the Soviet Union: the Society for the Study of International Affairs (Kokusai Josei Kenkyukai), Japan International Association (Kokusai Nippon Kyokai), Japan Young Men's Foreign Affairs Association (Nippon Seinen Gaiko Kyokai) and the Japan Association of Foreign Affairs (Nippon Gaiji Kyokai, publishers, incidentally, of the monthly "International Review" [Kokusai Hyoron] and the well-known English-language Japan Yearbook and the monthly periodical Contemporary Japan), which prepared a study of the G. P. U. secret police.

Finally a word ought to be added about the work in the Russian field of less important Japanese government agencies and of the government of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo.

Japanese municipalities, especially those of the largest cities of Tokyo and Osaka, on occasion sponsored specialized studies on Soviet topics. Examples of such municipal participation in Soviet research are a survey of Soviet developments entitled "Recent Events in the Soviet Union" published in 1937 by the City of Osaka and a book on Moscow city planning by the Tokyo Municipality which appeared in 1938.

The Manchukuo Ministry of Foreign Affairs before the war issued a journal entitled "Soviet Far Eastern Affairs" (Saaueto Rempo Kyokuto Chiho Jijo) and its Harbin agency a confidential monthly called "Soviet Monthly" (Soren Geppo). This one-hundred-page journal was patterned after the Japanese Foreign Ministry's "Russian Monthly." Over two-thirds of the contents were generally devoted to a "Survey of Soviet Domestic and Foreign Developments," divided into foreign relations, domestic political developments, economic affairs and the Soviet Far East. The remainder of the magazine contained research articles and Soviet documents in translation. The sources used were almost exclusively from the Soviet periodical press.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

The many political and cultural organizations with a specific interest in Russia fall roughly into three categories: (1) left-wing groups, often linked to the illegal Communist movement, active in the late twenties and early thirties until government suppression became more systematic and ruthless; (2) the right-wing groups, whose natural concern with the U.S.S.R. was stimulated by developments at home and abroad during the middle and late nineteen thirties; and (3) the various Soviet-Japanese friendship groups, some outright left-wing, others backed by Japanese government officials, prominent capitalists, and even by the Imperial Family. All of these organizations contributed, if modestly, to training, research or publication in the Russian field.

1. Left-Wing Groups

At the extreme left of the political spectrum was the illegal Japanese Communist Party whose ideological, organizational and programmatic ties with the Soviet Union are a matter of record. In a sense, the Party stimulated training in the Russian field, for until the nineteen thirties it sent groups of young men secretly to Moscow, where they entered the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) and the Lenin Institute to study Marxist theory and practice as well as the Russian language. About seventy of these trainees had returned to Japan by 1935. After that time the Japanese government's tight security network made such "study" in the Soviet Union difficult. Several of the Soviet-trained Japanese rose to leadership in the Japanese Communist Party; others recanted soon after their return to Japan, but maintained their interest in the Russian language and in Russia, some of them going to work for the Japanese government; still others — about half of the total — preferred to forget their Russian past. Japanese Communist leaders without any particular Russian training often illegally left the country to consult with Comintern and Soviet officals in Moscow, several of them staying on for long periods in the Soviet Union. The best-known cases are those of Nozaka Sanzo,* Nabeyama Sadachika,* and Kazama Jokichi.* During the nineteen thirties Nozaka spent nine years at Comintern headquarters in Moscow. Today, as First Secretary, he directs the Japanese Communist Party's "collective leadership." Nabeyama was once Profintern delegate in Moscow while Kazama, after five years at KUTV, became Secretary-General of the Party. In the postwar period these two are among the leaders of the anti-Communist front and operate a small research organization devoted to the study of the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement. (See page 135)

Little of the Japanese Communist Party's efforts went into Soviet

research in the usual sense of the word. Moreover, the studies of Marxism and Leninism done by Party members and sympathizers, even when published by a front organization, were often immediately suppressed by the Japanese authorities. Nevertheless, in the prewar period a great many left-wing organizations were engaged in the translation and dissemination of material on and from Soviet Russia. Among the most active of the Communist-front organizations were the Association of Materialists (Yuibutsuronsha Kyokai), the Japanese League of Militant Atheists (Nihon Sento teki Mushin Ronsha Domei)—which issued a study on "Lenin's anti-religious thought" — but especially the League of Proletarian Scientists (Puroretaria Kagakusha Domei) and the research institute by the same name. The latter for some time operated a "Soviet research group" which prepared such studies as "Lenin's Philosophical Legacy " and "Colonial Problems." Perhaps the organization which approached most closely that of a research group, though clearly part of the Communist movement, was the Industrial Labor Research Institute (Sangyo Rodo Chosajo), which throughout the twenties and the early thirties published works on the Russian Revolution, the history of the Red Trade Union International, the program of the Young Communist International movement, and on the contemporary Soviet Union and its economic policies. This organization was headed during its formative years by Nozaka Sanzo. *

2. Right-Wing Groups

Numerous right-wing groups were engaged in the study of Communist ideology and Soviet affairs to combat Communism in Japan and also to prepare for a conflict with the U. S. S. R. The Japanese veterans' organization, called the Imperial Reservists Association (Teikoku Zaigo Gunjin-kai), was one of these militantly patriotic groups which devoted some of its time to the study of Soviet military affairs. One of its more widely distributed reports was "Basic Information on the Soviet Armed Forces" (Sogun Joshiki). The Great Peace Association (Oyasu Kyokai), another patriotic group, in the late nineteen thirties issued a "Ten-Day Periodic Report on the Soviet Union" (Soren Jumpo—discontinued in 1941) and in 1937 several volumes on the Soviet press (Roshi Roncho). The Research Institute for National Thought (Kokumin Shiso Kenkyujo) had a unique background. Composed exclusively of ex-communists with records as political prisoners, it included Numata Ichiro* (author of a book on Russo-Japanese diplomatic relations) and several other graduates of Moscow's Communist University for the Toilers of the East with a fair command of the Russian language. From 1938 on and for several years this group prepared with the encouragement of the Japanese authorities a "Ten-Day Periodic Report on Soviet Domestic Conditions" (Soren Naijo Jumpo), the editorial policy of which was defined as "study and criticism of Soviet affairs from the Japanese viewpoint."

3. Soviet-Japanese Friendship Groups

Among the several organizations devoted to the promotion of closer ties between Japan and Russia, the Japan-Russia Association, the Russo-Japanese Art Association, the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union, the Japan-Soviet Cultural Association, the Russo-Japanese Business Conference, the Moscow Society, and the Soviet cultural mission in Japan deserve description.

a. Japan-Russia Association (Nichi-Ro Kyokai)

The efforts of the Japan-Russia Association to establish a Russian language training school have been described earlier. These plans were brought to fruition in September 1920, with the establishment in Harbin, Manchuria, of the Japan-Russia Association School (Nichi-Ro Kyokai Gakko), later known as the Harbin Institute (Harupin Gakuin, see Chapter IV, page 36). Two years earlier at the request of the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, the Association had built a permanent Commercial Museum in Harbin for the exhibition of Japanese merchandise. The staff of this museum undertook research on the economy and foreign trade of Russia and especially on Russo-Japanese trade. The death in 1919, of Field Marshal Terauchi Masatake, the Chairman of the Association, brought the Chairmanship to Vice-Chairman Goto Shimpei, Home and Foreign Minister in the Terauchi Cabinet, and as the first President of the South Manchuria Railway Company, long connected with Russian affairs. Harvard-trained economist Baron Megata Tanetaro, former head of the Association's Department of Research on Russo-Japanese Trade, was promoted to Vice-Chairman.

Following the recognition of the Soviet regime by the Japanese government in 1925, the Japan-Russia Association assumed the name Japan-Soviet Association (Iapono-Sovetskoe Obshchestvo), expelled all White Russian members, including the Tsarist diplomats, and invited the newly appointed Soviet Ambassador to serve as Honorary Chairman. Prince Kan'in continued as President, while Baron Goto, a firm believer in strengthening the ties between the two neighboring countries, energetically directed the affairs of the Association. In 1928 the organization listed almost five hundred members including many Soviet diplomats. Among the fifteen directors were General Tanaka Giichi, one-time Prime Minister, Minister of War and of Foreign Affairs; the diplomat Kawakami Toshihiko, graduate of the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, Japanese Minister to Poland and later President of the North Sakhalin Mining Company and the Russo-Japanese Fisheries Company; and Professor Yasugi Sadatoshi,* the chairman of the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. Among the forty board members were several Cabinet Ministers; the President of the South Manchuria Railway Company, Matsuoka Yosuke; the diplomat Amau Eiji* and others. The Japan-Russia Association actively promoted Japanese studies of Russia through the Harbin Institute

and through various activities in Japan, often organized with the cooperation of the Soviet cultural mission in Tokyo.

b. Russo-Japanese Art Association (Nichi-Ro Geijutsu Kyokai)

In March 1925, immediately following the recognition of Soviet Russia by Japan, a group of some thirty prominent, mostly left-wing, writers, artists and translators of Russian literature gathered in Tokyo to organize the Russo-Japanese (later Japan-Soviet) Art Association (Nichi-Ro [Nisso] Geijutsu Kyokai). The governing committee of this society included the Communist author Akita Ujaku;* the founder of the Harbin Institute, Ida Kohei; the theatrical director Osanai Kaoru, much influenced by the Stanislavsky School; Shigemori Tadashi,* a researcher on the staff of the Russo-Japanese News Agency; and the noted translators of Russian literature Yonekawa Masao* and Nobori Shomu.*

The aims of the organization were defined as the study of Soviet literature and art and their introduction to the Japanese public as well as the promotion of cultural exchange between Japan and the Soviet Union—contributing thereby to a cultural rapprochement between the two countries. The major activities of this group consisted of research, publication and liaison. Study groups were formed to consider Soviet art, literature, and other aspects of the "new" Russian culture. The Art Association also acted as a clearinghouse for lectures in the Russian field. In collaboration with the Soviet cultural mission in Tokyo, it promoted Soviet exhibits in Japan and arranged welcoming parties for visiting Soviet scholars and writers. But the major activity of the Association was the publication of a monthly journal and of occasional books and pamphlets. The monthly "Russo-Japanese Art" (also entitled "Japan-Soviet Art" and "Soviet Art"—Nichi-Ro Geijutsu, Nisso Geijutsu, Sovueto Geijutsu) appeared from the middle to the early thirties, at the height of the proletarian cultural movement in Japan. The journal, on occasion carrying articles in Russian, was devoted largely to Soviet literature and art and to a lesser extent to Japanese proletarian writings. In connection with the Soviet tour of a Japanese Kabuki theatrical troupe in 1928, the Association staff prepared a Russian-language pamphlet on the classical Kabuki Theater. Representative of the books published under the Association's auspices is "A Survey of the Art of New Russia" (Shin Roshia Bijutsu Taikan), a translation of a Soviet work.

c. Society of Friends of the Soviet Union—Japan-Soviet Cultural Association (Sovueto Tomo no Kai—Nisso Bunka Kyokai)

In June 1931 a Society of Friends of the Soviet Union was organized in Tokyo by a group of journalists, artists, writers-translators, scholars and businessmen. The older Japan-Russia Association was more and more developing into an inactive official "friendship association," largely consisting of prominent public figures. In the newly organized group the accent was on the promotion of the left-wing line. The Society was headed by the Communist writer Akita Ujaku,* who had spent the

better part of a year in Russia, having been invited by the Soviet government to participate in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution.

Like the Japan-Soviet Art Association, it was the intention of the new society to give to the Japanese people a favorable picture of Soviet life and culture through the publication of a magazine and pamphlets; to acquire Soviet materials for a Russian library in Tokyo; and to promote cooperation between Japan and the Soviet Union by cultural exchange and through conferences, lectures and social events.

Upon the resignation of Akita in May 1932, the Society was reorganized and renamed Japan-Soviet Cultural Association (Nisso Bunka Kyokai). The organization boasted several hundred members in the Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto areas. The managing director at this time was Ono Shun'ichi,* one of the few Japanese to have attended the St. Petersburg University. A monthly journal, entitled first "The Friend of the Soviet [Union]" (Sovueto no Tomo) and later "New Russia" (Shin Roshia) appeared. The Association maintained good relations with the Soviet cultural mission in Tokyo, and on one occasion agreed to collect Japanese books as a gift to the Lenin Library in Moscow. Other activities of the Cultural Association included welcoming Soviet visitors, like the well-known Soviet writer Boris Pil'niak or a delegation of Soviet teachers, and conferences and lecture meetings such as the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the literary activity of Maxim Gorky in 1932.

d. Society of Friends of the Soviet Union (Sovueto no Tomo no Kai)

After the reorganization of the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union and its change of name to the Japan-Soviet Cultural Association, still another group, comprised mostly of leftist "workers and peasants" formed in September 1932 a second "Society of Friends of the Soviet Union" (Sovueto no Tomo no Kai). This organization was patterned after the many similar societies of friends of the Soviet Union which had been established in various countries in honor of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. This new Japanese group began to issue a monthly "Russia Today" (Konnichi no Roshiya), which however was short-lived. With the worsening of relations between Japan and the Soviet Union and with the suppression of leftist activities in Japan, both Japanese societies of friends of the Soviet Union and similar groups ceased to exist.

e. The Russo-Japanese Business Conference (Nichi-Ro Jitsugyo Danwakai)

In September 1924, shortly before the resumption of diplomatic relations between Japan and Russia, a small group of Japanese businessmen met to form the Russo-Japanese Business Conference (Nichi-Ro Jitsugyo Danwakai, renamed in 1927 Conference of Japanese Interested in Economic Relations with the U.S.S.R. —Tairo Keizai Danwakai). This group of some forty members in Japan and fifteen outside of Japan proper aimed at promoting economic relations between the Soviet Union and Japan and as part of its activity sponsored the study of economic condi-

tions in the two countries and the prospects for trade.

f. Moscow Society (Mosukuwa Kai)

The "Moscow Society," an informal gathering of Japanese who had visited the Soviet Union after the restoration of diplomatic relations, was established in September 1928 for the purpose of exchanging ideas and recollections. The group consisted of some fifty members, among them Goto Shimpei, the Chairman of the Japan-Russia Association; the writers and translators Akita Ujaku,* Yonekawa Masao,* and Yasugi Sadatoshi;* the millionaire industrialist Kuhara Fusanosuke; Hiratsuka Tsunejiro, Vice-President of the Russo-Japanese Fisheries Company; and the diplomats Kawakami Toshihiko, Nishi Haruhiko* and Ueda Sentaro. The last-named had been for many years stationed in Russia and was considered the dean of the Foreign Ministry's Russian specialists.

g. The Soviet Cultural Mission (VOKS)

A word might be added about the activities of the Soviet cultural mission in Japan, representing the Soviet international cultural relations organization (Vsesoiuznoe Obshchestvo Kul'turnoi Sviazi s Zagranitsei—better known by the abbreviation VOKS), which did much to stimulate Russian studies in Japan.

For a time the VOKS representative in Tokyo was Professor Spal'vin, a leading Russian authority on Japan and the author of several Japanese language texts. VOKS arranged invitations for Japanese scholars and writers to tour the U. S. S. R., starting in 1925, immediately upon the restoration of diplomatic relations, with the visit of several Japanese scholars including Professor Yasugi Sadatoshi* in connection with the bicentennial of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Another group of prominent Japanese followed in 1927 on the occasion of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution (Akita Ujaku,* Yonekawa Masao,* Osanai Kaoru and others). During the next year the well-known translator and student of Russian literature Nobori Shomu* was given the opportunity to travel in the Soviet Union and to attend the centennial festivities honoring the birth of Count Leo Tolstoy. Further activities of VOKS included the arranging of tours for other Japanese intellectuals and artists, visits to Japan of Soviet scholars, writers and musicians, the organization of Russian exhibits in Japan and of Japanese expositions in the Soviet Union (books, art, movies, children's art, photographs), the translation of Japanese literature into Russian and assistance for the translation of Soviet literature into Japanese.

The Soviet cultural mission was in close touch with the Japan-Russia Association, the Russo-Japanese Art Association and with other sympathetic Japanese groups interested in Russia. VOKS also played an important part in initiating book exchanges between Soviet and Japanese institutions, notably the Tokyo Imperial University, thus adding to the Japanese library resources in the Russian field. These various activities of the Soviet cultural mission contributed substantially to the development of Russian studies in prewar Japan.

CHAPTER VII PUBLICATIONS

For obvious reasons, few of the Japanese government studies and translations in the Russian field or the products of the related research agencies described above were ever published. However, a large amount of material in the Russian and Soviet area ranging from translations of Russian literary classics and of Soviet works in the social sciences to original Japanese efforts found its way to publishers and is today generally available in libraries in Japan and in the United States or unavailable in the Soviet Union.

The impact of the Bolshevik Revolution on Japan produced a sharp increase in non-governmental interest in Russia. The high point of this concern came understandably in the years 1931 and 1932, at the peak of the left-wing movement in Japan. A survey of the critical period from 1930 to 1945 alone shows some one thousand published items in the Russian field.

An examination of the vast amount of Japanese work on Russia during the inter-war period reveals a number of trends and characteristics. Until the government suppression of the left-wing political and cultural movements became effective, that is about 1933, two-thirds of the publications in the Russian field were comprised of translations, constituting as many as one hundred items a year. From that point on, the quantity of translation steadily declined, approaching zero toward the end of World War II. The general interest in the Soviet Union throughout the period is reflected in the large number of introductory works, travel accounts and commentaries on current affairs, both translated and original, a category which in the aggregate makes up about one-half of the publications in the Russian field. Among translations, books in the literature area occupied quantitatively the ranking position, about 25%. Other important categories, in addition to publications on Communism and Soviet ideology (largely translations), include Russian language texts and dictionaries, studies of Russo-Japanese relations (mostly original works), and in the social sciences, economics (both translations and Japanese contributions). Conspicuous also are books on the Soviet Far East.

1. Books

Russian literature continued to enjoy wide popularity in Japan especially among the young students and intellectuals. During the inter-war period, new translations of Russian classics were made and those already translated were reissued. A brief listing of the collected writings of Russian authors published during these years will suffice to show the Japanese interest and range in the field of Russian literature: the collected works of Pushkin (in five volumes), Gogol (in six volumes) and Gorky (in twenty-five volumes); while the collected writings of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev and Chekhov have appeared in more than one edition. When the daughter of Count Tolstoy, Alexandra, arrived in Japan

in 1929, her lectures all over Japan were attended by enthusiastic crowds. Even in the smaller towns the auditoriums were filled to capacity, and high school girls wept when they heard her tell about the life of the great master. Alexandra Tolstoy's recollections of her father were promptly translated into Japanese.

Soviet writings, although not as popular as Russian classical literature, nevertheless very soon reached the Japanese reader. During the twenties and the early thirties the works of Sholokhov, Gladkov, Furmanov, Leonov and Fadeev were introduced in Japan, usually a few years after their first appearance in Soviet Russia. Several of these translations were combined in 1931 in a "Peasant-Worker Russian Literature Series" (Rono Roshia Bungaku Sosho). Works in the field of Russian and Soviet literary history and criticism were almost immediately translated into Japanese. A number of original Japanese works on these subjects likewise appeared during the period.

The revolutionary movement in Russia and Soviet proletarian literature have had a profound effect upon Japanese writers. Proletarian literature in Japan developed rapidly. According to a speech made at the first Soviet Writers' Congress in 1934, Japan was adjudged to have the largest volume of proletarian literature outside the Soviet Union. Both Japanese proletarian literature and translations of Soviet literature were carefully scrutinized by the Japanese authorities. The censor often blacked out entire passages and substituted an "X" for each Chinese ideograph removed. Though government suppression grew in intensity, the more harmless Russian literary works continued to be published even during the Pacific War.

The number of Russian language texts and dictionaries published in Japan reflected the position of Russian as the fourth most studied European language after English, German and French. The accompanying table of language texts and dictionaries published in Japan during the fifteen years preceding the surrender will illustrate the relative standing of Russian. It also shows the decline after 1934 likewise evident in other European languages and most dramatically the case with English. This decline in Russian took place in spite of the fact that the publishers of Russian texts tried to encourage the study of the language by asserting that "the time has come when it is absolutely necessary to study Russian."

Many Japanese have learned Russian using Glebov's grammar translated into Japanese by Iwasawa Heikichi, an instructor in the Army Russian language program. But gradually original Japanese Russian grammars appeared. Outstanding among these were the works of Yasugi Sadatoshi,* the dean of Russian studies in Japan, Yokemura Yoshitaro* and Igeta Sadatoshi.* Conversational drill books and readers were often prepared by native Russian instructors at the schools of foreign languages, Waseda University or in the army. Among dictionaries mention must be made of a "New Dictionary of Soviet Russian Abbreviations and New Words" (Sovueto Roshia Ryakugo, Shingo Jiten) published in 1932, the Russo-Japanese dictionary (Matsuda Waro Daijiten) by Professor Matsuda Mamoru* of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (fourth printing in 1942), and a Russian-Japanese Dictionary (Rowa Jiten) by Professor Yasugi Sadatoshi,* prepared over a period of five years (1930-1935) with the assistance of his former students Igeta Sadatoshi,* Jinzai Kiyoshi* and an army

Table 4.

Language Texts and Dictionaries Published in Japan
(1929-1944)

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	Total
Russian	3	3	11	10	19	14	9	7	3		7	2	6	5	4	1	104
English	102	149	125	177	177	230	100	90	82	93	37	31	14	35	37	7	1486
German	28	44	54	65	66	60	48	28	51	27	20	13	18	33	32	12	599
French	9	15	8	24	23	37	25	11	19	12	4	2	5	11	8	3	216
Chinese	2	2	5	26	18	11	13	22	24	22	26	20	27	34	19	5	276
Esperanto	3	6	22	18	10	10	2	2	1	1	3				2		80
Spanish		4	1		3	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	5	1		26
Italian		1	2		2	1		2		4	1	2		4	3		22
Portuguese			2		1	1	1		1			1					7
Latin	1	1	2	2	3		1	3	1		1	1		1			17
Greek		2	1	1	3				1					2	1		11
Dutch								1					2		1	1	5
Hungarian														1	1		2
Turkish								1								1	2
Arabic								1						2	5	1	9
Iranian														1	1		2
Hindustani						2									2	2	6
Sanscrit													3		1	1	5
Burmese															5		5
Thai													1	8	4	2	15
Malay		1		1			1		1	1		1	10	35	17	8	76
Annamese													2	7	2	1	12
Tagalog														3			3
Tibetan				1					1			2		1			5
Mongol				1				1	1		1	1	2	1	1		9
Korean				2												2	4
Gilyak															1		1
TOTAL	148	228	233	328	325	367	201	171	187	163	102	77	91	190	147	47	3005

instructor Ito Motoo. Primarily based on Pavlovsky's Russian-German dictionary, this Japanese work is far richer than its prototype in content, the compiler having made use of several Russian and foreign dictionaries as well as of the latest Soviet bilingual and other dictionaries and reference works. Yasugi's work is one of the best bilingual Russian dictionaries published in any country.

Introductory works on the Soviet Union have always been popular in Japan. Such books were translations and compilations from Soviet sources, translations of Western writings or Japanese original contributions, travel accounts and reports by foreign correspondents. An example of the more analytical Japanese work is a collection of studies on Russia, "Studies of the Labor-Farmer Union" (Rono Rempo Kenkyu), by fifteen prominent professors and newspapermen. More general, popular accounts bore such titles as "Soviet Panorama," "Russia and the Russians," "Contemporary Soviet Russia," and "A Handbook on Present-Day Russia."

Travel accounts and recollections of Japanese with personal experience in Russia can be divided into the following author categories: military officers, journalists, scholars in the Russian field, official visitors, illegal travellers, and foreign accounts in translation.

Many Japanese high-ranking military officers published their recollections of life, travel, military operations and intelligence activities in Russia during the Siberian Intervention. Numerous books by Japanese newspapermen returning from Russia have appeared in Japan. The late Moscow correspondent of the Mainichi Press, Fuse Katsuji, produced a series of books including "Soviet Policy in the Orient" (Soueto Toho-saku, better known in its somewhat inaccurate English version), "Lenin's Russia and Sun Yat-sen's China" (Renin no Roshia to Sombun no Shina), and "Soviet Report" (Soren Hokoku). Mention should also be made of Fuse's colleagues in Moscow, Kuroda Otokichi* — "Troubled Russia" (Nayameru Roshia, 1920) and Maeshiba Kakuzo*—"Soviet Report" (Soren-ki, 1942). Another account, by Maruyama Masao,* Moscow correspondent for the rival Asahi chain, "News from the Soviet Union" (Sovueto Tsushin, 1941) won an award from the Ministry of Education. Representative works by scholars and official visitors are "Throughout the Length and Breadth of Russia" (Roshia Juoki) by the well-known scholar of Russian literature Nobori Shomu* and books by Ashida Hitoshi,* at the time a young diplomat and subsequently member of the Japanese Imperial Diet, "Returning from Russia" (Roshiya yori Kaerite), a transcript of a lecture by Goto Shimpei, the outstanding proponent of Russo-Japanese rapprochement, and travel accounts of Siberia and Central Asia by Japanese archeologists. The books by returning left-wingers, Soviet sympathizers or illegal Communist Party members were often heavily censored. Here one might mention "The Young Soviet Russia" (Wakaki Soviueto Roshia) by the Communist writer Akita Ujaku; "Impressions of Moscow" (Mosuko Inshoki) by the noted proletarian novelist Miyamoto Yuriko (the late wife of one of the leaders of the Japanese Communist movement); or accounts by the anarchist Yoshida Pin, and by the present head of the Socialist Party, Suzuki Mosaburo; "Record of Internal Struggle in the Russian Communist Party" (Rokoku Kyosanto Naikoroku) and "Before and After the Russian Revolution" (Rokoku Kakumei Zengo) by Comintern emissary Kondo Eizo; "Crossing Red Square" (Akai Hiroba wo Yokogiru) and recollections of Stalin by another Japanese

Comintern agent Taguchi Unzo; and memoirs of graduates of Moscow's Communist University for the Toilers of the East. Many foreign accounts of Russia like John Reed's Ten Days That Shook the World appeared in Japanese translation.

A vast amount of non-fiction translations from the Russian was also published in Japan. This included, of course, the writings and speeches of Lenin and Stalin, as well as the works of Plekhanov, Bukharin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Lozovsky, Lunacharsky, Deborin, Yaroslavsky, Manuil'sky, Madame Kolontai and Molotov and even such diverse items as the memoirs of Count Witte or Papanin's travel to the North Pole.

As relations between Japan and the U. S. S. R. began to deteriorate in the middle and late thirties, and as Japanese government suppression made publication of translations of Soviet materials more difficult, Japanese books about the Soviet Union were largely confined to those on current affairs or to exposes of Soviet policies and domestic conditions. Suggestive of the atmosphere of the time are such published titles as "Here Are the Facts about the Soviet Union," "The Red Army Sneers," "The Soviet Plot in the East," "Soviet Intrigue," and "What Will the Soviets Do Next?"

Another group of books dealt with the diplomatic, commercial and military relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. Here the sampling shows such titles as "Stories of Russo-Japanese Negotiations," "Russo-Japanese Diplomatic War for Sakhalin," "The Time for Launching War Against the Soviet Union," "Must Japan and the Soviet Union Fight?" "When Will the Soviet-Japanese War Start?" "The Manchurian-Soviet Border—The Situation Is Dangerous!" "History of Aggression in the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin," "Shaky Soviet-Japanese Relations," "History of Border Incidents between the Soviet Union and Manchuria," and "Crisis in Russo-Japanese Relations." Books also appeared on the fisheries' disputes between Japan and the U. S. S. R., the 1941 Neutrality Pact between the two countries, Russian expansion in Asia and Soviet Far Eastern policy (like "Russia's Policy in the Orient" [Roshia no Toho Seisaku], "Russian Eastward Expansion" [Roshia no Toshin] or "Soviet Russia's Advance in the Far East" [Sovuieto Rokoku no Kyokuto Shinshutsu]). With the outbreak of the German-Soviet war many Japanese writers took up the subjects of wartime conditions in the Soviet Union, the Red Army, Soviet aviation, Russia's capacity for resistance and over-all military potential.

In the field of the social sciences works on Soviet economics greatly outnumber books on Soviet politics and law, Soviet political institutions, and Soviet foreign policy, or for that matter, books on Russian social and cultural developments (religion, education, the theater, the arts, and so forth).

The economics and geography of the Soviet Union commanded much attention in prewar Japan. In this field good examples are "Economic Geography of Siberia" (Shiberia Keizai Chiri), "Soviet Economic Geography" (Sovueto Rempo Keizai Chiri), "Soviet Wartime Economic Geography" (Soren Senji Keizai Chiri) by Hiratake Denzo,* "Soviet Planned Economy" (Sovuieto Tosei Keizai-ron, 1943) by Takeo Hajime,* or such works as "Economic Organization of Soviet Russia," and numerous statistical and other works on Soviet planned economy, the Five-Year Plans, distribution

of goods, consumers unions and so on.

2. Periodical Publications

Japanese periodicals of significance to research in the Russian field and published during the inter-war period are listed below for easy reference. Most of them have been discussed in the preceding sections under training and research in conjunction with the institution responsible for their appearance.

1. Products of academic institutions: "Studies in Russian Literature" (Roshia Bungaku Kenkyu), a quarterly published by the Russian Literature Society of Waseda University (Waseda Daigaku Roshia Bungakkai) and the yearly "Collection of Essays of the Harbin Institute" (Harupin Gakuin Ronso).

2. Monthly magazines devoted to the study of the Russian language: "The Russian Language" (Roshia-go) issued by the Tachibana Publishing House in Tokyo, "The Study of Russian" (Rogo Kenkyu) by Namboku Shoin Publishers and "Practical Russian" (Jitsuyo Roshia-go) put out in Harbin.

3. Governmental or semi-governmental research periodicals: the "Russian Monthly" (Roshia Geppo) and the irregularly published "Diplomatic Reports" (Gaiko Yoho) of the Japanese Foreign Ministry; "Military Affairs of Neighboring Countries" (Rimpo Gunji) of the Imperial Army General Staff; "Soviet Affairs" (Soueto Rempo Jijo), "Mantetsu Research Monthly" (Mantetsu Chosa Geppo) and "Intelligence Reports on the Soviet Union" (Soren Joho) by the research departments of the South Manchuria Railway Company; "Research Monthly" (Chosa Geppo) of the National Planning Board; "Report of the East Asia Research Institute" (Token Shoho); and "Soviet Monthly" (Soren Geppo) and "Soviet Far Eastern Affairs" (Saaueto Rempo Kyokuto Chiho Jijo) put out by the Manchukuo Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

4. Monthly magazines published by news agencies and private research groups: "Monthly Russia" (Gekkan Roshia) of the Japan-Soviet News Agency (Nisso Tsushinsha); the monthly "Soviet Economics" (Sovueto Keizai) by the Soviet Research Society (Sovueto Kenkyukai); and the "Soviet Review" (Sovueto Hyoron) and "The Soviet Union and Manchuria-Mongolia" (Sovueto oyobi Mammo) published by the Russo-Japanese Press Agency (Nichi-Ro Tsushinsha, at the time called the Russo-Japanese Trade News Agency— Nichi-Ro Boeki Tsushinsha).

5. Monthly periodicals published by Soviet-Japanese friendship and cultural organizations: "Russo-Japanese Art" (also entitled "Japan-Soviet Art" and "Soviet Art"— Nichi-Ro Geijutsu, Nisso Geijutsu, Sovueto Geijutsu) by the Japan-Soviet Art Association (Nisso Geijutsu Kyokai); "The Friend of the Soviet [Union]" (Sovueto no Tomo), "New Russia" (Shin Roshia) and "Russia Today" (Konnichi no Roshiya) put out by the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union, later known as the Japan-Soviet Cultural Association and by another Society of Friends of the Soviet Union composed mostly of left-wing workers and peasants.

6. News bulletins: the daily "Russo-Japanese Report" (Nichi-Ro Tsushin) of the Russo-Japanese News Agency (Nichi-Ro Tsushinsha, also known as Nichi-Ro Boeki Tsushinsha); the daily "Russian Report" (Roshia Tsushin) and the periodic pamphlets entitled "Russian Affairs" (Roshia

Jijo) published three times a month by the Russian News Agency (Roshia Tsushinsha) later known as the Japan-Soviet News Agency (Nisso Tsushinsha); "Russo-Japanese Report" (Nichi-Ro Tsuho) and the "Collection of Pravda and Izvestia Editorials" (Purauda Izuuesuchia Shasetsu-shu) compiled three times monthly by the Russo-Japanese Report Publishers (Nichi-Ro Tsuhosha); "Russo-Japanese Economic Review" (Nichi-Ro Keizai Jiho) by an organization of the same name; "Ten-Day Periodic Report on the Soviet Union" (Soren Jumpo) by the Great Peace Association (Oyasu Kyokai); "Ten-Day Periodic Report on Soviet Domestic Conditions" (Soren Naijo Jumpo) by the Research Institute for National Thought (Kokumin Shiso Kenkyujo); and "Russian Asia Review" (Roa Jiho) put out in Harbin by Russian specialist Mori Mikage of the South Manchuria Railway Company.

7. Yearbooks: "Russo-Japanese Yearbook" (Nichi-Ro Nenkan—Iezhegodnik Iapono-Sovetskikh Otnoshenii) of the Russo-Japanese News Agency (Nichi-Ro Tsushinsha, also known as Nichi-Ro Boeki Tsushinsha and later as European-Asiatic News Agency—O-A Tsushinsha); "Soviet Union Yearbook" (Soueto Rempo Nenkan) by the Russian research section of the South Manchuria Railway Company; and the annual handbook, "Materials on Current Soviet Affairs" (Saueto Gensei Shiryo) and "Soviet Union Yearbook" (Sorempo Nenkan) put out by the Japan-Soviet News Agency (Nisso-Tsushinsha, in the beginning known as Russian News Agency—Roshia Tsushinsha).

General magazines such as "Central Review" (Chuo Koron), "Reconstruction (Kaizo), and "Weekly Asahi" (Shukan Asahi) have on many occasions published special issues devoted to the Soviet Union, particularly numerous after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. Such special issues bore titles like "Study of Soviet Strength," "New Soviet Trends," "German-Soviet War and Japan," and "Study of the Soviet Union at War."

In a discussion of Japanese periodicals in the Russian field mention should be made of the many journals for the study of Marxism-Leninism and "proletarian culture" such as "Under the Banner of Marxism" (Marukusu Shugi no Hata no Moto ni), "Study of Marxism" (Marukusu Shugi Kenkyu), "Proletarian Culture" (Puroretaria Bunka), "Proletarian Science" (Puroretaria Kagaku), and "Leninist Studies" (Renin Kenkyu).

Finally reference should be made to the several Russian language or bilingual (Russian and Japanese) periodicals published in Japan or by the Japanese in Manchuria: "The Voice of Japan" (Golos Iaponii—Nichi-Ro no Yoron), an irregular bilingual journal published by the Russo-Japanese News Agency (Nichi-Ro Tsushinsha), a Russian-language monthly "Russo-Japanese Economic News" (Robun Nichi-Ro Keizai Tsushin) issued in Tokyo by an organization of the same name, and the Russian-language literary quarterly "Oriental Review" (Vostochnoe Obozrenie—Toho Hyoron) published for six years from 1939 to March 1945 by a special translation unit attached to the office of the President of the South Manchuria Railway Company. While the contents of this journal were mainly translations of articles and short stories from the leading Japanese journals such as "Literary Annals" (Bungei Shunju), "New Asia" (Shin Ajia), "The Continent" (Tairiku), "International Knowledge" (Kokusai Chishiki), "The Pacific Ocean" (Taiheiyo), "Liberation of Eastern Asia" (Toa Kaiho), "International Review" (Kokusai Hyoron), as well as the English-language Contemporary Japan, there were some original contributions written in Russian by Japa-

nese scholars and Russian residents of Manchuria and Japan. Some of these articles are quite interesting: Yonekawa Masao* on "The Influence of Russian Literature on Japanese Literature," Yasugi Sadatoshi* on "The Study of Russian in Japan" and articles on Japanese art, and early Russo-Japanese relations. The greater part of the contents of "Oriental Review" however, dealt with politics, economics and current affairs. A chronology of important events was a regular feature after 1940. "Oriental Review" was edited by Nozaki Yoshio,* a former student of the Russian Literature Department of Waseda University, and in the postwar period a lecturer at the same institution.

PART III
RUSSIAN STUDIES IN POSTWAR JAPAN

CHAPTER VIII SETTING

The defeat of Japan in 1945 and the subsequent long years of Allied occupation resulted in physical and socio-ideological changes which also markedly affected the scope, character and direction of Russian studies, training and research in Japan.

As the Pacific War came to its inevitable conclusion many records and files, among them Russian research materials , were deliberately destroyed by the Japanese authorities in the fear that Soviet forces would participate in an Allied occupation of Japan. Russian studies were dealt a more severe blow when the specialized collections in this field such as the East Asia Research Institute and the South Manchurian Railway libraries in Tokyo were confiscated by the American authorities and shipped to Washington, while the parent bodies themselves, branded instruments of aggressive policy, were disbanded as part of a determined program of democratization. Moreover, Japanese civilian specialists on the Soviet Union who had held high administrative posts within these organizations and professional military officers were purged, that is, prohibited from taking part in public life and barred from writing for publication. During these years of forced retirement, many of them maintained their interest in Soviet affairs,although Occupied Japan offered little opportunity or encouragement for such endeavor.

More serious for Japan's research and training on Russia was the Soviet policy of appropriating the huge Russian collections of the Japanese research agencies in Manchuria and of sending to Siberia Japanese experts on Russia. To date, perhaps a hundred of these specialists captured in Manchuria remain unrepatriated.

Further, Japan's severely limited territorial base and international position and the endemic postwar economic crisis combined to lessen the interest and participation of the Japanese government in the Russian research and training scene which in the prewar period it had dominated. Those few Russian specialists in the government who had escaped Soviet capture or the American purge were often shifted to other positions and temporarily lost to Russian research. Without official financial support, career incentive or the mobility and opportunity for field work enjoyed in prewar days, there was little to attract the newcomer to the profession. To be sure, in the early days of the Occupation, American ideas and the English language predominated and tended to crowd out interest in things Russian.

On the other hand, by establishing political and academic freedom in Japan, General Douglas MacArthur removed an obstacle to the study of Russia and permitted the expression of a latent interest in Soviet affairs. In boththe academic and political worlds the always present left-wing forces rallied unexpected strength. Communists, Communist sympathizers and Socialists came to play a major role in Japan's universities, labor unions and the press. The university students especially were captured by the left-wing ideologies and in growing numbers actively participated in the radical movement throughout Japan. In this

atmosphere, the emergence of the Japanese Communist Party as a powerful political and ideological force could only result in further stimulating public interest in Marxism, Communism and the U.S.S.R., even though in the early postwar years the Party sought for tactical reasons to play down its ties with Moscow.

Still inherent in the Japanese scene were serious limitations to the development of Russian training and research. The academic community of Japan tends to be more inclined toward acceptance of the Marxist interpretation than is true in the West, and twenty years of suppression of Marxist writings and Soviet publications has endowed such material with an unusual attraction. In a way the intellectual climate of postwar Japan may be likened to that of America during the twenties. While Marxism has apparently run its course in the United States, the Japanese scholar still clings to his Marxian faith. In a broader sense, the highly theoretical and abstract approach of the Japanese university to the study of economics and politics does little to encourage the understanding of the realities of public administration, the complexities of international power politics or the difference between economic theory and practice.

A further stringent limitation on Russian training and research in early postwar Japan was the nature of the materials available to the Japanese scholar. Distribution of Soviet books, magazines and newspapers was encouraged by the Soviet Mission in Tokyo and by the Japanese Communist Party, while copyright and other restrictions limited the use of Western writings. American research on the Soviet Union was unlikely to reach the Japanese scholar for two additional very practical reasons: it was too expensive and it was in English, a language rarely mastered by the Russian researcher.

All these factors—the economic and political effects of the war and Occupation, the removal of the Japanese government from the Russian research scene, the disappearance of hundreds of government researchers, the Marxist orientation of the Japanese academic community and the greater availability of Soviet sources—combined to push the center of gravity in the Russian field to the left. At the same time, Japanese universities now found it safe to initiate or expand curriculum and research on Russia and these studies began to attract a small but dedicated group of students on campuses throughout Japan.

Three specific issues, the repatriation of Japanese from Soviet territory, the Korean War and the recovery of national sovereignty after the San Francisco Peace Treaty, have further stimulated intensive concern with Soviet affairs, provided fresh research resources, and created an acute awareness of the need for a more systematic approach to training and research on the Soviet Union.

Between 1946 and 1949 half a million Japanese, many of them victims of Communist indoctrination, returned to Japan from Soviet camps. Even this limited exposure to Soviet Russia produced in some of them an abiding interest in Russian culture, Soviet life and the Communist system, and interest which they often imparted to others at home. The fact that thousands of others remained unrepatriated kept the issue and curiosity about the Soviet Union alive among another large group of hopeful relatives and friends. The repatriates themselves described their experiences in the U.S.S.R. in over a hundred books and several times that many articles, producing a mass of fragmentary, much of it uncritical and yet valuable, primary source material on life in the Soviet Union and the techniques of

Communist indoctrination. The Allied Occupation authorities and the Japanese government early recognized the research and intelligence potential of this huge group of repatriates from the continent. Although the Japanese government was officially prohibited from interrogating or otherwise investigating the returnees, Occupation headquarters, with the cooperation of Japanese specialists, conducted surveys of the repatriates' experiences in the Soviet Union. This was, in fact, one of the few opportunities for original research in Soviet affairs possible in Occupied Japan.

How did the Korean War affect Russian studies in Japan? The main impact was on the Japanese government which, with the Supreme Commander's approval, tightened security measures, established an embryonic defense force and began piecemeal to revive elements of its once substantial research program on the U.S.S.R. These questions now became matters of urgent concern: (1) Soviet intelligence and propaganda, (2) Soviet and Chinese Communist military affairs, (3) the Moscow-Pyongyang-Peking axis, and (4) Japanese Communist underground ties with the continent and Communist propaganda, espionage and sabotage in Japan.

The signing of the Peace Treaty at San Francisco in September 1951 and the subsequent restoration of Japan's sovereignty brought Japan once more into the realm of foreign relations. Though the Soviet Union did not sign the Treaty—or perhaps because of its refusal to sign—the future of Japan's relations with the Soviet world developed into one of the most vital and controversial issues facing the Tokyo government. Accordingly, that government (1) reorganized and enlarged the Soviet section of the Foreign Ministry, (2) created appropriate research and intelligence units in the Prime Minister's office and within the reborn military establishment, and (3) intensified research on the Soviet Union and the Communist movement within the security agencies. In strengthening its Soviet research facilities, the Japanese government could draw from a pool of pre-surrender Russian researchers, who, until this need arose, had been forced to make a living as best they could in other jobs. Among them was an important group of purged military experts now officially allowed to return to public life.

These developments were accompanied by an upsurge in public interest in the Soviet Union and in Communist China. Several private groups began to publish magazines devoted to current Soviet political and military affairs, and gradually specialized journals on Soviet law, Soviet literature and Soviet economics came into being. A craze for things Russian swept Japan's larger cities. In response to popular demand, the Japanese theater, radio and television scheduled more Russian plays, ballet and music. The coffee houses of Tokyo played recordings of Tchaikovsky, Prokofiev and Shostakovich to standing room only. Restaurants with names like Samovar or Troika, featuring the Japanese approximation of Russian cuisine, began to attract nostalgic ex-prisoners and young students. Even three vodka distilleries and a Russian cooking school made their appearance in Japan. Left-wing, quasi-cultural organizations both stimulated and capitalized on this receptive national mood by expanding Russian language programs; fostering Soviet study groups; sponsoring scientific exchange, Soviet films, art and music festivals; translating and disseminating a wide range of Soviet materials; and opening in Tokyo a Japan-Soviet library—the headquarters and a nerve center for these activities.

As Japan began to reassert itself in international matters, the ever-present voices seeking the regularization of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China grew louder. Both the conservative and left-wing political parties intensified research on conditions for a peace treaty with the Soviet Union. In fact, the Hatoyama government came to power at the end of 1954 on a platform promising to improve relations with the Soviet bloc. The year 1955 consequently not only witnessed the opening of Soviet-Japanese negotiations in London, but also saw prospects of a larger volume of trade. This new Japanese political complexion plus the Soviet "new look" combined to produce a steady stream of visitors to and from the Soviet Union and some increase in the amount of published materials exchanged between the two countries.

Resurgent Japanese concern with the Soviet Union is thus evidenced by expanded academic programs in the Russian field, intensified government training and research in Soviet affairs, an upsurge in pro-Soviet cultural and political activity, and public interest in Russian culture and the Soviet system. The effect of these developments has been to provide greater employment opportunities for the Russian researcher, teacher, translator and interpreter, as well as to broaden the base of Russian studies in Japan.

CHAPTER IX TRAINING

A Russian area program like that of Columbia University has as yet no counterpart in postwar Japan. As in prewar times, Russian training in Japanese colleges and universities is largely confined to language and literature. But a marked change is visible. Several institutions are broadening their curricula by introducing courses on Soviet law and government and on the Soviet economic system. At the same time, the number of Japanese universities offering some work in the Russian field has sharply increased and now includes all of the major academic centers. These new developments will be discussed in terms of particular institutions and programs. Meanwhile, a further word on the position of the Russian language within the Japanese academic setting may serve to place the subsequent discussion in context.

Learning a foreign tongue is an essential part of Japanese education. The predominant foreign language has always been English, taught from the middle school onward. This traditional emphasis received a strong stimulus during nearly seven years of American Occupation. Today, as in the past, there is not a Japanese college without its English teacher. Most Japanese colleges and universities, at present, offer English instruction on the elementary, intermediate and advanced levels and often in addition also specialized courses, such as "Business English" or "Technical English." The German language, popular among Japan's future doctors and scientists, has always been well represented in the college curriculum. The Nazi defeat only slightly affected this situation: German is still taught in virtually all better-known institutions, in the number of courses being second only to English. French, though no longer the lingua franca of diplomacy, has tended to remain the language of literature and the arts and there is substantially less demand for French than for English and German.

Courses in the Russian language, on the other hand, are still the exception rather than the rule. Instruction in Russian is smaller in scope than that in the Western European languages, since the relatively small number of students usually does not justify courses at the more advanced levels. To illustrate the relative standing and popularity of Russian, recent statistics on language enrollment at Tokyo's Hitotsubashi University, one of Japan's leading academic institutions, are cited below:

English	1,120	students	taught	by	15	faculty	members
German	730	"	"	"	10	"	"
French	330	"	"	"	4	"	"
Russian	30	"	"	"	1	"	"

Two other foreign tongues, Spanish and Chinese, often offered in Japanese universities, have been trailing behind Russian, both in the number of institutions offering such instruction and in enrollment figures. Despite the recent dramatic developments on the continent which have resulted in an upsurge of Japanese public interest in Chinese affairs and the Chinese language, Russian maintains the position of the fourth most popular foreign language in Japan.

1. Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe Universities of Foreign Studies

The postwar training of Russian language teachers, translators and researchers has been largely concentrated, as in the past, in the two government Tokyo and Osaka Schools of Foreign Languages known since 1949 as Universities of Foreign Studies. Only the names of the institutions are new; the schools themselves as discussed have a long tradition of teaching Russian, the Tokyo establishment alone having graduated in the past fifty years more than a thousand students from its Russian Department. To a lesser extent the Kobe University for Foreign Studies with its expanded, though somewhat smaller, area program merits inclusion in the same category.

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku)

Toward the close of World War II the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages was destroyed by an American air-raid, forcing the authorities to move the classes to the undamaged building of the Tokyo Fine Arts School, where they remained until Japan's surrender. The first postwar years, a time of severe housing shortage, saw the language school moving from one location to another. Only in 1949 was the institution able to return to the bombed-out campus, where a temporary classroom building had been put up.

During that same year, a program of reform suggested by Allied headquarters and affecting Japan's entire educational system resulted in a change of name and reorganization of the school. Formerly a semmon gakko, i.e., a three-year junior college providing professional training, the institution was raised to "university" status although in American terms it remains, in fact, a college. School publications often bear the English name Tokyo University of Foreign Studies; the official Japanese designation, however, retains the traditional stress on language: "Tokyo University of Foreign Languages."

In its present form the University's instruction is organized as a four-year curriculum which provides, in addition to liberal arts, substantial training in the language and civilization of one of several areas vital to Japan. So far neither this nor other schools of its type offer instruction on the graduate level. Courses are arranged under seven departments, several of which in turn are subdivided, making an actual total of twelve language areas: (1) English-American; (2) French and Italian (subdivided into these two specializations); (3) German; (4) Russian; (5) Spanish and Portuguese (subdivided); (6) Chinese and Mongolian (subdivided); and (7) Indian-Indonesian-Thai (broken down into India, Malay and Dutch, and Thai specializations). As can be seen from its organization the University offers instruction on those regions which have been of long-standing interest to Japanese government and business as well as on areas

which have become of real importance to Japan only in recent years. As in the United States, the Middle East and Africa are found among the last areas to be accorded serious attention.

Present regulations fix the total number of admissions in all departments of the school at 390 per year. Of these 70 places are allotted to the English-American Department, 40 each to the major languages, French, German, Spanish, Russian and Chinese, and 20 each to the remaining language. Even in prewar days the ratio of applicants to successful candidates for admission to the Russian Department averaged two to one. In postwar Japan the number of candidates has grown tremendously. This of course reflects the rising Japanese interest in Soviet affairs, but even more the increasing range of employment opportunities for graduates with a knowledge of the Russian language. A new record is said to have been established in 1955 when only 1 out of every 21 applicants competing for admission to the Russian Department was accepted. In 1953, 124 students were enrolled in the Russian Department which thus was outranked only by the English-American Department with 233 students, the other major departments having approximately the same number of students. Growing general interest in Russia and the increasing demand for Russian specialists in Japan appear to guarantee the Department's continued popularity.

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies has not yet developed a rounded area curriculum. This is partly due to the tradition of the school which emphasizes language training and partly to the fact that in the absence of graduate instruction the institution must compress a liberal arts education and area training into a four-year college curriculum. A description of this combined curriculum which applies with minor modifications to all students in the Russian Department will give an idea of the present program.

As in the United States, the freshman, in this case the freshman in Russian studies, will have completed twelve years of primary and secondary education. He will embark upon the four-year course of studies, divided into a lower and upper division program of two years each. During the first two years the future Russian specialist will divide his time almost equally between language study and a liberal arts program without regional orientation. The first year he will be spending about fourteen hours per week on language, and almost as many during the second year. To this he will add the study of a second language chosen among one of the major tongues. Parallel to this language instruction, the lower division student will be taking at least three courses each in the humanities, the social, and the natural sciences. Except for the language courses the Russian studies freshman will therefore sit in the same classroom with the other area majors.

While the emphasis on general courses decreases somewhat on the upper division level, language training continues and area courses are now introduced. By this time the student must have decided on either the Language-Literature Program or the International Relations Program. The former requires an upper division total of 68 units of which 40 are genuine area courses (mostly language); the latter despite its higher requirement of 72 units calls for only 32 units of area work.

The following is a representative selection of upper division non-

area courses: philology, phonetics, Japanese language and literature, comparative literature (including several lectures on Russian literature), history of thought, Japanese history, world history, topography, anthropology, philosophy, ethics, history of religion, history of art, education, sociology, theory of international relations, journalism, international economics, economic policy, foreign trade, merchandising, business management, finance, insurance, accounting, statistics, economic English, economic history, international political history, political science, international law, foreign civil law, Japanese civil law, common law, economic legislation, labor law, administrative law, social psychology, public health.

Area courses are few in number both because of the lack of area specialists on the faculty and because the advanced language courses are also utilized to convey area knowledge. Language instruction emphasizes the reading of Russian texts, although there are required courses in composition and conversation. The language program is rounded out with lectures in Russian by native instructors, who apparently are free to select a topic of their choice. Thus in 1954 one of the Russian faculty members lectured in simple Russian on Russo-Japanese relations. Such courses as "Readings of Current Texts" and "Exercises in Composition on Current Topics" are used as a medium for acquainting the student with the language and the area.

The following non-language area courses, a few of them not taught every year, are required of the future Russian specialist. "Historical and Geographical Study of Russia" attempts to combine an examination of the past with a discussion of the present. "History of Russian Civilization," on the other hand, is principally concerned with Russian civilization and literature of the nineteenth century. The course emphasizes the economic background against which, the catalog description states, the history and the literary works of the period "must be viewed to be fully understood"—an instance of the tendency in Japanese university circles to accept the economic interpretation of history. Knowledge of present-day Russia is conveyed in the main through a survey entitled "Outline of Soviet Affairs," a course which supposedly retraces the life of the average Russian from the cradle to the grave, dealing through concrete examples with Soviet political, economic and legal problems. A two-semester course on Russian literature covers the period from the early beginnings to the middle of the nineteenth century. It is supplemented by another course, "History of Russian Literature" (studied to some extent through the original texts), which stresses the ideological currents of nineteenth and twentieth century literature. "Readings in Russian Literary Criticism" utilizes the works of Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobroliubov for reading and recitation. In another literature course Sholokhov's "Quiet Flows the Don" or stories by Gorky and other noted modern writers serve also as a basis for the study of the contemporary language as well as for a discussion of what is termed "social change in nineteenth and twentieth century Russia."

The curriculum of the Russian program is thus heavily weighted on the side of literature. It should be pointed out, however, that in recent years student interest has tended to favor the international relations focus. Among the 1953 Russian Department graduates twice as many chose the International Relations Program as the Language-Literature Program. By

1954 the ratio had reached four to one. This trend may be attributed to the growing need in business and government for college graduates with a combination of training in international relations and in the Russian language.

In 1955, the faculty of the Russian Department consisted of eight staff members headed by Professor Sato Isamu, * director of the Russian Literature Association. Three assistant professors, Togo Masanobu, * (one of the managing directors of the Russian Literature Association and active in the affairs of the Japan-Soviet Library), Wakuri Seiichi * and Ishiyama Shozo * (both members of the Russian Literature Association), one lecturer and one research assistant make up the Japanese faculty engaged full-time in Russian language and area training. All of them are graduates of the prewar Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. Two native Russians complete the staff of the department.

The University has been publishing since 1951 a journal entitled "Area and Culture Studies" (title in English accompanied by the Japanese name Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku Hyoronshu). This periodical devoted to scholarly articles and book reviews (by the faculty) in the principal languages taught at the University has appeared yearly except 1954. Not all issues contain articles dealing with Russia. Among the contributions in the Russian field are essays on "Stalin and an International Language" and "Development and Special Features of Soviet Family Law." Occasionally the "News of the Profession" column carries some information of interest to the Russian specialist. Thus recently there was a brief note by one of the native Russian instructors regarding some rare Russian books in the University's collection.

The students, on the other hand, have organized their own study groups and reading circles for practice in the Russian language and some of them contribute to the polyglot school paper which recently carried an appeal in Russian for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. "Soviet Studies" (Sovueto Kenkyu), a mimeographed student publication of some fifty pages, issued irregularly, consists mostly of translations of Soviet material. The study circles show the usual tendency to limit themselves to Soviet writings: "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" is an often-used text, and Stalin's works were the choice of the students for the study of "Russian philosophy." Close cooperation with left-wing "Soviet study groups" at other colleges and the support and advice received from the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and the Japan-Soviet Library tend to accentuate the leftward trend among the future Russian specialists now being trained in Japanese universities.

During the first postwar years, the graduates of the Russian Department encountered some difficulty in securing positions where they could utilize their training. The situation has vastly improved since the early nineteen fifties. In recent years virtually all graduates have found employment in their field: half of them have entered business firms and industry; the remainder, in the order listed, are working in the area of mass communications, in one of the government agencies, as teachers and in research organizations.

Osaka University of Foreign Studies
(Osaka Gaikokugo Daigaku)

The development of the Osaka University of Foreign Studies closely parallels that of its better-known Tokyo prototype. Like the Tokyo institution it grew out of a "School of Foreign Languages" and was raised to "university" (college) status in 1949. The attendant reorganization followed identical lines in Tokyo and in Osaka. The four-year curriculum, divided into lower and upper division, the organization according to language, the emphasis on language and literature, these are features also found in Osaka.

At present the Osaka school is organized into twelve departments, one of these being the Russian Department. Apart from the major languages found in Tokyo and Osaka alike, a few less important ones not offered in Tokyo are taught in Osaka. The Slavic languages listed include White Russian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Polish, Church Slavonic, Czech and Bulgarian, but the demand for these languages appears to be very limited indeed, and it is doubtful whether instruction in all of them could in any case actually be provided.

The Osaka University of Foreign Studies, like that of Tokyo, has a somewhat flexible admissions quota of about three hundred students per year. Of these the Russian Department is allocated twenty-five students, roughly the same percentage (about 10%) as that prevailing in Tokyo. In the first four years after reorganization (1949-1952) the college reported about four times as many applicants for admission to the Russian program as the quota allowed. At the same time the ratio for German was 5:1, for French 9:1, for Spanish 10:1 and for English 15:1. On the other hand, there were only three times as many applicants as openings for Indonesian and less interest in Thai. The number of applicants for the Russian Department reveals the same upward trend as at the Tokyo school.

To the total of about one hundred students in the four-year Russian program at Osaka must be added those who are studying Russian as a second language (no accurate figures are available) and some twenty students who are enrolled in a special one-year Russian evening class. A grand total of about 120 students are therefore majoring in Russian in any one year at the Osaka University of Foreign Studies.

The Russian Department is headed by Professor Iwasaki Heiichiro,* a member of the Russian Literature Association and a part-time instructor in the Russian language program of the Osaka Branch of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association. The faculty at present consists of one full professor, one assistant professor, one lecturer and two native Russian instructors. Five visiting lecturers, mostly from nearby Kyoto University, further strengthen the program.

"The Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies" (Gakuho), published since 1952, is the counterpart of the Tokyo school's "Area and Culture Studies." Its initial issue carried an article entitled "Slovo o p(o)lku Igorove" (The Lay of Igor's Campaign), indicative of the editors' concern with language and literature of the past.

Kobe University for Foreign Studies
(Kobe-shi Gaikokugo Daigaku)

In contrast to the previously mentioned institutions for the study of foreign areas, Kobe University for Foreign Studies is not a government school, but under the jurisdiction of the city of Kobe, one of Japan's great ports, not far from Osaka. Perhaps for lack of financial support from the government, the Kobe institution has limited instruction to the major Western languages for which there is substantial demand. Russian is one of them.

Like the foreign language schools of Tokyo and Osaka, Kobe University for Foreign Studies is a four-year college which provides a liberal arts education together with language and some area training. The Russian curriculum comprises the usual ingredients: grammar, reading exercises, translation, and, beginning with the second year, conversational Russian. Apart from the intensive language instruction, the student will attend one or two weekly two-hour lectures dealing with his area of concentration. These include: "History of Russian Civilization," which characteristically emphasizes the economic and social aspects of Russian history (text: Shestakov's "Brief History of the Soviet Union"); and "Soviet Affairs", a course which stresses economic development and agriculture. The other courses are largely in the field of language and literature and involve the study of Russian materials including Krylov's fables, Pushkin's poetry, Gorky's writings, Pankratova's history and Pravda and Izvestia.

The Russian Department is headed by Professor Kubo Jiro, * a director of the Russian Literature Association. The faculty consists at present of two full professors, three assistant professors, two lecturers and two native Russian instructors. Half of the faculty, including both Russians, teach also at the nearby Osaka University of Foreign Studies.

Less known than the larger Tokyo and Osaka government schools, the Kobe University for Foreign Studies is still in a somewhat formative stage. This is evident also from an examination of its library resources in the Russian field which are limited to the Russian classics and the standard Soviet works. It seems rather doubtful that the demand for Soviet area specialists will ever be so great as to permit the full development of two essentially similar schools only a few miles apart.

2. Waseda University

Closed in 1939, the Russian Literature Department of Waseda University reopened in 1946 with four faculty members and four students. Notwithstanding difficult economic conditions, the Department's growth in the decade since the war has been remarkable, indicative perhaps of both the new academic freedom and of the continued popularity of Russian literature in Japan.

At present, day and night divisions together accept a yearly total of seventy students. There are always more applicants than can be accommodated. In 1954, for example, 300 young men and women applied

for the 35 openings in the regular, day program. Allowing for the natural attrition during the junior and senior years, this results in a constant enrollment in the Department of about 250 students. Although trailing behind English Literature, the Russian Literature Department leads in the number of students such departments as German Literature, Fine Arts and Oriental Philosophy.

Before proceeding to describe in greater detail the program of the Russian Literature Department, some mention must be made of other training in the Russian field at Waseda. The Schools of Law and of Political Science and Economics also offer courses in the Russian language. The instructors are faculty members of Waseda's Russian Literature Department and of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. The other schools at Waseda University teach only English, French and German, and in the case of the School of Education, some Chinese. The School of Law further offers one four-unit course entitled "Readings in Jurisprudence from the Original Russian," similar to parallel courses dealing with English, German, French and Chinese texts. The School of Commerce offers several courses in the Russian field: two undergraduate courses in the "Readings in Economics" series utilizing Russian language textbooks and two graduate seminars on "Economic Conditions in the Soviet Union" and "Soviet Economics" taught by Hiratake Denzo,* author of many works on Soviet geography and economics.

In the Russian Literature Department, in addition to a number of courses and several undergraduate seminars on the Russian language, the four-year college program is designed to acquaint the student with the main currents of Russian literature (2 courses) and to expose him to more specialized, separate courses on Russian poetry and the novel (Professor Kuroda Tatsuo,* author of a history of Soviet literature), drama (Nozaki Akio,* former editor of the South Manchuria Railway Company's Russian language quarterly), and literary criticism (Yokemura Yoshitaro,* a prominent member of the left-wing Soviet Researchers' Association and the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association. The student is required to take a survey course in Russian history which deals predominantly with the prerevolutionary period taught by former Moscow correspondent Maruyama Masao.* The Department's graduate division accepts nine students per year for the Master of Arts degree and only one student for the doctorate. Nine courses on Russian literature are offered at the graduate level, among them separate courses on eighteenth and twentieth century Russian writers. The great Russian literary figures of the nineteenth century such as Tolstoy and Dostoevsky are studied in special courses. From time to time visiting scholars join the faculty as, for instance, between 1951 and 1953, when a series of lectures on the nineteenth century Russian theater was offered.

The Faculty of the Russian Literature Department, headed by Okazawa Hidetora,* one of the Department's first graduates, numbers some fifteen Japanese and Russian professors, lecturers, and instructors—a staff larger than that of any comparable institution outside the Soviet bloc. Among these Waseda professors are Japan's leading students and translators of Russian and Soviet literature. Some of them surpass any German, French, or English translator of the Russian classics in the total number of books published and in the exhaustive treatment given many of the Russian writers. A case in point is Professor Yonekawa Masao,* Japan's most prolific trans-

lator and also one of the world's leading authorities on Dostoevsky, who has given the Japanese reader a unique complete edition of Dostoevsky's works in over forty volumes, which include also diaries and letters. Faculty members are active, not only in translation work, but also in literary research and criticism, which is facilitated by Waseda's outstanding Russian collection. They often contribute scholarly articles to "World Arts and Letters" (Sogo Sekai Bungei), published jointly by the foreign literature departments of Waseda University, and other literary journals.

A Russian Literature Society was founded at Waseda shortly after the war and prior to the establishment of a similar national organization. In 1949 the sesquicentennial of the birth of the Russian national poet Alexander Pushkin was celebrated by a public meeting well attended by Waseda students and guests from other universities. Members of the faculty presented papers including one in Russian by Waseda's native Russian lecturer Varvara Bubnova, a noted painter. Another paper in Russian was delivered by the Tokyo representative of the Soviet International Cultural Relations Organization (VOKS). Later, the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the great Russian writer Anton Chekhov was celebrated at Waseda in 1954. The program consisted of lectures by faculty members on Chekhov and the Russian theater, presentation of excerpts of Chekhov's plays in Japanese by a Waseda student theatrical group and a Soviet documentary film on the Moscow Art Theater. The same program was repeated twice to capacity crowds of several thousand in Waseda's largest auditorium. (For the program of that meeting see Appendix F4)

Much of the student interest is not restricted to Russian literature or culture but reflects as well the attraction of the Soviet system. Active on the campus is the Society for the Study of Soviet Russia. Many posters in the campus hallways and on outdoor bulletin boards appeal to Waseda students to sign peace petitions, to contribute funds to send delegates to youth peace festivals and to engage in other "progressive" activities. Conspicuous also are large-size public notices of Communist Party cells.

The majority of the students in the Russian Language Department apparently regard that major as an interesting focus for a liberal arts education. Some undoubtedly are influenced by political considerations. Only about ten percent of the Department's postwar graduates, according to one of the professors, continue their Russian studies or find employment in the Russian field, mainly in newspaper, radio and translation work. Few graduates are accepted as translators or interpreters with the various government agencies. Nevertheless, with more and more students with some knowledge of the Russian language and literature graduating each year, Waseda University, as the world's largest center for the study of Russian literature outside the Soviet orbit will have an increasing impact on the intellectual climate of Japan.

3. Hokkaido University Institute of Slavic Studies

With the loss of the Kurile Islands and Southern Sakhalin to the Soviet Union, Hokkaido is once more Japan's northern frontier. Hokkaido University and especially its Northern Areas Research Institute maintain the tradition of "northern studies" which goes back to feudal times when

Japanese northward colonization and Russian eastward expansion met in the northeastern Pacific. The university encourages research on the history of the Soviet-occupied but disputed northern islands and on the Russo-Japanese rivalry in the area.

Because of the proximity of Russian territory and the commercial relations between the two countries, in prewar days the Russian language was considered important enough to be offered, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, even at the preparatory level. After the war, the government-supported Hokkaido University projected a plan to develop a Russian area program. Language and literature have been taught at the university for some time and a few faculty members engaged in Russian research. The plan to create on Japan's northern frontier a center of Russian studies came a step closer to realization when in the summer of 1955 the Japanese Ministry of Education accorded official sanction to the university's Institute of Slavic Studies (Suravu Kenkyujo), which had been operating informally and on a small scale with some support from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Slavic Institute, situated in the city of Sapporo, is headed by Professor Kimura Shoichi,* a Slavic philologist who has been teaching at Hokkaido University since 1947. A graduate of Tokyo University, Kimura is one of the very few if not the only Japanese with thorough Western academic training in Slavic linguistics. As a Rockefeller Fellow he spent 1953-54 at Harvard University working with Professor Roman Jacobson. Among Japanese scholars Kimura is known for his work on premodern Russian literature. A Russian grammar written recently in cooperation with the noted Slavicist Yasugi Sadatoshi* has further enhanced Kimura's reputation.

Like Kimura, the Institute's staff has largely been recruited from Tokyo University's Departments of Literature, Economics and Law. Permanent faculty members include a literature specialist, a political scientist, a young historian and an agricultural economist who incidentally learned his Russian in the Japanese army and as a prisoner of war. (For names and biographical sketches of faculty members see the companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.) To strengthen this interdisciplinary attempt the Institute has drawn also on scholars from the cultural centers of Tokyo and Kyoto: Inoki Masamichi* (political history, from Kyoto University); Iwama Toru* (Russian history, from Tokyo Women's University; in 1955-56 at the Russian Institute, Columbia University on a Rockefeller grant); and Kaneko Yukihiko* (history of Russian thought, from Hitotsubashi University). Further additions, probably in economics and sociology, are reportedly planned.

At present, like some area institutes in the United States, the Slavic Institute is still primarily an organizational device to bring together for research area specialists from various disciplines. However, no integrated research project was underway in 1955. Contemplated in future years is a major study of the role of the middle class under the Tsarist and Soviet regimes. In preparation for this and other projects microfilms of all materials on the Narodniki movement from the Harima collection (see page 113) have already been acquired. A substantial American gift of books and periodicals in the Slavic field, selected by the Library of Congress, now forms the beginning of a growing collection. The Institute aims at gradual-

ly filling other gaps in Russian studies. A national listing of the widely scattered Japanese Slavic resources has been launched, while the publication of a scholarly journal along the lines of the American East European and Slavic Review is being considered.

Apart from the teaching of Russian language, literature and history, which are, strictly speaking, University and not Institute responsibilities, the Slavic Institute's future as a training center appears largely in the research area. Nevertheless, except for the Japanese tradition that serious studies in the humanities and social sciences must take place in Tokyo or Kyoto, the potential of the Hokkaido University Institute of Slavic Studies as an interdisciplinary Russian area research and training center is perhaps as great as that of any institution in Japan.

4. Greek Orthodox Nikolai Institute

During the Occupation period, short-term foreign language courses, always popular in Japan, rapidly multiplied. As early as 1946 the Greek Orthodox Church of Japan with its long tradition and a reputation for Russian language instruction opened on the cathedral grounds in Tokyo, the Nikolai Russian Language School (Nikorai Rogo Gakko), named after the founder of the Orthodox Church in Japan. Its first director was the eminent scholar Nobori Shomu. *

With the arrival of Bishop Benjamin from the United States, installed as the head of the Japanese Orthodox community, the school, renamed Nikolai Institute (Nikorai Gakuin), was reorganized and expanded in September 1949 to include an English language program and after October 1954 also a Department of Divinity, designed to train yearly a dozen Japanese to fill the needs of the local church. The Language Department is now, therefore, divided into the English and Russian language programs.

On the average since 1949 the English program has drawn some 2,500 students yearly and the Russian about a third that number. Enrollment figures in the Russian program for the last three years for which statistics are available follow: 1952—806 students; 1953—846 students; 1954—763 students. These impressive totals, however, exaggerate the scope and importance of the Russian program at Nikolai Institute. Being a short-term language school, four programs of three-month classes, a total of some sixteen classes per year are included in the Institute's yearly figures. The number of students in all four classes in a recent year is perhaps indicative of the general interest in learning Russian, and of the high mortality rate at the first encounter with the language. The initial enrollment was 120 persons, dropping to 20 in three months, while the third and fourth classes had to be combined because there were not enough students to justify separate classes.

The teaching staff now totals seven instructors, including three native Russians from the local White Russian colony. In spite of a competent teaching staff, the large turnover and the short-term program preclude the development of a major Russian language training center, and the level of studies is generally low.

The Church and its Institute are located in the heart of Tokyo's University district, which is no doubt a boon to enrollment. Whereas the Catholic and Protestant churches support their schools, the Nikolai

Institute, in contrast, is able to contribute monthly a modest sum of some one hundred dollars toward the maintenance of the church. Although run by the Orthodox Church the Institute refrains from proselyting, the language programs are limited to language instruction, and the student body represents a cross section of Japanese and does not constitute a conservative or even a predominantly Christian group. While the majority are young students, recently an increasing number of scientists have enrolled to acquire a smattering of Russian, hoping thereby to be able to read Soviet scientific publications.

5. Japan-Soviet Institute (Nisso Gakuin)

For at least five years the pro-Communist Japan-Soviet Friendship Association (Nisso Shinzen Kyokai—see also page 193) has been operating Russian language classes with strong ideological overtones. Most of the instruction is being conducted under the label of the Association of Friends of the Russian Language (Roshiya-go Tomo no Kai) and of the Japan-Soviet Institute, both of them housed in the Japan-Soviet Library building, located in the Yoyogi district of Tokyo, near the headquarters of the Communist Party. The Institute is headed by Yokemura Yoshitaro. *

Like the Nikolai Institute the Japan-Soviet Institute does not offer a full-time program. Language classes are usually held in the evenings and on Sundays and are primarily designed for those with little or no knowledge of a foreign tongue. The eagerness displayed by the students to learn Russian tends to balance the fact that the majority have at best only a high school education. The choice of texts (including "The Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" and the recently published Soviet Academy's "Economic Textbook"), the tenor of class discussions, and the various left-wing activities carried on under the same roof combine to produce even among those who seek merely a better acquaintance with Russian culture many Soviet sympathizers and a number of converts to Communism.

The practical language results of the Institute's work are doubtful, not because of the caliber of the teachers, who are well qualified, but because instruction is of the short-term type (two to three months), usually non-intensive (two hours twice or three times a week), and combines in a single class students with a variety of social and educational backgrounds. The bulk of the student body is composed of beginners and the line between this group and the "intermediate" and "advanced" students is often tenuous. How much Russian the five thousand "graduates" of the past five years have learned is, therefore, an open question, but it is reported that since 1954 special efforts have been made to obtain better results, partly by increasing the number of levels of instruction. In 1955 classes were divided into elementary Russian, intermediate Russian grammar, intermediate readings in Russian, advanced Russian, Russian literature, and Russian for junior college students. Innovations also include the introduction of specially prepared teaching materials and Soviet recordings, as well as the use of Soviet residents and Japanese raised in Soviet Russia such as Iwata Misago, * daughter of a prewar Communist leader. At the same time, the Institute has been sponsoring or supporting periodi-

cal publications for the students of Russian, such as "The Russian Language" (Roshiya-go) or "The Friend of the Russian Language" (Roshiya-go no Tomo).

If the language training accomplishments of these classes are somewhat uncertain, the Institute and its sponsor, the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, have been successful in attracting an increasing number of students. The organization's Tokyo language classes "graduated" 1,300 students in 1954 alone and in August 1955 training of the 35th class had begun. Such short-term classes now average two hundred students. The Association's branches in Nagoya and Kyoto did not lag far behind Tokyo in launching this type of Russian language program. By 1955 similar instruction was carried on in numerous other urban centers including Osaka, Fukuoka, Hiroshima, Okayama, Otaru, Kobe, Chiba, Morioka, Kanazawa, Sendai, and Wakayama.

6. Other Institutions: Language Training

Slowly, since the end of the war, the Russian language has made headway in Japan with enrollment mounting and private instruction in Russian increasing sharply. Qualified graduates of the major foreign language training centers and repatriates from the Soviet Union with a good knowledge of Russian are at a premium. Japan's colleges and universities generally reflect this growing interest and demand. At present most larger governmental and private institutions of higher learning offer at least one elementary Russian language course. Recent data gathered in Japan indicate that apart from the institutions previously discussed, Russian is being taught in about thirty Japanese colleges and universities, located mostly in the larger urban centers. This list of institutions includes Aichi University, Hitotsubashi University, Hosei University, Kanazawa University, Keio University, North Kyushu University of Foreign Languages, Kobe University, Kumamoto University, Kyoto University, Kyushu University, Meiji University, Nagoya University, Sophia University, Takushoku (Colonial) University, Tenri University, Tohoku University, Tokyo University, Tokyo Fine Arts University, Tokyo University of Technology, Wakayama University, Yamaguchi University and Yokohama University.

Of these institutions only Tenri University, near Nara (the former Tenri Language School), can be characterized as having a Russian program. One of that University's eight language divisions, the Russian Department, has a yearly quota of twenty students which is never filled. With a staff of a native Russian instructor and three Japanese professors, including Matsumura Shiro,* who studied at Leningrad University, and with a fairly good Russian collection, Tenri University is one of the better equipped Japanese institutions for the teaching of Russian. Language work in this four-year program, comprised of grammar, reading and oral exercises as well as composition, is organized very much as in the Universities of Foreign Studies of Tokyo and Osaka.

Russian language instruction in the other Japanese universities is generally limited to a one-year or at best a two-year non-intensive course, and attendance (not necessarily identical with enrollment!) in these classes

seldom exceeds fifteen students, the average probably being nearer to ten. The majority of these institutions must rely on non-staff lecturers, since there are only a few permanent positions for Russian language instructors.

In general, the teaching of Russian in Japanese colleges and universities remains on the elementary level. The rare student in these institutions genuinely interested in the more serious pursuit of the study of Russian will turn to private tutoring or self-study. A few such exceptional individuals have, in fact, thus acquired a remarkable degree of proficiency. The vast majority of the students, however, like the average American student of French or German, once having put their college days behind them, soon lose whatever facility with the language they may have been able to achieve.

7. Other Institutions: Training in Economics, Law, History and International Relations

In contrast to prewar times, a few of Japan's leading academic institutions are beginning to give attention to the history, politics, law, economic system and international relations of Russia and the Soviet Union. For the first time, the study of Russia has been introduced into the Japanese college curriculum. The subject of Russia is often presented as a part of courses on European history, comparative government, economic geography and other subjects which lend themselves to the comparative treatment or the area approach. This has led, in a number of cases, to the development of entirely new courses in the Russian field.

While there is thus a clear trend toward greater emphasis on the study of Russia, it is impossible to compile accurate statistics on Japanese university training in this field. Not even the files of the Ministry of Education contain complete data. Two principal reasons perhaps account for this situation: certain courses of an experimental or temporary character may not immediately find their way into the college administration's official reports and the title of a particular course does not necessarily reflect its content and emphasis. Thus the subject of Soviet economics may be introduced in courses entitled "Economic Theory" or "Comparative Economic Systems" where the Soviet subject matter may constitute a few lectures or the bulk of the course. This survey of training in the Russian field, therefore, relies largely on personal visits and interviews.

Certain Japanese universities, notably Tokyo University, are experimenting with introductory survey courses on the U. S. S. R., but training in the Russian field outside that of language and literature is confined primarily to two subjects: the Soviet economy and Soviet law.

Courses on the Soviet economy at Waseda University have already been discussed. Apart from these, instruction in this field is now being offered in three of the leading government-supported universities and in several private institutions. Tokyo and Kyoto Universities (the prewar Imperial Universities) and Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo (the former Tokyo University of Commerce) have always been well known for their

economics departments. These three prominent institutions offer substantial work on Soviet economics, with Hitotsubashi University occupying the leading position because of its extensive research program and the size and professional competence of its staff. Specialists on Soviet economics in these three universities reflect the Marxist viewpoint and in some cases also endorse the Communist line.

At present, Hitotsubashi University's Commerce Department offers a course on Soviet economics taught by the Marxian economist Hiradate Toshio,* and occasionally also a course entitled "Soviet Society" presented by Soejima Taneomi,* who along with Hiradate is considered one of Japan's leading Marxian economists specializing on the Soviet Union. Another well-known Marxian economist Nonomura Kazuo* conducts a graduate seminar on Soviet economic problems, attended by as many as twenty students. Apart from these courses, some attention is given to Soviet economic developments in the general economics courses. This teaching program is substantially strengthened by research in economics conducted at Hitotsubashi's nationally famous Economics Research Institute (Keizai Kenkyujo), which is headed by the Harvard-trained quasi-Marxian economist Tsuru Shigeto. Here, in addition to the three faculty members mentioned, Professors Oka Minoru* and Katano Ichiro* devote much of their time to research on the Soviet economy.

Instruction in Soviet economics at Tokyo University, the institution with the highest academic standing in Japan, centers around Professor Udaka Motosuke* of the Social Science Research Institute (Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo), a former member of the East Asia Research Institute and a confirmed Marxist. Professor Udaka has a rather unique background for such a position, for he is neither a graduate of one of the former Imperial Universities nor a trained economist, having been educated in the Russian Language Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. In recent years, Udaka has offered a course on Soviet economics for graduate students in economics and international relations. Changing in content and also touching on Eastern Europe and Communist China (by way of comparing developments there with those in the Soviet Union), the course in 1954, for instance, dealt largely with the Soviet economy in the N. E. P. period. Udaka also conducts a seminar on the Soviet economy for juniors and seniors majoring in economics. This seminar has at times drawn as many as twenty students as against five or six for the previously mentioned graduate course. Dobb and Baykov are the texts. American works are excluded because of their "lack of objectivity and bad reputation." Seminar students do not present individual papers, but use the committee system of joint seminar reports.

Kyoto University's Professor Kihara Masao* (an economist and a graduate of the Harbin Institute), although an orthodox Marxist like the vast majority of his fellow economists and pro-Soviet in outlook, shows an unorthodox interest in recent American work on Soviet economics such as the writings of Abram Bergson and Harry Schwartz. Instruction at Kyoto is limited to his course on the Soviet planned economy largely taught through the reading and interpretation of Soviet texts and translated materials.

Noteworthy also is the program of Yokohama National University which has on its staff Assistant Professor Ozaki Heihachiro,* who teaches

both the Russian language and a course on the Soviet economy. Recently that program was expanded by the addition to the faculty of Hiradate Toshio* and Soejima Taneomi, * mentioned in connection with Hitotsubashi University. Tokyo Municipal University boasts one of the most experienced economists, a member of the non-Marxian minority, Yasuhira Tetsuji* (formerly with the National Planning Board and the North Manchurian Economics Research Institute). Yasuhira lectures on planned economy with emphasis on the Soviet experience. In Western and Southern Japan, it was found that only Hiroshima University offers any regular work on the Soviet economy and this as part of a course on comparative economic systems. This course is taught by Matsuyama Shigejiro, * a former staff member of the prewar Harbin Institute and likewise a non-Marxist.

Several private universities, most of them in Tokyo, have introduced courses on the Soviet or planned economy into their curricula. Waseda's rival institution Keio University, noted for its training in commerce and business administration, offers a course on the Soviet economy taught by Kiga Kenzo, * another well-known economist of the non-Marxian school of thought. Takushoku (Colonial) University, Nihon University, and Tokyo College of Economics have offered somewhat irregular instruction in Soviet economics. Ibe Masaichi, * a non-Marxist and a one-time Foreign Ministry Soviet specialist, has lectured in all three institutions. Since 1953, his place at Takushoku University has been taken by Wada Toshio, * also a non-Marxist and Ibe's former colleague in the Foreign Ministry's Soviet section. Among Japanese economists, Wada has the most extensive field experience, gained through work with a Japanese business concern in the Soviet Union.

Apart from those institutions treated separately, a total of ten colleges and universities at present offer courses concerned with Soviet law, politics or diplomatic relations. Yamanouchi Ichiro, * the veteran Marxian scholar lectures on Soviet law at Tokyo University's newly created graduate school. He is currently president of the pro-Communist Soviet Researchers' Association (see page 190) and heads the University's Social Science Research Institute. At Nagoya University two young disciples of Yamanouchi, Inako Tsuneo* and Taniuchi Yuzuru, teach courses on Soviet law. The former also offers a similar course on Soviet law for seniors at Osaka Municipal University. A former member of the Harbin Institute, Gomamoto Katsuichi, gives a course on Soviet law at Aichi University in central Japan. The graduate school of Kyushu University on the southernmost island of Japan has been offering since 1953 a seminar on Soviet law conducted by Yanagi Haruo, * also chairman of the local chapter of the pro-Communist Japan-Soviet Friendship Association. At the private Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto the leftist Maeshiba Kakuzo, * a former Moscow correspondent, lectures on politics emphasizing the Soviet Union. Perhaps the only courses dealing in a systematic fashion with the diplomatic relations of the U.S.S.R. are those taught at Kobe University by Onoe Masao, * a former member of the Harbin Institute's faculty and a conservative. Onoe was captured in 1945 by Soviet forces and detained for several years in Siberia. He also lectures on his specialty at Kobe University as well as at Kobe University for Foreign Studies, the nearby Osaka University and Konan College.

The field of Russian history is still a much underdeveloped area in

the Japanese university. Surprisingly few Japanese institutions of higher learning offer even a single course. Waseda and the universities of foreign studies, to be sure, carry in their catalogs courses on aspects of Russian history, but these when offered are taught by instructors without training as historians and tend to be either more in the literature field or are interpretations of current affairs. At present, three Japanese institutions have on their staff historians with primary research interest in Russia: Abe Shigeo* at Kanazawa University, Iwama Toru* at Tokyo Women's College and Ishidoya Juro* at Nara Gakugei University in Western Japan. None of these men has a regular opportunity for teaching in his field of specialization, but they do find occasion to inject lectures on Russian history into their schedule. Thus Ishidoya in recent years selected such themes as "Nineteenth Century Russia," "Introduction to Ancient Russian History," "The Peasant in the Kievan State" and "Political History of Muscovy." A borderline case is that of Matsumura Shiro,* former researcher on the staff of the South Manchuria Railway Company, a specialist on Soviet agriculture who is also interested in and writes on the history of the Russian village. Matsumura offers a course on Russian history at Tenri University in Nara.

Tohoku University in Sendai, Meiji and Rikkyo Universities in Tokyo and Doshisha in Kyoto, though among Japan's major institutions, do not have any regular Russian offerings in the social science field.

As demonstrated, instruction in Soviet economics and law constitutes the bulk of the non-language-literature Russian training. History receives only fragmentary treatment and is often taught by men lacking the proper disciplinary experience. Soviet Russia in world politics, i. e., the international relations aspect, is touched upon in several courses on Soviet diplomatic history and current affairs. The dynamics of Soviet power receive no treatment, while Soviet domestic politics are approached through a theoretical, formalistic study of Soviet law.

The Japanese academic world's traditional cleavage between the Marxist and pro-Communist majority on one hand and the non-Marxist, and sometimes actively anti-Communist, minority on the other, is readily apparent in the Russian area. Contrary to what might be expected, Russian studies in the leading government-supported universities display a stronger Marxist orientation than is true of most other institutions including many of the private universities. Such generalizations, however, may be dangerous: Japanese academic training in the Russian field ranges from the area of Soviet law, clearly dominated by Marxists, to Soviet economics, where something of a balance between left and right is in evidence.

8. Government Training—Foreign Ministry and Other Agencies

How does postwar Japanese government training in the Russian field compare with that of the prewar era? Of the two once substantial programs, that of the Foreign Ministry and the Imperial Army, only the former survived the war. But with the rearming of Japan toward the end of the Occupation period, the institutional framework was again created

for a revival of military training and research on Russia.

Present Japanese military intelligence training in the Soviet field hardly lends itself to scholarly analysis. It is, of course, by its very nature a topic on which one would not expect any detailed public information. About all that can be said, therefore, is that in view of the nature of Japan's problems and given Japan's extensive past experience and her personnel resources in this field, it would be strange indeed if a training program on the Soviet Union were not now in being. In fact, Tokyo press reports of early 1956 describe a Japanese Army Russian language program run by a former librarian of the South Manchuria Railway Company. Japan's former military attaches and other old Army Soviet specialists now with the new Japanese Defense Forces would no doubt be associated with any such training effort.

War and defeat disrupted the Foreign Ministry's operations and personnel training. Shortly after the surrender and the Allied occupation of Japan the Foreign Ministry, prohibited from dealing directly with other governments, was reorganized along the lines suggested by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. In January 1946 the policy-making political sections of the Ministry were abolished and, as a result, of the two Soviet sections (policy and research), only the research section continued to operate during the entire period of the Occupation. Gradually, however, as Japan moved toward independence, the research section assumed more and more of the policy function.

The Foreign Ministry's Riga program for the training of Soviet specialists came to an end with the intensification of European hostilities. The Soviet occupation of Manchuria and the wholesale removal of Japanese to Siberia and other parts of the U. S. S. R. resulted in a loss of some of the Foreign Ministry's top Soviet specialists. The veteran diplomat Miyagawa Funao, * for example, the first head of the Russian Research Section and at the time of surrender Japanese Consul-General in Harbin, was taken to Russia and has not been heard from since. Other Japanese experts on Russia shared the same fate, although a few of them were repatriated after eight to ten years of imprisonment. A predominantly American Occupation, budgetary considerations, and the lack of the pressing need for additional Soviet specialists resulted during the first several years of the Occupation in a low priority for the training of Foreign Ministry personnel in Soviet affairs.

With the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the anticipated regaining of independence and resumption of diplomatic relations, the Foreign Ministry was reorganized in December 1951. This time a single Soviet section (established as the 5th— later the 6th— section of the European-American Bureau) assumed both the policy and research function. Though the Soviet government did not sign the San Francisco Treaty, it now appeared only a matter of time before Japan would resume relations with the U. S. S. R. The expansion of the Soviet section and the launching of a Russian training program were the logical consequence. Several former Imperial Army Russian specialists, by this time depurged, soon joined the staff of the Soviet section. A few other young men who had received Russian training in the Army preparatory schools were also added to the staff. The Ministry's competence in the Soviet field was further enhanced after 1952 when a number of its prewar Russian special-

ists returned from Soviet prisons.

What then is the current training program of the Foreign Ministry and who are its Soviet experts?

The enrollment in the Russian language classes in the Foreign Ministry Training Institute (Gaimusho Kenshujo) is in marked contrast to the prewar period: instead of up to fifteen students trained yearly before the war, the Institute has been providing instruction for only one or two young diplomats. At present the faculty still outnumbers the students. The training staff which includes native Russian instructors is now headed by Dosho Hisashi, * a graduate of the Russian Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and for many years translator-interpreter and consular official in Vladivostok, Soviet Sakhalin and Kamchatka. At the time of the surrender, serving as vice-consul in Harbin, Manchuria, Dosho was captured by the Soviet Army, sent to Siberia and sentenced to a prison term of twenty-five years under the infamous 58th Article of the Stalin Constitution. It took the death of Stalin and the subsequent amnesty to set him free. Dosho was released and repatriated to Japan in 1953 after eight years of imprisonment. He speaks excellent Russian, having perhaps the best command of the spoken language among Foreign Ministry Soviet specialists.

The Foreign Ministry trainee in the Russian program, after a year of advanced, intensive language work, is sent abroad for additional study. Lacking diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the Ministry is dependent upon neighboring countries like Finland for field training. It has been reported that the Ministry is considering Columbia University's Russian Institute and Harvard University's Russian Research Center for inclusion in an expanded training program.

At present the Japanese Foreign Ministry has among its foreign service officers only a few trained specialists on the U. S. S. R. and a small number of career diplomats with experience there. These can be divided into three categories:

(a) Senior Diplomats: Old hands — those who served in the Soviet Union, studied some Russian, but not systematically. Their knowledge stems largely from firsthand experience. Among them we find Kubota Kan'ichiro, * the Japanese Ambassador to Mexico, and Ando Yoshiro, * Ambassador to Brazil, both elected to the National Diet after the war and later recalled to diplomatic duty; Narita Katsushiro, * Ambassador to Chile; Nishi Haruhiko, * Ambassador to the Court of St. James; Takeuchi Ryuji, * Minister to Belgium and Hirose Setsuo, * Minister to Yugoslavia. Except for Hirose all these diplomats served during the thirties and the early forties as heads of the Soviet political or research sections. Though at present not on the active list, Sato Naotake, * the former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and more recently the President of the House of Councillors, is the dean of this group.

(b) Younger Diplomats: Those who held posts in the Moscow Embassy and who subsequently had experience in Soviet affairs include Sono Akira, * Counsellor of Embassy in Bonn and for five years under the Occupation head of the Soviet section, and Hogen Shinsaku, * head of that section since the fall of 1955.

(c) The Riga Group: Only three foreign service officers were trained under the Riga arrangement discussed in the prewar chapter. They are

Niizeki Kin'ya,* Counsellor in Stockholm, and in 1955-1956 a key figure in the Soviet-Japanese negotiations in London; Nemoto Ki,* with the Legation in Vienna, both recent chiefs of the Soviet section; and Shigemitsu Akira,* First Secretary in London, and nephew of Foreign Minister Shigemitsu Mamoru,* himself once Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

To this select group must be added about an equal number of staff members of the Soviet section, who, though not of diplomatic rank, merit inclusion as specialists in one or another area of Soviet study. Virtually all of them are graduates of the Russian Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages or of the old Nikolai Institute. (For names and biographical information see the Government section of the companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.)

It is not quite clear, at this time, whether the Japanese Foreign Ministry will find it necessary or desirable to expand its Soviet area training along the lines of the prewar Riga experiment. If this should happen on any large scale, the Japanese government could conceivably again in the future find itself ahead of the United States Department of State in the number of officers professionally trained in Soviet affairs.

CHAPTER X LIBRARY RESOURCES

Before the war the best Japanese library collection in the Russian field was located outside Japan proper, in Manchuria. From its establishment shortly after the Russo-Japanese War, the South Manchuria Railway Company concentrated on assembling an up-to-date research library with emphasis on Russia and the Far East. It was not as difficult a task as might be imagined. Harbin, in Russian-dominated North Manchuria, was a Russian city with Russian libraries and bookstores. The Bolshevik Revolution further helped to create there a center of Russian culture. Thousands of refugees poured into Manchuria. Some of them, distinguished members of the academic and literary worlds, brought along their most valued possessions, their books and manuscripts. The Japanese spared no effort to get hold of these collections and at the same time pressed a vigorous acquisitions program aimed at current Soviet publications. When Japan took over control of Manchuria in 1931, the Dairen and Harbin libraries of the South Manchuria Railway Company developed into two of the most important Russian collections outside the Soviet Union. By the outbreak of World War II their aggregate holdings in the Russian field had reached the one hundred thousand mark. But, in 1945, all this was lost overnight. The Soviet armies swept over the area and confiscated the books so laboriously and patiently collected during forty years.

With the surrender of Japan the smaller but nevertheless substantial Russian holdings maintained by the Tokyo library of the South Manchuria Railway Company and the East Asia Research Institute were also dealt a harsh blow. The American Occupation Army in Japan likewise indulged in the collecting of rare and interesting items which eventually found their way to Washington. The remnants of the East Asia Research Institute's collection, some 10,000 volumes, are now found in Tokyo's Hitotsubashi University. This institution maintains a substantial acquisition program of Soviet publications, especially in the field of economics, and as a result has probably the best collection of Russian materials in any Japanese university today.

Waseda University has a long-standing interest in materials on Russian literature. Its excellent five-thousand volume Russian collection survived unscathed the bombings which destroyed several buildings on the Waseda campus.

Another large library, that of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, was saved through timely evacuation during the war. The collection of this institution, now known as Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, contains a total of eighty thousand volumes, about half of them in European languages. As against 10,000 volumes in English, 6,000 in German and 5,000 in French, 7,000 books are in Russian. The Russian collection includes the classics, the standard Soviet works and periodicals, and a few interesting items on Japan. Unfortunately, much of this material is still stored where it was placed for safeguard during the war. The university authorities acknowledge that as late as 1955 only a third of

the entire collection was available to faculty and students. A yearly budget of about 220 dollars for Russian language acquisitions permits only a purchase of the more important new books and magazines.

Japan's leading academic institution, Tokyo (the former Imperial) University, was never known as a center of Russian studies. Not so long ago, faculty members discovered, however, that the library has in its stacks some four thousand Russian language volumes. The bulk of this collection was donated by the Soviet government after the Great Earthquake of 1923 which destroyed the university library. But, for political reasons, these books were neither used nor cataloged. To date, half of the collection has been roughly classified, a fifth of it being itemized in a mimeographed catalog which, it is hoped, will eventually list the entire collection. Since only one part-time librarian works on this task, it may take many years. Up to now students have apparently been unaware of these Russian holdings and even the faculty has made little use of them. The Russian materials of Tokyo University's Social Sciences Research Institute, numbering some four hundred volumes (mostly the standard Marxist classics, the works of Lenin and Stalin as well as some Soviet textbooks in the social sciences), are on the other hand much used by the faculty and students. Some of these books were obtained by direct exchange with the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R., a program which is gradually being expanded. The Institute's Soviet periodicals collection,with more than thirty active titles, is probably one of Japan's best in the social sciences. Of Western sources on the Soviet Union, British works are fairly well represented while American holdings are meager. This is largely due to the fact that left-wing scholars who predominate consider American writings "biased" while British contributions are looked upon as more "objective and scholarly."

Western Japan has few Russian collections worth mentioning. Those of Tenri and Kyoto Universities are relatively good, the latter having some two thousand volumes, mostly on classical literature, art, theater and music. The Russian language holdings of the Osaka University of Foreign Studies, thoughalittle larger than the collection of Kyoto University, do not compare with those of its Tokyo sister institution.

The Russian research resources of the Japanese government appear quite inadequate. The National Diet Library, modeled after the Library of Congress, is a postwar institution created by combining the former Ueno Imperial Library and other government libraries. Its holdings in the Russian field are numerically not impressive. They consist of (1) the remnant of the once-formidable South Manchuria Railway Company's Russian holdings, (2)a part of the Harima Collection, (3) Soviet newspaper files, (4) exchange materials from the Library of Congress, and (5) books and periodicals contributed by the Rockefeller Foundation. Materials from the South Manchuria Railway (several hundred volumes from its Tokyo branch) fall mainly into the classification of economics and agriculture. The twelve hundred volumes acquired from the collection of the late Harima Narakichi, a noted newspaper correspondent with many years service in Russia,are particularly strong on Russian expansion in Asia, Mongolia and on Russo-Japanese relations. There are also Soviet books published in the twenties, among them some comparatively rare writings of the purged old Bolsheviks. The remainder of the Harima Collection dealing

with literature and linguistics was acquired by the Library of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. The Soviet newspaper files are comprised of some twenty years of Pravda and Izvestia. Exchange materials from the Library of Congress consist of a small number of useful bibliographic aids and reference works. Perhaps mindful of the lack in Japan of Western sources on Russia and the Soviet Union, the Rockefeller Foundation presented the Library with an excellent small (400 item) collection of the most recent American and British publications in this field. A plan to concentrate the several thousand Russian language books and periodicals of the National Diet Library in a special section with its own staff, patterned after the Congressional Library's Slavic Reading Room, was shelved in 1954 for lack of funds. At present, therefore, the Library's Russian holdings are scattered throughout several buildings and remain largely uncataloged. The outstanding government collection, that of the Foreign Ministry, was greatly depleted by a fire during the war in which the bulk of its books were lost. Russian holdings at present are modest, although efforts continue to rebuild reference materials in accordance with the heightened government interest in the Soviet Union.

On the non-academic, non-governmental side, the pro-Communist Japan-Soviet Library in Tokyo has been able to acquire in a remarkably short time some ten thousand Russian books. Another three thousand in the Japanese language are concerned with the Soviet Union and related topics. This collection is, however, open only to members.

More likely to be overlooked are important Russian manuscripts which occasionally and unexpectedly turn up in Japan—another evidence of the dispersal of Russian intellectuals after the Bolshevik Revolution and of the fact that Japan and Japanese-controlled Manchuria and China were among the areas which attracted large numbers of Russian refugees. After the Second World War for example, an interesting manuscript by Maxim Gorky was discovered in Japan. This document was a short story on Father Gapon and the Bloody Sunday written shortly after the incident in 1906 during Gorky's sojourn in the United States. The manuscript was ultimately acquired by the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association which presented it to the Soviet cultural mission in Tokyo. Today this item is part of the collection of the Gorky Museum in Moscow. More recently Alexander Vanovsky, the retired eighty-two-year-old Waseda University lecturer, made another important literary find. One of the long-time Russian residents of Tokyo was the late daughter of Count Kapnist, a high-ranking official in the Tsarist Ministry of Education who through his censorship duties was in close contact with the prominent Russian writers of his day. After the death of the Count's daughter, Vanovsky accidentally discovered that her Japanese servant was using old letters to kindle the small portable Japanese brazier. Upon examination these turned out to be authentic and unpublished letters of Belinsky, Turgenev, Goncharov, Shchedrin and other Russian literary figures of the nineteenth century. How many of these priceless letters were thus unwittingly destroyed is hard to estimate, but a sizable collection was nevertheless saved.

Mention should also be made of several public libraries which preserve material on early Russo-Japanese relations. Because of the proximity of Hakodate to Russian territory and the fact that the first Russian consulate was located there, that city's library is the most important

repository of books, manuscripts and archival material on the nineteenth century relations with Russia. For similar historical reasons, the Nagasaki Library may also be of interest. (The old municipal library of Tsuruga, another important Soviet-Japanese trading center, the starting point of regular steamship service to Vladivostok, was completely destroyed in the wartime bombings.)

Apart from these institutionalized collections, a number of individual Japanese scholars of Russia have developed specialized personal libraries. The collection on Russian symbolist literature assembled by Professor Kuroda Tatsuo* is an outstanding example. Such collections may be said in the aggregate to represent a substantial addition to Japan's Russian research and training resources already described.

It is, however, regrettable that better use is not made of what facilities there are. This situation results from poor library facilities, shortage of personnel, and absence of adequate catalogs and bibliographic aids. These difficulties are compounded by a lack of cooperation between libraries and by the widespread ignorance among scholars of such common American practices as the inter-library loan, a system adopted only in theory by the National Diet Library. In surveying Japanese library resources it became evident that except in the Tokyo area scholars were generally unaware of the holdings of the National Diet Library and of their availability.

In conclusion, then, since the loss of the Manchurian libraries, the Russian resources in Japan are much inferior to those in Western Europe and certainly do not compare with the excellent collections in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and a number of university collections in the United States. Thus, it appears that except for the promising area of Russo-Japanese relations and for a limited amount of material on the Russian Far East, Manchuria and Central Asia, Japan offers little that cannot be found in a major collection in the West.

CHAPTER XI PERSONNEL RESOURCES

Japanese personnel in the Russian field may be categorized according to several important distinctions: whether they are primarily translator-interpreters, researcher-analysts, teachers, or administrators; whether they are by training economists, political scientists, literature majors, military officers and so forth; whether they are self-employed or employed by academic institutions, by private research groups, or directly by the Japanese government; and, finally, whether they are by political orientation rightist, conservative to moderate, left-wing non-Communist or pro-Communist, or Communist. In practice, however, these distinctions turn out to be obscure and the categories often overlap. Nonetheless, certain statistical generalizations afford a sharper view of Japan's personnel resources in the Russian field.

A review of the whole history of the Japanese effort in the Russian field shows that over the years up to World War II, some two thousand Japanese were trained in the Russian language and literature and in Soviet affairs. When the Pacific War opened, the Japanese government appears to have had at its disposal personnel resources in the Russian field in the neighborhood of nine hundred specialists, including language teachers, interpreters, translators, researchers, economists, and military intelligence, security and foreign service personnel. This figure represents the hard core of several times that number of Japanese with a smattering of the language or travel experience in Russia.

By 1946, the effects of the war, normal attrition, and the Soviet policy of seizing such specialists had reduced this number by about half, so that in the immediate postwar period not more than four hundred of these specialists were on hand in Japan. Occupation prohibitions and diminishing career opportunity forced many of them out of the Soviet field altogether. By 1952, when the Japanese government and the new Japanese military establishment began once more to find an increased need for Russian specialists, many of those Japanese trained in prewar days were past their prime or in other professions from which they chose not to return. Japanese trained in the postwar decade as well as Japanese repatriates from the Soviet Union tended to offset this loss. Five hundred thousand Japanese returned home from Soviet prison camps in the years from 1946 through 1949. Several thousand of them acquired a working knowledge of Russian, a few became quite proficient in the language. Some of the prisoners had unique opportunities to observe life in Siberia and Central Asia. A number of these repatriates are continuing their study of Russian and are developing a professional interest in the U.S.S.R. Further, some four hundred Japanese have graduated in recent years from the Russian programs of the several principal centers of Russian studies in Japan. With a few years of experience and opportunity for study abroad and travel in the Soviet Union, a number of them can undoubtedly become capable students of Soviet affairs. Of the ten thousand "graduates" of the short-term Russian courses offered by the Greek Orthodox Nikolai Institute

and the pro-Communist Japan-Soviet Institute Russian language programs, a very few may also eventually join the ranks of the specialists.

There are in Japan today (1956) about 175 Japanese who may be characterized as specialists in the Russian field. This figure was obtained by using the following criteria for selection: (1) a minimum of three years' training in the Russian language, (2) professional experience or training in Russia, (3) substantial publications record and long-term research interest in Russian matters, (4) recognized concern with or influence in the field. To qualify, a specialist need not rank high on all four counts. Travel in Russia and a few subsequent articles on the subject, for example, would not suffice to place an individual among the 175 identified. Characteristic examples of backgrounds regarded as adequate to qualify as a specialist in the field would be training in economics, knowledge of the Russian language and substantial publications on Soviet economics, or, again, several tours of duty as Japanese consul or military attache in various Russian posts with subsequent assignment to the Russian section of the Foreign Ministry or the Imperial General Staff in Tokyo. The figure 175 thus undoubtedly does not represent all those Japanese who would consider themselves specialists in the Russian field. A companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan (in press) contains the biographies of these specialists, arranged by disciplinary and occupational categories, together with a record of their publications, their affiliation and address, and other pertinent data.

The Japanese government has today more than 35 recognized experts plus a number of other officers whose policy-making positions plus long-term interest or experience in Soviet affairs account for their inclusion in this listing. Most of them are based in the Foreign Ministry, but several other of the government agencies as well as the new military establishment employ one or more Russian specialists and are thought to be in the process of expanding this aspect of their work. Compared with the prewar period, this number seems modest indeed; compared with the situation in other countries, the figure appears somewhat more substantial. Further, to this number must be added about twenty former government Soviet specialists who maintain an active Russian research interest, and in some cases seem to be supported or employed part-time by the Japanese government.

The academic community in the social sciences shows more than thirty Russian area specialists in the fields of history and international relations, politics and law, and economics. Two or three points stand out: about half of them are economists, almost equally divided between Marxists and non-Marxists; Russian history and international relations is very poorly represented with only a total of four professors, and the politics and law field with ten professors is monopolized by Marxists, most of them of the ultraleft wing.

Independent researchers, commentators, and foreign correspondents with experience and/or active interest in Soviet affairs number roughly thirty. Each of the major Japanese newspapers has its Soviet specialist, usually a former Moscow correspondent. The larger magazines and professional journals offer opportunities for the specialist-writer.

Proportionately the largest number of specialists is found in the

humanities and the arts, especially language, literature, and the theater. There are some fifty professors, translators, linguists and writers. Most of them belong to the left wing in Japanese politics.

A final category is what may be called, for want of a better name, political propagandists: Communists, fellow travelers, and a few anti-Communists. The Japanese Communist Party and its front organizations have several leaders who in their own way are specialists in the Russian field, with training at Soviet institutions, knowledge of Russian, and, to be sure, an active interest in Soviet affairs.

A sample background of one representative from several of the principal categories will give a clearer picture of the Japanese specialists on Russia. As the Foreign Ministry Russian experts as well as the military specialists on the Soviet Union have been discussed in some detail within the appropriate chapters above (see pages 45 and 43), it may suffice to outline the curriculum vitae of the four remaining significant types: (1) translator-teacher of language and literature, (2) professor in the social sciences, (3) journalist (former Moscow correspondent), and (4) political-cultural propagandist.

(1) Translator-Teacher of Language and Literature: Yokemura Yoshitaro*

Born 1897 in Gumma Prefecture. Graduated, Russian Language Department, Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, 1918. Specialty: Russian language and literature. Instructor, Harbin Institute, 1922. Assistant Professor, Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. Professor of Russian language and literature, Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and Visiting Lecturer on literary criticism, Russian Literature Department, Waseda University, Tokyo. Studied Russian literature in Moscow as overseas research associate of the Ministry of Education, 1935-1937. Because of his leftist views forced to resign from the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, 1940. Free-lance writer and translator, 1941. Arrested by the Japanese police during last stage of the Pacific War in 1945. Currently, Director of the Japan-Soviet Institute (Nisso Gakuin), Tokyo. Executive Director, Soviet Researchers' Association. Director of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and of the Russian Literature Association of Japan. Member, Central Committee, New Japan Literature Association. Author: "A New Course in the Russian Language," "From Interpretation of Russian to Translation into Russian," "Elementary Russian," "Toward Good Literature," "Art and Realism," "The First Step in Russian," "On Russian Literature" (1948), "Questions and Answers about Russian Literature" (1948), "The Literature of Gorky" (1950). Compiler: "A History of Soviet Literature" (an anthology)— 3 vols. (1951), "Masterpieces of World Literature—Russia" (1948), "Russian Literary Notebook" (1955). Editor: "The Russian Language" (Roshia-go). Translator of many works of Belinsky and Gorky and "Lenin's Letters to Gorky" (1955).

(2) Professor in the Social Sciences: Nonomura Kazuo*

Born 1913 in Shiga Prefecture. Graduated, Osaka University of Commerce, 1935. Specialty: economic theory and Soviet economics. Formerly with the Russian research section, Research Department, South Manchuria Railway Company; Osaka Municipal Economics Research Institute; and Osaka University of Commerce. Currently, Research Associate

in the Economics Research Institute, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, and Assistant Professor at the same institution. Affiliations: International Economics Association and Democratic Scientists' Association. Author: "Present Stage of Japan's Postwar Economy" (1948), "The Economy of the Soviet Union" (1953), "Soviet Economic Theory" (1954). Co-author with Soejima Taneomi*: "Analysis of Soviet Economy" (1955). Frequent contributor to periodical literature. Translator: Paul Sweezy's Socialism, Maurice Dobb's Soviet Economic Development Since 1917 and Alexander Baykov's The Development of the Soviet Economic System.

(3) Journalist (former Moscow correspondent): Maruyama Masao*

Born 1900 in Tokyo Prefecture. Graduated, Russian Language Department, Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, 1923. Specialty: Russian history, foreign policy and literature. Upon graduation joined the staff of the Asahi newspapers chain. European and Soviet correspondent, 1925-1926. Moscow correspondent, 1931-1938. Member of Editorial Board and Soviet specialist, 1938-1950. Research Division, 1950. Lecturer, Russian Literature Department, Waseda University, Tokyo, 1945. Currently with Research Division of Sashi newspapers and Lecturer, Russian Literature Department, Waseda University. Consultant, Russian Literature Association of Japan. Author: "Soviet Report" (recommended by the Ministry of Education before the war), "Moscow Landscape," "Impressions of the Soviet Union" (1948), "Moscow" (1948), "Life of the Soviet City Dweller" (1948). Articles on Soviet foreign policy and Russian history. Translator of "Love" by Vasilevskaia and Captain Golovnin's account of three years' captivity in Japan.

(4) Political-cultural Propagandist: Inoue Mitsuru*

Born 1900 in Fukuoka Prefecture. Graduated, Harbin Institute, 1924. Specialty: Russian literature. Formerly with the Soviet Embassy in Japan and the Tokyo office of the Tass News Agency, 1930-1939. Freelance translator, 1939. Director, Russian Literature Association of Japan. Director and one of the founders of Soviet Researchers' Association, Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, and the Japan-Soviet Library. Director, Foreign Literature Association of Japan. Played an important role in the establishment of cultural exchange between Japan and the Soviet Union. Translator of Goncharov, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Ostrovsky, Panaev, Gladkov, Korneichuk and Panova.

CHAPTER XII RESEARCH

As has been demonstrated, research on Russia in Imperial Japan was largely in government hands. In the postwar period, Japan's more limited responsibilities and capabilities have restricted government Russian research while the new academic and cultural freedom ushered in by the American Occupation has tended to promote academic and private research. As a result, Russian research in Japan, once a virtual government monopoly, is now more equally distributed, at least quantitatively, among the universities, private research organizations and the government.

1. Foreign Ministry and Other Government Research

Today the bulk of Japan's official research on the Soviet Union is concentrated in the Foreign Ministry. It is about the only Japanese government center of Soviet research to survive the war sufficiently intact to permit early resumption of its work in this field.

Restricted in its jurisdiction by the Occupation, the Foreign Ministry nevertheless continued to give attention to research. This included a certain amount of work on the Soviet Union centering in the Research Bureau's Third Section headed by Soviet specialist Sono Akira*. After the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in September 1951 the Foreign Ministry was formally reorganized to answer the newly arising needs. A European-American Bureau with a number of territorial subdivisions was established, combining both policy-making and research functions. Soviet affairs were assigned to the Fifth Section (which in addition was responsible for the rest of Eastern Europe, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan), headed by Niizeki Kin'ya* and later by Nemoto Ki,* both members of the "Riga group." Further expansion of the Ministry's apparatus in 1955 resulted in the renumbering of the Soviet Section which since has been designated the Sixth Section of the European-American Bureau.

The Foreign Ministry appears to have been successful in pulling together some of the scattered personnel resources in the field of Soviet research. Today the Sixth Section has an experienced permanent staff of some twenty-five, as compared to the prewar Soviet research and policy sections with a combined strength of over sixty diplomats and staff members. A number of the present section's specialists have seen service in the Soviet Union in prewar times, others have been doing Russian research for several decades. Soviet experts from the former military establishment, although not necessarily included in the roster of the staff, bring added military knowledge to the section. Colonel Hayashi Saburo,* a former head of the Imperial Army General Staff's Russian Section, is one of them.

It is difficult to give a comprehensive picture of the Foreign Ministry's or other official Japanese research on the Soviet Union, since studies and reports in this field aim at providing background material for the policy-maker and are usually classified. Only a fraction of this material is ever listed in the official announcements of government publications.

While the growing official concern with Soviet affairs and the reopening of Japanese diplomatic posts close to the Soviet Union has stimulated the translation of Soviet materials as well as their analysis, conversely the volume of reports available to the outsider has decreased due to the reappearance of the traditionally indiscriminate use of the "confidential" stamp. By piecing together, however, information generally available and by examining samples of government research publications in public and private collections, a fair idea of the scope and activity in this field may be obtained.

Apart from the important monthly summation of Soviet affairs, the "Soviet Monthly" (discussed in detail on page 166), the Sixth Section produces a variety of working and problem papers, those for wider distribution bearing the imprint of the Information and Cultural Affairs Bureau. The Section's reports and analyses, ranging from a few to as many as four hundred pages, fall into two categories: (1) studies of various aspects of Soviet domestic and foreign policy and (2) materials specifically on Japanese-Soviet relations. A sampling of studies in the first category on deposit in Japanese libraries will give an idea of subjects of interest: "The Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship," "Soviet Domestic Conditions," "Sovietization of Eastern Europe," "Soviet Law," "The Soviet Constitution," "The Soviet Union and UNESCO," "The Indoctrination of Germans in Soviet-Occupied Territory," and "Postwar Soviet Foreign Policy." The last-mentioned item, a survey of more than three hundred pages issued in 1948 and written for the information of Foreign Ministry officials, might better have been titled "Recent Soviet Foreign Policy" as it treats the record of Soviet diplomacy from the birth of the United Nations through 1947. The Soviet role in the establishment and the early years of the UN, as well as the Soviet performance in the several specialized agencies, is taken up in the first half of the work. Soviet relations with each country, except Japan which is reserved for separate treatment, are examined in some detail in the second part. A number of useful appendices consisting of rosters of Soviet delegations to international parleys beginning with the 1943 Moscow Conference, a chart showing Soviet and satellite participation in UN committees and affiliated organizations and a list of Soviet ambassadors abroad round out this survey volume.

At times the Soviet Section also prepares more technical studies (usually on economic questions) like "The Soviet Budget and Its Implementation" or "Investment and Finance in the Soviet Union." Since most of these papers are only occasionally documented, it is not easy to estimate the resources at the disposal of the Sixth Section's researchers. It is known, however, that the standard Soviet newspapers and periodicals are regularly received directly from the Soviet Union and that a small budget has been set aside for the purchase of books in the Soviet field. A new channel of information has been opened with establishment of Japanese missions abroad, especially those in Yugoslavia, Finland and Western Germany. Data extracted from Japanese repatriates from Soviet territory supplement the more conventional sources.

In the second category, Japanese-Soviet relations, the Foreign Ministry makes a genuine contribution. Although much of the archival material has been lost through natural and war-connected catastrophes, the Sixth Section draws on a mass of printed, written and oral primary sources. A number of research papers regarding Japanese-Soviet territor-

ial issues and involving in the main the historical claims of the two countries to Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands have appeared. More substantial, but rarely seen studies include a 170-page account of Japanese-Soviet relations from the conclusion of the Neutrality Pact (1941) to the Soviet declaration of war (1945). Even larger studies have reportedly been prepared in connection with the 1955 London talks between Japan and the Soviet Union.

The preparation of important documents and other publications with bearing on Soviet affairs is not confined to the Sixth Section. The record of Japan's decision to surrender, especially the significant, if fruitless, negotiations with the Soviet government, would be difficult to reconstruct without the excellent, detailed, two-volume documentary entitled "Historical Record of the War's Termination" (Shusen Shiroku), edited by Kurihara Ken, head of the Ministry's historical section and published in 1952. The same section recently compiled an outstanding reference work consisting of a collection of important diplomatic documents and a detailed chronology of a century of Japan's relations with the Powers with much emphasis on Tsarist and Soviet Russia. In most of the Foreign Ministry's studies and compilations the staff researchers are able to draw on the personal experiences of Japanese diplomats and often on their private papers.

Certain other Japanese government agencies with their own Russian specialists maintain an active interest in Soviet affairs. Most important among these are the Research Section in the Prime Minister's Office (Sorifu Chosa-shitsu) and a growing Soviet research and intelligence unit in the Defense Agency.

The Research Section of the Prime Minister's Office appears to be principally a clearing house for information, a liaison point for government research agencies and a depository for firsthand information on the Soviet Union brought back by Japanese repatriates from Communist areas. In recent years this office has built up a Soviet reference collection and has issued at times its own studies, restricted to official use. Studies of the Soviet Five-Year Plans and statistics regarding collective farm production have, on the other hand, been circulated more widely. The best-known publication bearing the imprint of the Prime Minister's Research Section, the "Soviet Yearbook" (Sovuieto Nenkan) (see page 165), attests to interdepartmental cooperation in the realm of Soviet affairs. This compendium is prepared jointly with the Foreign Ministry and other government agencies, with the assistance of several non-government researchers.

The Defense Agency's Soviet research operations in 1955 were still largely in the planning stage. The organization's Russian experts are mostly military officers with long experience in the Soviet Union and in the Russian section of the defunct Imperial General Staff. In their work they can count upon the assistance of former colleagues in and out of government, some of them with their own research units. None of the Defense Agency's reports have been made available to outsiders.

For obvious reasons the Ministry of Justice, concerned with the Communist menace, has shown a lively interest in Soviet research. The Ministry has at its disposal a group of investigators with practical experience in combating Soviet espionage, subversion and propaganda. Most of the Ministry's Soviet research, especially that undertaken by its Public

Safety Investigation Agency (Koan Chosa-cho), deals with Soviet ideology, the Soviet security and intelligence system and organization, and the administration of justice in the Soviet Union. The Ministry is, of course, the center of the research on the Japanese Communist movement and its international ties, especially those with Peking and Moscow. Surveillance of Japanese visitors returning from those areas as well as an evaluation of their observations appears to be an increasingly important function. The Agency's monthly and yearly security reports, its chronologies and its special studies on the Communist problem represent the most detailed and authoritative information on the subject. It goes without saying that the usual caution which must be exercised in making use of government reports applies here.

Still other government agencies have prepared or sponsored the preparation of technical studies in the Soviet field. Some of these can be consulted in the ministerial libraries or the National Diet Library. Among agencies having made public the results of such research are the Ministry of Education ("History of Education in Russia"), the Ministry of Finance ("Finance and Banking in the U.S.S.R."), the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the former Economic Stabilization Board, the Ministry of Transportation, the Ministry of Welfare. Even local governments (such as the Osaka metropolitan district) are known to have sponsored publication of individual studies related to the Soviet Union.

Special mention must be accorded the Legislative Reference Service of the National Diet Library, which has among its consultants several persons well-grounded in Russian research: Kuroda Otokichi,* the ex-correspondent mentioned previously, and Nose Torazo* and Sugimoto Kimma,* former staff members of the East Asia Research Institute. Background studies on Soviet taxation, land legislation, electrification and other technical reports have been prepared by them during the past few years.

Apart from the Communists (to be discussed separately) other political parties represented in the National Diet give systematic attention to problems involving the Soviet Union. An example is the former right-wing Socialist Party which in addition to its American, European and other regional sections has maintained also a Soviet section. Only a few Diet members, however, follow Soviet developments closely. An exception is Takeo Hajime,* a conservative member and a graduate of the Russian Department of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, who is said to be a regular reader of Pravda. The previously mentioned ex-Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Sato Naotake,* encourages and sponsors the study of Soviet affairs among his colleagues in the Diet.

Finally, a word should be said about the government's relations with universities and private research organizations. The universities and the bureaucracy view each other with suspicion, and cooperation in the sensitive field of Soviet studies seems almost entirely lacking. The government's attitude toward certain anti-Communist research groups concerned with Soviet affairs is quite another matter. Because of long-standing personal associations, the fact that many of the private researchers were themselves once in the government, and because of the conservative outlook of these organizations, those responsible for Soviet research within the Japanese government have found it natural and desirable to keep in touch with their friends and former colleagues, to encourage their

efforts and in some instances to avail themselves of their services. (For a selected list of government research in this field see Appendix E.)

2. Private Research and Study Groups

Private Russian research in Japan is conducted by many organizations and groups of varied size, structure, activity and political orientation. Of these the pronounced left-wing groups are accorded separate treatment at the end of this chapter because they are so entwined in the political mesh that they are better discussed within the left-wing political context. Described below are the other principal research organizations concerned with the study of Soviet affairs: the Continental Problems Research Institute, the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union and smaller research and study groups as well as organizations engaged in the related study of Communism and Communist movements.

a. The Continental Problems Research Institute (Tairiku Mondai Kenkyujo)

Like so many Japanese research organizations and study groups, the Continental Problems Research Institute is a gathering of men with similar backgrounds around one central figure. In this case the nucleus is Doi Akio,* ex-lieutenant-general, once in charge of research and planning on the Soviet Union for the Imperial Army General Staff, as well as chief of intelligence and counter-intelligence field work in Manchuria. The Institute was informally organized in the spring of 1951 while its central figure was still on the purge list. The activities of the first year were apparently largely confined to the preparation of a book, entitled "An American-Soviet War and Japan," the authorship of which was ascribed to General Doi only after his subsequent depurge. The Institute became more widely known with the publication of the monthly "The Continent" (subsequently changed to "Continental Problems"—Tairiku Mondai, see page170) in January 1952, as Japan was about to regain her independence following the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty.

In the foreword to the first issue, it was pointed out that once Japan regained her independence, she would inevitably be subject to greater pressure from the continent, and consequently the study of continental affairs from the political, economic and military viewpoints had become increasingly important. What were the Institute's original objectives? To present to the public the research and views of "our superiors and colleagues" (clearly alluding to former military officers) who, at government expense, have spent many years of their lives in the study of the continent. More specifically the aims were listed as the objective study and presentation to the public of (1) actual conditions on the continent, (2) military pressure exerted on Japan, (3) world trends in military perspective and (4) nature and characteristics of future wars.

This effort to reassemble Japan's former military experts on the Soviet Union and China had official blessing, as the initial issue of "The Continent," contained encouraging congratulatory messages from the then Speaker of the House of Representatives Hayashi Joji, the President of the House of Councillors and former Japanese Ambassador to Moscow Sato

Naotake,* and the late Deputy Prime Minister Ogata Taketora, as well as the President of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and numerous former high-ranking diplomats, businessmen and journalists.

The 1955 roster of the organization's advisors is impressive for the caliber of those listed, including as it does many national figures: Ashida Hitoshi,* former Prime Minister and Supreme Advisor to the governing Democratic Party; Ogata Taketora, who, until his death in 1955, was President of the Liberal Party, following ex-Prime Minister Yoshida; influential legislators such as Sato Naotake and Hayashi Joji; Okura Kimmochi,* former Vice-President of the East Asia Research Institute; ex-generals Okamura Yasutsugu and Shimomura Sadamu; Admiral Nomura Kichisaburo, former Ambassador to the United States and now a member of the House of Councillors; and Amau Eiji,* former President of the Government Information Bureau. While in some instances the advisory capacity may amount to no more than the lending of an important name to the organization, certainly this impressive assemblage suggests at least the moral support of the government.

The consultative board consists of some fifty members, half of whom are retired higher army and navy officers (mostly general and flag officers) with an interest in Russia and China, including most of prewar Japan's military attaches in Moscow, as well as those in Latvia, Finland, Turkey, Iran, Germany, and Sweden. The remainder of the board consists of government and ex-government Russia and China specialists, newspapermen (usually with service in Moscow), businessmen, and only one or two university professors, who, upon closer examination, turn out to be former Foreign Ministry officials. That members of this consultative board are active in the field of Soviet studies may be judged by the fact that almost half merit inclusion in the forthcoming companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan, which has been limited to some 160 specialists selected on the basis of rather strict criteria of training, experience, and/or publications.

The Institute is still headed by General Doi, but much of the administrative work and research is supervised by former Lieutenant-Colonel Asai Isamu,* one-time assistant military attache in Moscow, and one of the Imperial Army's younger Soviet experts. The staff of the Institute also includes seven former military specialists (four on the Soviet Union and three on China) and five translators and research assistants.

General Doi contributes an article, usually on Soviet affairs and Japan, to almost every issue of "Continental Problems." Provocative, if somewhat presumptuous, is the General's recent article entitled "American Army Imitates the Former Japanese Army." Doi is a prolific writer having penned in the short period since his depurge in addition to articles several books: "Soviet Tactics," "Japan Faces Rearmament," "Korea and Communist China." He has also annotated a pictorial history of the Pacific War. Much of General Doi's time is devoted to lecture tours covering literally the entire area of Japan. His talks deal mostly with the Soviet problem and Japanese rearmament. They are frankly and strongly anti-Communist. The audiences, for the most part, range from conservative to reactionary, although they include, no doubt, an occasional Communist. The general has lectured to veterans' groups, former officers'

associations, personnel of security agencies and of police precincts, students of the Police Academy, and the reborn Japanese defense forces. His views on rearmament have been sought by the Defense Committee of the Progressive Party, a group of right-wing socialists and by businessmen. It was reported in "Continental Problems" that some two thousand persons disregarded a typhoon warning to hear the General.

Membership in the organization is divided into regular and supporting. Regular members are entitled to a free subscription to "Continental Problems" and to discounts on books written by staff members. They may also attend study groups and special lectures. The supporting members, in addition to the above, receive free mimeographed special reports on current events, are invited to monthly seminars and are accorded preferential treatment in all Institute activities.

The publication of "Continental Problems," now in its fourth year, quite an accomplishment for a specialized journal in Japan, is the most conspicuous activity of the organization. Other publications of the group include mimeographed "Special Reports on Current Affairs" (Jikyoku Tokuho), issued three times a month,and occasionally other studies. In 1953 the staff compiled and published an "Anglo-American-Japanese Dictionary of Military Terms," a 400-page volume containing some twenty thousand words and a map of Korea.

Other activities have included monthly seminars for the staff, the advisory group and the supporting members. These meetings are attended on the average by some fifty persons. Representative topics have been "The Effect of Rearmament upon the Economy of Japan" and "The Japanese Communist Party and Soviet-American Relations." From time to time the Institute organizes round-table conferences, usually on current events, verbatim reports of which are later carried by "Continental Problem." A recent conference featured Dr. Ashida and General Doi discussing the political situation in Japan. The record of this conversation was published in the June 1955 issue.

In spite of the pronounced anti-Communist character of the conservative group which lends support to the organization, one round-table conference, along with the usual anti-Communist participants, featured Ogata Shoji, * a former high-ranking diplomat who suddenly emerged after the war as a leading figure in the pro-Communist Japan-Soviet Friendship Association.

Among the special features of the Institute worthy of comment is the "Summer Seminar for the Scientific Study of National Defense" held in July 1953. Although the Institute disavowed taking a partisan position on controversial political questions, specifically mentioning the rearmament issue, the tenor of the speeches and lectures was strongly in favor of rearmament. A week-long affair was scheduled with lectures and social gatherings in the mornings, afternoons and most evenings. A total of some two hundred applications were received from individuals and organizations. The seminar, supported by two large Tokyo newspapers, took place in an auditorium in downtown Tokyo and on a given day between fifty and one hundred persons attended the meetings. The speakers included the advisors and the staff of the Institute, as well as several guest lecturers from among the regular contributors to "Continental Problems." Topics discussed ranged from "Ike's Policy and World Strategy," "Mao Tse-tung's

Strategy and Asia," "Malenkov's World Strategy and Japan" to "M. S. A. Assistance and Japan's Self-sustaining Economy," "Japan's Economic Strength and the Problem of Rearmament," as well as talks dealing with the land and sea defense of Japan delivered by a former high-ranking naval officer and by ex-War Minister General Shimomura Sadamu. Other topics in the Soviet field included "The Outlook of Soviet Strategy," "The Soviet Union's Internal Situation and Military Power," and "Malenkov's Peace Offensive and Related Economic Developments."

In 1954 the Institute was finally granted tax-exempt status—a step which requires sanction by the Ministry of Education. From its original headquarters in the northwestern section of Tokyo the Institute by 1955 had developed some twenty branches throughout the country, although many of these appear to be liaison posts rather than formal business offices.

Now that the Japanese government has regained its freedom of action, and with the increasingly influential role of the old military in Japan's new armed forces, the Institute does not hesitate to suggest more boldly in its revised 1954 program what appears to have been its objective all along: to analyze for the Japanese government and other interested parties the intentions and capabilities of the Soviet bloc, to welcome government research contracts for specified topics and to make policy recommendations. The Institute boasts of liaison with other research centers on the Soviet Union, especially in the United States and Germany.

While the Continental Problems Research Institute and its publication have virtually no link to nor impact on the academic world, there are indications on the other hand that the organization may have some influence on the thinking of the Japanese government, the conservative parties in the National Diet, and more specifically on policy planning at the staff level within the Japanese military establishment.

b. The Association for the Study of the Soviet Union (Soren Mondai Kenkyukai)

The Association for the Study of the Soviet Union originated in 1952 from a gathering of like-minded men with a long-standing interest in Soviet affairs. Although in recent times this group has also paid attention to developments in Communist China and other countries of the Communist bloc, its focus continues to be on the U. S. S. R.

From the beginning the Association took a frankly anti-Communist position and indicated that it would seek to cooperate closely with the government's Soviet experts. That it was successful in this seems to be borne out by the roster of the organization's officers and active members which shows an array of prominent government and ex-government officials whose names have been associated for many years with Soviet affairs. (See the appendix to the companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.) Among them, diplomats and ex-diplomats constitute a definite majority. Newspapermen who have served in Russia form another substantial contingent. Only a few scholars—and these mostly men with bureaucratic antecedents—are connected with the Association. This is hardly surprising since most Japanese in academic life are politically much further to the left. A breakdown of active participants in the Association's

program shows: diplomats, ex-diplomats, Foreign Ministry staff members and other government officials make up about 40% of the total; newspapermen some 25%; professors (most of them formerly or presently connected with the Foreign Ministry) 12%; members of the National Diet (several of them ex-diplomats) 10%; Soviet and other regional specialists account for the remaining 13%.

Among the government or ex-government officials who lend prestige to the Association are Sato Naotake,* ex-Ambassador to the Soviet Union and the Association's president; Morishima Goro,* a former Minister to the Soviet Union and now Chairman of the organization's Board of Directors; Shigemitsu Mamoru,* ex-Ambassador to the Soviet Union and in 1956 Japan's Foreign Minister and Deputy Premier who serves at least nominally as one of the three advisors to the Association, the others being Amau Eiji,* a former Director of the Government Information Bureau and Okura Kimmochi,* vice-president of the prewar East Asia Research Institute. Lecturers and other active members of the group include most of the Foreign Ministry's experts on the Soviet Union. To mention but a few: Ando Yoshiro,* Ambassador to Brazil; Kubota Kan'ichiro,* Ambassador to Mexico; Sono Akira,* with the Embassy in West Germany; Niizeki Kin'ya * and Shigemitsu Akira,* members of the "Riga Group" and top advisors in the 1955-1956 Soviet-Japanese London negotiations. A number of Foreign Ministry staff researchers in the Soviet field contribute to the Association's monthly publication "Soviet Studies" (Soren Kenkyu, see page 171). The organization counts among its supporters many other government officials, among them the chiefs of the Foreign Ministry's Economics Bureau, the European-American Bureau and the Bureau for Public Information and Cultural Affairs.

The newspapermen who participate in the group comprise several senior editors and a substantial segment of the specialists on the Soviet Union employed by the Japanese press. Among the best known are Kuroda Otokichi* and Watanabe Mikio,* former Moscow correspondents of the Mainichi newspapers; Maruyama Masao* and Kiyokawa Yukichi,* of the Asahi press, both ex-Moscow correspondents, the latter in recent years again in the same capacity in the Soviet capital. Kondo Yoshiharu,* the Association's managing director and former president of the prewar Japan-Soviet News Agency and Maruyama Naomitsu,* for many years active in Manchuria and since 1954 editor of "Soviet Studies," also belong to the category of newspaperman-editor.

The few university professors among the group's active members are on the staff of the smaller and more conservative institutions. It is noteworthy that the majority of these scholars are economists with previous government experience and in some cases with continued official connections. Among these professors are Ibe Masaichi,* from the Tokyo University of Economics and Wada Toshio,* with the Department of Economics of the Takushoku (Colonial) University, once an employee of a Japanese business concern in Soviet-held Sakhalin and former staff member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Sato Isamu,* head of the Russian Department of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, is an exceptional case. His background is entirely in the university world.

In addition, a number of former ranking army and navy officers are

found among the frequent contributors to "Soviet Studies," but do not appear on the organization's roster of lecturers and research associates. Best known in this group are Kotani Etsuo,* once military attache in the Soviet Union and now connected with the Public Peace Investigation Agency; Ogoshi Kenji,* Kotani's classmate at the War Staff College and one-time chief of the Kwantung Army's Russian section; Yamaguchi Suteji,* a former rear-admiral and naval attache in Moscow; and Maeda Minoru,* a former vice-admiral and likewise naval attache in the Soviet Union.

At first the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union operated out of the parliamentary office of Sato Naotake, who was then the President of the House of Councillors. The group has since moved into its own modest quarters in the center of Tokyo and established "branches" (actually addresses of friends) in Osaka, Nagoya, Fukuoka and other major cities. Recently the organization was granted tax-exempt status. No accurate figures regarding its current membership are available, but the total of "special members" (contributing yearly the yen equivalent of 15 dollars) and regular members (paying an annual three dollar fee) does not appear to exceed several hundred. Additional financial support is reported to come from the Japanese government.

The sponsors of the Association, from the very beginning, appear to have had two principal purposes in mind: to create a meeting ground for Japan's "old Russia hands" and to counteract the frequently pro-Communist Japanese image of the Soviet Union. The monthly production of "Soviet Studies" constitutes the organization's major effort in this direction, but the group's activities are not entirely limited to the publication of the journal.

"Seminars" are held more or less regularly every month for the benefit of members and guests, attendance fluctuating between twenty and forty persons. Speakers have included the successive chiefs of the Foreign Ministry's Soviet section, other prominent government officials concerned with policy toward the Soviet Union or with internal security, repatriates from the U.S.S.R. or Communist China, journalists and recent travelers behind the Iron Curtain. The main speech is usually followed by a discussion period.

Like the Continental Problems Research Institute, the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union offers its members a research, translation, interpreter and lecturer service. Little use seems to be made of these facilities. To date much of the organization's publication program also remains on paper, allegedly due to financial difficulties. Plans have included the preparation of special reports on developments in the Soviet Union as well as of a comprehensive Soviet yearbook. So far efforts along these lines have been limited to collaboration in the compilation of the government "Soviet Yearbook."

The Association maintains close relations with the government. "Soviet Monthly" is distributed generously to the offices of various agencies and among police administrators and specialists on radical movements. At the same time, there is evidence of cooperation with other, private anti-Communist groups concerned with the Soviet Union.

What has been said about the significance of the Continental Problems Research Institute applies also largely to the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union. It has only a tenuous link to the academic

world and little influence on the thinking of university circles. Its publication "Soviet Monthly" seems to exert only a slight impact on Japanese public opinion, though some of the organization's information and critical comment on Soviet affairs may find its way into the Japanese press through the group's journalist members. If the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union has relatively little influence on the Japanese policy-maker, it appears to be a medium through which the bureaucracy as well as the conservative members of the National Diet are afforded data and the conservative viewpoint on Soviet affairs.

c. Soviet Press Agency (Sovueto Puresu Tsushinsha)

The Soviet Press Agency, a Japanese-owned and operated press translation service, was organized in Tokyo in 1948 by former employees of the prewar Japan Soviet News Agency (see page 66). A staff of some fifteen persons, several of them graduates of the Osaka School of Foreign Languages and one-time employees of the Research Department of the South Manchuria Railway Company and of the Japan-Soviet News Agency, engage primarily in translation work. (See also Appendix to the companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.) As is customary, however, in Japanese organizations professionally concerned with Soviet affairs, the Press Agency also sponsors monthly meetings for the discussion of "Northern Area Problems," inviting Russian specialists from other groups and repatriates from the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Press Agency currently boasts five periodic mimeographed publications (at one time six), a record for a Japanese enterprise in such a specialized field. The most important of them is the "Daily Soviet Press Bulletin" (Nikkan Sovueto Puresu), over two thousand issues of which have appeared since 1948. It is a bulletin of some eight to ten pages, containing translations of Soviet newspaper and magazine items on Japan and the Far East, supplemented by commentaries on Soviet developments. In addition to this daily, a fortnightly "Soviet News Bulletin" (Sovueto Jiho) of some 40-50 pages carries translations of longer articles from Soviet magazines. Another regular publication is the "Weekly Bulletin of Pravda Editorials" (Purauda Shasetsu Shuho), over one hundred issues of which (30-40 pages each) have appeared to date. All Pravda editorials are translated and published without comment.

The organization also monitors the English language broadcasts from Peking which are reproduced daily in the original English. A unique sideline is the publication of an anti-Communist weekly entitled Nedelia (The Week) for local Russian residents. This little mimeographed 25-30 page Russian language bulletin, produced in collaboration with a White Russian, has been distributed for the last couple of years. Nedelia is hardly more than a news and gossip sheet engaged in exposing the activities of pro-Soviet elements in the local Russian colony, especially those White Russians who have acquired Soviet passports since the war. This publication often enlarges its scope to include recent family scandals. At one time the Soviet Press Agency put out a semi-weekly report devoted to trade and economic matters, entitled "Soviet Trade" (Sovueto Boeki), and from time to time special reports or compilations, such as the complete

text of the proceedings of the 19th Party Congress issued in 1952.

The majority of the publications of the Soviet Press Agency are essentially translations, but they appear to be of use to government officials, businessmen and members of the academic world interested in Soviet affairs but unable to read the Russian original.

d. World Flux Research Institute (Sekai Dotai Kenkyujo)

This small group with a vague name was organized during the Occupation period by one Shigemori Tadashi,* to engage in research on the Soviet Union. Shigemori, a graduate of the Tokyo Colonial and Trade School of Foreign Languages, is a one-time director of the Japan-Soviet News Agency and former (1940 to 1941) personal secretary to the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow. The name dotai, literally "a situation in flux," was adopted during the Occupation when it seemed advisable, Shigemori tells us, not to attract the undue attention of the authorities.

The Institute's three principal staff members include a graduate of Waseda University's Russian Literature Department, a former researcher on the staff of the Northern Areas Section of the Research Department of the South Manchuria Railway Company, and a graduate of the Russian Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages whose experience shows several years' work for the North Sakhalin Mining Company in the Soviet half of the island as well as service as a Russian language instructor in an Army preparatory school. (See also Appendix to the companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.)

The World Flux group maintains certain relations with the government, involving, for example, contract research for the Economic Advisory Board. Members also collaborated in the preparation of the voluminous "Soviet Yearbook" published by the Japanese government in 1954.

Shigemori is also an editorial writer for the Sangyo Keizai Shimbun, one of the leading Japanese newspapers, and he is known as one of Japan's most prolific commentators on Soviet affairs, having produced over thirty articles on the subject for the past several years. The World Flux organization, however, has yet to publish any substantial research results even in its primary field, Soviet economics.

e. Hozumi Research Institute (Hozumi Kenkyujo)

The Hozumi Research Institute was organized by Hozumi Nagayori* in 1945, upon the dissolution of the East Asia Research Institute, where he had been in charge of the section engaged in monitoring Soviet broadcasts. Hozumi and several members of this section decided to continue their work as a private group.

A handwritten mimeographed bulletin of some fifteen to twenty pages, entitled "Soviet Broadcasts" (Soren Hoso), and incidentally stamped "Handle with Care," has been regularly issued three times a week for the past ten years. Some 1,400 issues of this publication dealing with Soviet political, economic, and cultural matters have appeared to date. The material is not limited to radio broadcasts but contains translations from the Soviet

press as well.

In addition to the regular bulletin the group from time to time issues special research reports and collections of translated data. The distribution of its several publications is largely restricted to government agencies. The Institute's work, consisting as it does almost exclusively of translations of readily available Soviet sources, cannot be expected to add significantly to the Western body of knowledge on the Soviet Union.

f. Industrial Research Institute (Sangyo Keizai Kenkyujo)

One of the youngest and liveliest organizations engaged in research on the Soviet Union is the Industrial Research Institute. Its background is most unusual.

The Institute was established informally in 1949, formally in 1952, to provide brokers and businessmen with a continuous analysis of the security market. Japan's four major dealers in securities (Yamaichi, Nikko, Daiwa, Nomura) reportedly underwrote a major share of the initial expense and are continuing to help defray the Institute's cost of operations. Three hundred other companies have since made contributions to the organization's operating fund. In the fall of 1955, it was suddenly announced that the group would enter a new field: research on the Soviet Union.

Reports from a number of sources agree that this new policy was apparently the result of two factors. The Institute is staffed largely by repatriates from the Soviet Union who have maintained an active interest in Soviet affairs and who in many cases know the Russian language. With better prospects in 1955 for increasing trade and other contacts between Japan and the U.S.S.R., Japanese business may have felt justified in taking a closer look at the Soviet economy. The interests of the staff and of its financial supporters thus coincided and apparently crystallized in the decision to add Soviet research to the conventional security analysis.

The Institute, located in downtown Tokyo, is headed by Kimura Takao. Little is known about Kimura except that he was once in the brokerage business, that he spent three years in Soviet internment after the war (he was captured in Changchun) and that he was largely responsible for organizing the group. At present Kimura's staff consists of sixteen researchers. All but three of them are said to have experience in the Soviet Union. To what extent they are experts in such fields as the Soviet economy, industry, finance, etc., as the organization claims in its announcements, is doubtful. Concerning their varied experience in the Soviet field there can be no doubt. Among the staff members we find a former captain in the Imperial Navy who was once naval attache in Moscow and who returned from a Soviet camp only at the end of 1953, a Japanese graduate of a technical school in Russia, a former Japanese interpreter for the Soviet Fisheries Administration and one-time announcer for Radio Khabarovsk, a Waseda Russian Literature graduate with a background of Military Academy training who served with the Japanese whaling fleet, and a young White Russian with a Red passport acquired after the war whose duties have been said to include the procurement of research materials from the

Soviet Mission in Tokyo. (See also Appendix to the companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.)

The organization's initial announcement of its entry into the Russian field described its aim and immediate program as the gathering of a wide range of Soviet materials, largely on economic developments; the translation of such materials and an analysis of these data, to be made available to its members through a periodical publication and through special technical reports. A translation service, seminars and lectures are planned for the future.

The group's immediate program has been implemented according to schedule. A substantial publication "All Soviet Union" (Oru Soren, the first several issues entitled "The Soviet Economy"—Soren Keizai, see page 176) has appeared regularly since October 1, 1955. Several rather technical mimeographed reports, largely translations, on various aspects of the Soviet economy (heavy industry, light industry, chemical industry, atomic resources, fuel resources) were sent out to members in the late fall of the same year. Additional studies to be distributed every two weeks are under preparation.

The fact that with the January 1, 1956 issue, the name of the Institute's principal publication was changed from "Soviet Economy" to "All Soviet Union" in itself suggests some broadening of the interest of the group. A glance at the table of contents shows the shift in emphasis: an editorial note explaining the change of the periodical's title and content indicates that this step was taken in response to reader demand for more diversified information on the Soviet Union.

The first issues of the Institute's regular publication permit no definite conclusion regarding the group's orientation or political coloring. Much of its documentation appears to come from the Soviet Mission in Tokyo (according to Institute figures 120 kinds of periodical Soviet publications and more than a hundred other types of material every month). Rumors that certain members of the group "receive instructions" from the Soviet Mission have not been substantiated. The Institute's publications consist almost entirely of translations from Soviet sources. On the other hand, the brief editorial comment does not seem to show a pro-Soviet bias and at times is even mildly critical of the Soviet economy. Further, there are indications of contacts not only with Japanese big business, but also with the government. Perhaps the Institute actually does attempt to maintain, as it claims and as one reliable observer in Tokyo says is the case, "a neutral and unbiased approach to the study of Russia." Laudatory comments in the Communist-controlled "Japan and the Soviet Union," however, naturally serve to raise further questions in the mind of the informed and sophisticated observer of the Japanese scene.

g. Committee on the U.S.S.R. of the Japan Institute of Foreign Affairs (Nihon Gaisei Gakkai Soren Iinkai)

A small group for the study of Soviet affairs was organized in January 1955 at the Japan Institute of Foreign Affairs, a research and information center for world problems. Composed of six active members, the group holds regular monthly meetings, as well as joint conferences with other study committees of the Institute to exchange views on various aspects

of Soviet developments and to discuss current books on the U. S. S. R.

This study circle, headed by former Japanese Ambassador to Poland, Ito Nobumi, consists of Matsui Eiichi,* one of the principal members of the Soviet section of the Foreign Ministry; Watanabe Zen'ichiro,* Assistant Chief of the European-American Bureau of the Mainichi Newspapers (recently returned from an assignment in Moscow); Dr. Tamura Kosaku, former diplomat and presently Professor of International Law at Chuo University in Tokyo; ex-Lieutenant-General Yabe Chuta,* Japan's last prewar military attache in the Soviet Union; and Naoi Takeo,* who served under Yabe in the Soviet Research Section of the National Planning Board (see page 56).

The members of the Committee on the U. S. S. R. contribute articles to a Newsletter, published three times a month by the Institute. Recent examples are Yabe's article on the latest shift in Soviet strategy and Watanabe's piece, "The Authority of the Soviet Government and Human Nature." A series of lectures on the Soviet Union was organized during March and April 1955 and a pamphlet, entitled "The U. S. S. R.," appeared in October 1955 as part of the Institute's Foreign Affairs Series. This 140-page publication consisted of four articles by Committee members, entitled "The Recent Political Change and Soviet Policy," "The Soviet Economic Picture," "Soviet Strength" and "Life in the Soviet Union." Other symposia are contemplated.

The general conservative outlook of the Japan Institute of Foreign Affairs, as well as the nature of many of its activities, suggests that its Soviet study group, if successful in its purposes, may counteract some of the prevailing left-wing bias of much of Japanese work on the Soviet Union.

h. Hokusa Study Circle (Hokusa Kenkyukai), Second Wednesday Group (Nisui-kai), Moscow Society and Other Groups

The Hokusa Study Circle is an informal gathering of the defunct Japanese Imperial Navy's Russian specialists. The name hokusa, literally "a raft in the north," was taken from the title of an account of Russia by a Japanese fisherman shipwrecked off Kamchatka in the eighteenth century. The members of this study society, some ten former high-ranking naval officers, meet monthly to discuss recent Soviet developments. This group has so far no publications to its credit, although its chairman ex-Rear-Admiral Yamaguchi Suteji,* who once headed Japanese Naval Intelligence on the Soviet Union, and other members of this study circle are often called upon by the press for comments on current affairs.

There are several other groups of former officers who engage in research related to the Soviet Union. One such group is the Historical Research Institute (Shijitsu Kenkyujo) of ex-Colonel Hattori Takushiro in Tokyo where a dozen former field grade officers are engaged in the study of historical and current military problems of Japan, the Soviet Union and other powers.

Mention should also be made of such small gatherings as the Second Wednesday Group (Nisui-Kai) and the Moscow Society (Mosukuwa-Kai). The former, centered around the one-time Vice-President of the East Asia

Research Association, Okura Kimmochi,* meets monthly for an informal discussion of Soviet affairs. Its participants, usually fifteen to twenty in number, constitute a cross section of Japan's conservative Russian specialists. The latter group is an even more informal get-together of former diplomats, military officers and journalists who recall Russian hospitality, attempting to draw from these earlier experiences answers to current Soviet riddles.

A few other research organizations such as the left-wing China Research Institute (Chugoku Kenkyujo) with primary interest in Communist China occasionally publish materials of interest to the student of Soviet affairs.

i. Organizations Engaged in the Study of Communism and Communist Movements

The relationship between the study of the Soviet Union and that of the international Communist movement needs no explanation. Certain Japanese organizations engaged in the study of Communism and Communist movements warrant inclusion in this survey for another reason: a number of their directors are former high-ranking members of the Comintern, Profintern and the Japanese Communist Party (JCP). By virtue of this background, they have had unique opportunity to observe the development of Soviet policy in Asia, the inner workings and the interrelationship of the Asian Communist parties as well as their ties with Moscow. Japanese Communist Party policy has been, and appears to remain, an aspect of Soviet policy for Japan, a facet of Japanese-Soviet relations. The strategy and tactics of the JCP, its relationship with Moscow and Peking as well as the history of Comintern operations in Asia; these are all matters which can scarcely be excluded from an examination of Japanese research and interest in the Soviet field.

The more active, if small, Japanese organizations concerned with Communism may be divided into two general categories: (1) those which attempt to deal with broad topics in the international Communist realm and whose key personnel have generally had experience or training in the Soviet Union and (2) those groups with more limited interest and objectives, largely concerned with the JCP and its relationship to the labor movement in Japan. Although these organizations are primarily anti-Communist activist groups, insofar as they systematically collect and evaluate Communist materials they fall loosely into the research classification. It must be made clear that the majority of them, whether they are known as research centers, institutes or associations, are really no more than small groups of writers who share common experience, similar interests and the same office.

Among the groups which must be mentioned in the first category are the Research Institute for World Democracy (Sekai Minshu Kenkyujo), now in its tenth year, headed by Moscow-trained former Japanese Communist leaders Nabeyama Sadachika*(ex-Profintern functionary) and Kazama Jokichi* (for five years at the Communist University for the Toilers of the East). Both Nabeyama and Kazama have written books of some interest to the student of Soviet and Communist affairs. Nabeyama's "I Cast Off the Communist Party" (Watakushi wa Kyosanto o suteta) is one of the

clearest presentations of the prewar Japanese Communist movement. Kazama's "Memories of the Moscow Communist University" (Mosuko Kyosan Daigaku no Omoide) represents one of the few published sources on the training of Asians in the Soviet Union. The World Democracy group characterizes itself as dedicated to the promotion of democratic ideas by showing the Communists for what they are. The organization is known to be very active on the anti-Communist labor front. Its publications, "Asia Reborn" (Shinsei Ajia) and "Opinions and Comments" (Shucho to Kaisetsu) deal with such subjects as Soviet-Chinese relations, Soviet-Japanese negotiations, the future of the Korean conflict, interpretations of statements by Soviet leaders, and Soviet policies in Southeast Asia.

It is characteristic of the instability of the Japanese research and publishing world that the publication of the two-year-old "Asia Reborn" was transferred in October 1955 to the Research Institute for Overseas Affairs of the Colonial (Takushoku) University in Tokyo. This move may be further indicative of the ties between certain ex-Communists and the academic right-wing minority.

The Japan Political and Economic Research Institute (Nihon Seiji Keizai Kenkyujo) has been similarly headed by two former Communists, the late Sano Manabu, one of the early leaders of the JCP and a well-known figure in Moscow Comintern circles, and his nephew Sano Hiroshi, * former leader of the Japanese Communist Youth League and a graduate of Moscow's Lenin Institute for the international Communist elite. Some of the historical writings of the Sanos are, therefore, of interest to the student of Communist Party history. Comments on contemporary Soviet policy and JCP strategy and tactics have appeared in the form of books and monographs by the organization's staff.

A third group with similar interests and objectives is the Far Eastern Affairs Research Association (Kyokuto Jijo Kenkyukai), which is headed by a former attorney general. The scope of this organization's interest can perhaps best be illustrated by commenting on its principal regular publication, "Far Eastern Information Bulletin" (Kyokuto Tsushin), which since 1950 has appeared three times monthly. The content pattern of this bulletin is fairly consistent, being divided into special features, international developments (emphasizing the Communist bloc), the domestic labor scene (focusing on the Communist influence) and JCP directives and trends. The group also prepares a number of short studies on Communist strategy in Japan, many of them related to the labor movement. Research and other activities of the Association are facilitated by the close relations which it is known to maintain with the Tokyo Metropolitan Police, the Foreign Ministry and other government offices.

The Democratic Workers' Association (Minshu Rodosha Kyokai) lies somewhere in between those groups which center their research on international developments and those with more limited interest. The organization is headed by a former Japanese policeman, Mitamura Shiro, who rose to leadership in the prewar JCP before renouncing his interest in Communism. Largely supported by industrial management and encouraged by the government, the Association devotes its attention to the political problems confronting industries in Japan, notably Communist infiltration in the labor unions. Exchange of information is carried on with similar groups in Western Germany. Mitamura's confidential reports on such topics as JCP labor

tactics, the nature of the "struggle committee," the North Korean Fatherland Defense Corps, etc., are intended, we are told, for the guidance of Japan's industrialists and small and medium businessmen in their fight against the Communists.

The second category is comprised of three small organizations: the Social Movement Press Agency (Shakai Undo Tsushinsha), the Social Movement Research Association (Shakai Undo Kenkyukai), and the Daily Labor Press Agency (Nikkan Rodo Tsushinsha), which deal with the problems of Communism in Japan particularly as they relate to politics and the labor movement. The first two issue small journals and periodic reports, while the last-named is also known for its comprehensive compilations of Communist documents. (For a more complete listing of periodicals published by those organizations engaged in the study of Communism, see page180)

Pointing to the cooperation among several of these groups and their relationship in turn with the government is a recent meeting (August 29, 1955) of a labor forum sponsored by the Far Eastern Affairs Research Association and devoted to a discussion of Communist and other domestic and international pressures on Japanese labor. Present were Hogen Shinsaku*, then chief of the Soviet section of the Foreign Ministry, representatives of the Japanese counterpart of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Director of Research of the Bank of Japan, and officers of the two large anti-Communist labor union federations, the All-Japan General Federation of Trade Unions (Sodomei) and the All-Japan Congress of Trade Unions (Zenro).

From the expressed research objectives and scope of these organizations the student of Soviet and Communist affairs might infer four possible areas of interest: (1) over-all Soviet policy, strategy and tactics in its historical and current aspects; (2) Communism in Asia including Soviet-Chinese relations; (3) Soviet policy toward Japan and Soviet-Japanese relations; and (4) the Japanese Communist Party's general line and activities and the JCP's role in Japanese politics and the labor movement. Even a generous interpretation permits only the conclusion that little value can be attached to these organizations' products in the first category, that some slight interest may be found in the second, but that it is in categories three and four where a modest contribution is made to Western knowledge of Soviet and Communist policy and practice.

3. Academic and Other Research

Today, Japanese academic research in the Russian field has not only recovered from an all-time low during the war years, but is developing as never before. A number of factors appear to be responsible for this phenomenon described by the Japanese themselves as a "Russian research boom."

The study of the Soviet Union, once virtually prohibited in Japanese universities, has become a legitimate endeavor of the academic world. The ideological and political factor, i. e., the traditional prevalence of the Marxist outlook among Japanese professors, together with the Japanese intellectual's sympathy with the Soviet view on many international

issues has played an important role. A great many Japanese scholars have come to associate such ideas as "peace," "neutrality" and "disarmament" with Soviet policy. Although the belief in Marxism is perhaps less firm among the Japanese natural scientists than among the social scientists a relatively large number of both groups have turned into enthusiastic, if innocent, supporters of the Soviet peace campaigns and related causes. The Japanese Communist Party and several leftist organizations especially designed for the scholar and the scientist have had a part in producing such a trend. They continue to make good use of the existing opportunities for developing interest in Soviet scholarly and scientific achievements among the academic researchers. The influential left-wing Association of Democratic Scientists (Minshushugi Kagakusha Kyokai) has been especially successful in combining peace slogans with a drive for rapprochement between Japanese and Soviet scientists. All this has come just when the accomplishments of Soviet scholars and scientists have received wide international publicity.

That for the first time in many years the Japanese scholar can receive Russian professional literature and even visit the Soviet Union undoubtedly constitutes an added incentive. Japanese scholars in growing numbers participate in Soviet congresses and scholarly functions and their Soviet colleagues appear in increasing numbers in Japan despite the Japanese government's reluctance to admit them. These many Japanese visitors to the U. S. S. R. are by no means all pro-Communist propagandists. A Japanese scientific mission in 1955 headed by the noted physicist Kaya Seiji included several leading Japanese scientific workers not known for pro-Communist sympathies. The flow of Soviet literature reaching Japan has greatly increased ever since the establishment in Tokyo in 1954 of a Japan-Soviet Center for the Exchange of Technical Works (Nisso Gakujutsu Bunken Koryu Senta). The January 1956 "Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R." (Vestnik Akademii Nauk S. S. S. R.) reported, for instance, that in 1955 an exchange of publications was maintained with 87 Japanese institutions and that 558 more Soviet publications had been sent to Japan than in the corresponding six-month period of 1954 (over-all figures not available). Among these were not only books on economics and Marxist ideology, but also works on medicine, chemistry, physics, biology and atomic science.

All these factors combine to stimulate Japanese academic research in the Russian field and cannot help but result in a certain political coloring.

The heavy demand for Russian language instruction among Japanese scientists originally trained in a Western European language and the fact that many groups have recently sprung up in the universities with the aim of studying not only Russian literature, economics or law, but also Soviet medicine, genetics or biology further underline the contention that academic research in the Russian field is on the upsurge.

In the following pages an attempt is made to give an idea of Japanese academic research in the Russian field. Since it would be presumptuous to try to evaluate the level of each work in all the disciplines discussed, this survey has generally been limited to a presentation of data collected over a period of several years. This material is presented under the headings Language, Literature, History, Foreign Relations, Economics, and Politics

and Law. After some hesitation a section on the natural sciences has been added, since the Japanese research effort in such areas as Soviet medicine, genetics and biology is of a magnitude to deserve at least some mention.

a. Language

As Kimura Shoichi,* one of the very few Japanese scholars of Slavic linguistics, put it, "Generally speaking, the study of Russian has traditionally been regarded only as an instrument necessary for reading various sorts of publications written in that language or for diplomatic and commercial negotiations with Russians. Scholarly research in Russian or other Slavic languages has been considered an intellectual luxury." Indeed very little research is being undertaken in Japan on Russian linguistics. Here the work of Igeta Sadatoshi,* Kimura himself and Oni Haruhito * is outstanding.

Igeta, lecturer at Tokyo and Keio universities, has continued his prewar work on aspects of Russian verbs. In the past several years he has published a number of scholarly articles including one on Slavic verbs in the journal "Studies in Linguistics" (Gengo Kenkyu). Other postwar work by Igeta has included "An Introduction to the Russian Language" (Roshia-go Nyumon), published in 1951, a "Standard Russian Language Course"(Hyojun Roshia-go Koza), and a "Concise Russian-Japanese Dictionary" (Konsaisu Rowa Jiten), both published in 1954. The dictionary which took some nine years to complete was reprinted in 1955.

Professor Kimura Shoichi,* head of the Institute of Slavic Studies at Hokkaido University (see page 100),collaborated for several years with his former teacher Yasugi Sadatoshi * (author of numerous Russian language texts and of an excellent Russian-Japanese dictionary) on a comprehensive Russian grammar (Roshiya Bumpo) published in 1953. This three-hundred-page work is the most detailed Russian grammar published to date in Japan. Divided into phonetics, parts of speech, word formation and syntax, it also includes a brief summary of the history of literary Russian as well as of the most characteristic dialectal features of the Russian language, and a dialect map. Kimura himself says that although written mostly along "formalist" lines, practical considerations have often forced the authors to adopt a "more or less eclectic presentation." A strictly scientific analysis of the structure of modern literary Russian as a coherent linguistic system, we are told, has had to be sacrificed in many cases to these utilitarian views. Besides working on this grammar Kimura translated and annotated medieval Russian texts like the "Lay of Igor's Campaign" and he is currently engaged in preparing an annotated chronology of Russian literature from its early beginnings to the present.

Oni Haruhito,* lecturer at the Tohoku University in Sendai, has had extensive experience and training in foreign countries including China proper, Manchuria, the Soviet Union, Poland, Germany, France and Britain. His specialty is Russian phonetics. In recent years Oni has been studying the Ainu language, especially Ainu words of Russian derivation. He is currently engaged in the preparation of a Russian-English-German-French-Spanish-Portuguese-Latin-Greek-Japanese medical dictionary.

Other scholars researching in the Russian language-linguistics field include Sato Isamu,* head of the Russian Language Department at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, who is working on the "peace ideology" in Russian epic poems and on foreign elements in the Russian language; Togo Masanobu,* professor at the same institution and author of a three-volume Russian language text (Togo Roshiya-go Koza), on Stalin and a world language; Iwasaki Heiichiro,* head of the Russian Language Department at Osaka University of Foreign Studies and author of a unique Russian language primer entitled "From English to Russian" (Eigo Yori Roshia-go e) for Japanese students with some knowledge of English; as well as Okazawa Hidetora,* head of the Russian Literature Department of Waseda University; Yokemura Yoshitaro,* Wakuri Seiichi,* and Ishiyama Shozo.* Yasugi Sadatoshi* is responsible for the largest number of Russian language texts published after the war, although most of them are actually reprints of his prewar publications.

With the postwar increased interest in Soviet technical writings a great demand exists for a Russian-Japanese dictionary of scientific terms. Several scholars are in the process of producing such a dictionary and publishing houses are said to be fiercely competing for publication rights. One of the native Russian instructors at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies compiled a small dictionary of new Soviet words and abbreviations (Roshiya Shingo, Ryakugo Jiten) which may partly satisfy the need until a comprehensive scientific dictionary is published.

b. Literature

In Japan academic research on Russian literature has a long tradition. The postwar era has witnessed a continuing development of the Japanese effort in this direction, best exemplified perhaps by the appearance of several comprehensive histories of Russian literature: those of Yonekawa Masao,* Yokemura Yoshitaro,* Kuroda Tatsuo* and Nobori Shomu.*

The most popular history of Russian literature was written by Yonekawa Masao,* a professor at Waseda University's Department of Russian Literature and one of Japan's most prolific translators. His "History of Russian Literature" (Roshiya Bungaku-shi) has gone through several revised editions and some ten printings during the postwar period. Yokemura Yoshitaro,* director of the Japan-Soviet Institute and a lecturer at Waseda, compiled a three-volume anthology entitled "A History of Soviet Literature" (Sovueto Bungaku-shi), which was put out by Iwanami, one of Japan's leading publishing houses.

Professor Kuroda Tatsuo* of Waseda University recently enlarged and revised his 1948 "History of Russian Literature" (Roshia Bungaku-shi). Based mostly on Soviet literary histories and the Soviet encylopedias, and written from the Marxist materialist viewpoint, it covers the entire history of Russian literature from the early beginnings to the contemporary Soviet period and includes also a brief section on the literature of the Soviet national minorities. The usefulness of this work of some 300 pages is further enhanced by a 12-page annotated bibliography, a list of Soviet works which received Stalin prizes and several indices. In 1955 Kuroda published another "History of Soviet Literature—Writers and Their Works"

(Sovueto Bungaku-shi—Sakka to Sono Sakuhin), a collection of five essays on Blok, Gorky, Nikolai Ostrovsky, Fadeev and Simonov—according to Kuroda the five Soviet authors best known to Japanese readers. This choice clearly reflects Koroda's own interest in symbolist literature and his recent translation work.

The most comprehensive and detailed history of Russian—Soviet literature appeared late in 1955. It is the work of Nobori Shomu,* the veteran translator of Russian literature, whose first translations from the Russian were published over fifty years ago, in 1902, when he was a student at the Greek Orthodox Divinity School in Tokyo. This work of some 600 pages entitled "A History of Russian-Soviet Literature" (Roshiya Sovueto Bungaku-shi) has perhaps a more substantial base in prerevolutionary Russian literary history and criticism than any other Japanese treatment of this subject. Nor has Nobori overlooked the work of contemporary Soviet scholarship. Special care has been taken to relate the literary product to the environment of the author and the period in which it was written. This work won both the Yomiuri Literary Prize and an award from the Japanese Academy of Arts. While the seventy-eight-year-old Nobori Shomu devoted the last decade to the preparation of his magnum opus, at the same time he has not neglected the readers' demand for popular works on Russian literature. In rapid succession he published popular as well as serious works, some of which have gone through several editions: "An Appreciation of Russian Literature" (Roshiya Bungaku No Kansho), "Tolstoy," "Dostoevsky," "A History of Russian Literary Thought" (Roshiya Bungaku Shiso-shi), "Gorky's Life and Art" (Goriki no Shogai to Bijutsu), "The Russian Intelligentsia—Activities and Role" (Roshia Chishiki Kaikyuron—Sono Undo to Yakuwari) and "Russian Literary Trends" (Roshiya Bungei Shicho) as well as an analytical essay on the influence of Russian literature on Japanese literature.

Yonekawa Masao* has been devoting most of his time to translation work, especially translation of the entire writings of Dostoevsky to be published in some forty volumes. Nevertheless, in addition to the history of Russian literature, he penned in recent years "An Introduction to Dostoevsky" (Dosutoefusuki Nyumon) and "Tolstoy's Literary Works" (Torusutoi no Bungaku). Yokemura Yoshitaro,* besides his three-volume anthology, wrote "On Russian Literature" (Roshiya Bungaku ni Tsuite), "The Literature of Gorky" (Goriki no Bungaku-ron), "Questions and Answers About Russian Literature" (Roshiya Bungaku Mondo) and in 1955 his latest "Russian Literary Notebook" (Roshiya Bungaku Techo), designed as a handy reference for those interested in Russian literature. This handbook contains a brief outline of Russian-Soviet literature, Soviet art, and the literatures of the Soviet European satellites, a report on the Second Soviet Writers' Congress, a listing of Soviet newspapers and magazines, of Stalin prize-winning works, of reference volumes, a chronology and a 50-page author and title index.

Other studies of Russian literature published in recent years have included "An Outline of Soviet Literature" (Sovueto Bungaku Gairon), "Russian Literary Trends" (Roshiya Bungaku Shicho), and "Essays and Comments on Russian Literature" (Roshiya Bungaku Ronko) by Okazawa Hidetora,* head of the Russian Literature Department of Waseda University; a book on Gorky and "Notes on Soviet Literature" (Sovueto Bungaku

Noto) by Yamamura Fusaji,* a lecturer in the same institution; "Contemporary Soviet Theater" (Gendai no Sovueto Engeki) by Nozaki Yoshio,* another Waseda faculty member who specializes on the Russian theater; "Gorky—Man and Artist" (Hito oyobi Geijutsuka to shite no Goriki) by Professor Kumazawa Mataroku* of Aichi University; and a 400-page biography of Pushkin by Assistant Professor Kaneko Yukihiko* of Hitosubashi University. The latter also published substantial articles on the history of Russian literature from the end of the nineteenth century to the Bolshevik Revolution, on the development of Russian social thought and on literature and revolution.

Iwakami Jun'ichi,* active in the pro-Communist Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and the Soviet Researchers' Association, has written on Tolstoy's "War and Peace" as well as on socialist realism, that evasive Party-dictated Soviet literary ideal. During the winter of 1954-1955 Iwakami attended the Second Soviet Writers' Congress in the course of a three months' pilgrimage to the Soviet Union and Communist China, later described in "A Literary Visit to Moscow and Peking" (Mosukuwa Pekin Bungaku no Tabi).

The Literature Section of the Soviet Researchers' Association produced several short volumes entitled "Studies in Russian Literature" (Roshiya Bungaku Kenkyu) edited by Kurahara Korehito,* the Japanese Communist Party official and a translator of Russian literature, and Yokemura Yoshitaro.* This series included special issues devoted to Pushkin and Gorky. The quality of the articles is, however, quite uneven: serious research articles are intermingled with recollections and thinly disguised translations of the latest products of Soviet literary criticism.

Finally, a word might be added about the many works written in Japan on the life, literary work and philosophy of the great Russian thinkers of the nineteenth century, notably Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. The majority of such books have been written by literary critics and students of philosophy who, though unfamiliar with the Russian language, study these Russian authors in Japanese, English or German translations. Representative titles have included "The Life of Dostoevsky," "Dostoevsky —The Man, His Literature and His Thought," "The Life of Tolstoy," "The Philosophy of Dostoevsky"and "Tolstoy's'War and Peace'."

c. History

Academic research in Russian history and the appearance of Japanese histories of Russia are a postwar phenomenon. What was published in the field of Russian or Soviet history before the war, as has been described,consisted primarily of translations, compilations by government agencies, especially the Foreign Ministry, and some substantial work in the field of Russo-Japanese relations.

During the first postwar decade three studies in Russian history were completed by Japanese university professors. These are, in order of date of publication, books by Professor Inoki Masamichi* of Kyoto University (1948), by Professor Eguchi Bokuro of Tokyo University (1949), and by Professor Iwama Toru* of Tokyo Women's (Christian) College (1955).

Professor Inoki, trained as an economist at Tokyo University, specializes in the political history of Europe. He is the author of works

on the history of social thought, on political change, war and revolution, the genealogy of Communism, history of the German Communist Party, a work on Stalin, a book entitled "Three Communisms—Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin" (Mitsu no Kyosanshugi—Renin, Torotsuki, Sutarin); translator of Lassalle, Stein, Marx and Engels and editor of a handbook on the U.S.S.R. (Sorempo), published in 1955 by the Mainichi Press. In the Russian history field he contributed a "History of the Russian Revolution" (Roshiya Kakumei-shi), first published in 1948 but since reprinted several times, and an "Introduction to Russian History" (Roshiya-shi Nyumon), which appeared in 1952. At present, Inoki is studying the "history of socialist reforms in Eastern Europe." In his writings Inoki attempts to be objective by being critical of both the United States and the Soviet Union, speaking for instance about "American-Soviet political mythology."

Another work entitled "Russian Revolution" (Roshiya Kakumei) was written by Professor Eguchi Bokuro of Tokyo University, one of the first Japanese scholars to introduce the concept of international relations to Japan. Although Eguchi has supervised the translation of Pankratova's work on the medieval history of Russia, he is strictly speaking not a Russian historian. His writings, mostly in the political science—international relations field, include works on Asia in world history, Asian nationalism, the power politics of imperialism and a historical analysis of international relations. Recently Eguchi has cooperated with well-known Marxists in a several-volume historical series put out by a leftist publishing house.

The latest Japanese work in this field is "Russian History" (Roshiya-shi) by Professor Iwama Toru, the first Japanese historian to specialize in and to devote his main research effort to the history of Russia. Iwama also wrote "Russian Far Eastern Policy and Witte" (Rokoku Kyokuto Seisaku to Uitte) and on the Russian Nihilists. His present research interests include the role of the Russian intelligentsia in the revolution and the Decembrists. In addition to his duties as Professor at the Tokyo Women's (Christian) College, Iwama lectures at Tokyo University and serves as research associate and lecturer in the Institute of Slavic Studies at Hokkaido University. In 1955-56 Iwama was at the Russian Institute of Columbia University on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Besides Iwama two younger historians specializing in Russian history should be mentioned, although much of their work is still in the research stage. They are Abe Shigeo* and Ishidoya Juro.*

Abe, who was for a time employed by the Foreign Ministry, is currently assistant professor at Kanazawa University in the city of the same name on the Sea of Japan. He is a translator of one of Pankratova's works and the author of "Historical View of the Culture of the Peoples of Russia" (Roshiya Sho-minzoku Bunka no Shiteki Tembo) and of numerous articles on the Kievan state, the Novgorod city-state, Ivan the Terrible and the eighteenth century Russian peasant class.

Ishidoya Juro* is with the Nara College of Liberal Arts in the city of Nara in Western Japan. He is the author of several articles on the role of the Varangians in early Russian history and on Byzantium's relations with Russia.

Professor Matsumura Shiro* of Tenri University (also in Nara), although a specialist on Soviet agriculture, has done some work on the

history of serfdom in Russia. He is currently engaged in research on the social history of the Russian village. In this connection the name of Matoba Tokuzo,* the head of the Soviet research section at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and lecturer at Tokyo University deserves mention. Matoba, although like Matsumura a specialist on Soviet agriculture, is a graduate of the history department of Tokyo University and one of Japan's authorities on the history of Russian agriculture. "The Introduction to the History of the Russian Social Movement" (Roshia Shakai Undo-shi Josetsu), published under the name of Morikawa Hiroshi, is a series of lectures on the Nihilist, Narodnik and Marxist movements in Russia up to 1906 designed to provide the background for those interested in studying the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—Short Course."

Another work, "The Hidden History of the Russian Revolution—The Last Days of the Romanov Dynasty" (Roshiya Kakumei Chushi—Romanofu-cho Saigo no Hi), is the research product of Shimizu Takehisa,* former instructor of the Harbin Institute and now a researcher on the staff of the Foreign Ministry. Shimizu was one of the first three Japanese students who were sent by the Japanese Foreign Ministry to the Soviet Union in 1926, after the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries. He married a Russian ballerina and for this reason was forced to resign from the foreign service. Shimizu taught at the Harbin Institute until rehired by the Foreign Ministry as a researcher, a post he occupies to this day. His study, based on Russian as well as Western sources, is devoted to Russia from the First World War to the murder of the Imperial family. It also contains a brief chapter on the history of the Romanov dynasty.

Student Soviet study groups at Japanese universities often have history subsections which meet to discuss Soviet historical works and which frequently sponsor joint translations of such books.

The prevailing Marxist trend among Japanese historians cannot but influence research in the field of Russian history as well. "Historical Materialism" by Konstantinov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences has been translated and is much discussed in Japanese historical circles. One of the leading Soviet historians of Japan, Evgenii Zhukov, visited Tokyo in 1955 as head of a Soviet delegation to the World Congress on the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. Zhukov's visit and his conferences with Japanese historians and with leading Japanese specialists on Russia prompted a debate on the history of Japanese slavery and on the nature of early Japanese society.

Japanese research on Russian history, in the postwar period, for the first time has begun to attract the attention of trained historians. These scholars belong to the younger generation. As a consequence, their productive years are ahead of them. The quality and value of the Japanese research product in this field will depend on the degree to which these historians, individually and collectively, will be able to free themselves from the limitations that the prevailing Marxist orientation of the Japanese academic community imposes upon them.

d. Foreign Relations

In the field of Soviet foreign relations academic research is virtually non-existent.

Before examining what little research and writing has been done by university professors, a few words about more general or popular treatments of the subject may be in order. Three such books have been written after the war—by a former Moscow correspondent of a leading Japanese newspaper, by an ex-diplomat and by an author whose identity can not be established. The first is a straight pro-Communist account, "Soviet Foreign Relations" (Sovueto no Gaiko) by Hatanaka Masaharu,* while the second is another pro-Soviet story, "Thirty Years of Soviet Foreign Policy—Its Development to the Present" (Soren Gaiko no Sanju-nen—Sono Konnichi e no Hatten) by Ogata Shoji,* the former head of the Foreign Ministry's Soviet research section, who joined the Japan-Soviet "friendship" movement after the war. The third book, "Soviet Foreign Policy—Its Nature, Tactics and Development" (Sovueto Gaiko-ron—Honshitsu, Senjutsu, Tenkai) is by a Komatsu Hisahiko. (The author is not listed in publishers' annuals and the various biographical dictionaries and reference works, nor is he known to other Japanese specialists on Russia.) This work, based on the short history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Shestakov's history and the writings of Lenin and Stalin, examines the nature of Soviet foreign policy, its operation, the development of Soviet foreign relations and Soviet diplomatic tactics.

Several other books published in the postwar period have dealt with various aspects of Soviet foreign relations, notably the Kremlin's policy toward Japan as well as Soviet-Japanese relations. Almost all these accounts, however, were prepared by the so-called Soviet experts, primarily former government officials, journalists with Soviet experience, or translators-researchers, but not by university professors.

An outstanding exception is Professor Onoe Masao,* of Kobe University and a former professor of the prewar Harbin Institute. He will be remembered as the only professor in Japan regularly offering courses on Soviet foreign relations. Upon his return home in 1950 after several years' detention in Siberia, which terminated his teaching career in the Japanese puppet-state of Manchukuo, Onoe published his research on the history of Soviet foreign relations, in a study entitled "Soviet Foreign Policy—Its Theory and Development" (Sovuieto no Gaiko Seisaku—Sono Riron to Hatten). It is an account of the international relations of the Soviet Union from the Revolution to 1937. Onoe starts his book by questioning Churchill's famous remark that Russia is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. He claims that Bolshevik behavior and actions as well as their foreign policy have always been guided by a consistent theory. It follows, then, that by scrutinizing Bolshevik theory one can gain an insight and grasp the essence of Soviet policy. In line with this approach, Onoe bases his monograph largely on an examination of the basic writings of the Communist leaders. This book was announced as the first volume of a history to encompass the entire record of Soviet foreign relations to the present time. The apparent arbitrary division of the work at 1937 was, according to the author, not inspired by the fact that the history of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union ends with that year, but rather because 1938 and 1939 were years of preparation for world war and witnessed the beginning of the third great change of direction in Soviet foreign policy, the first and second being "The Diplomacy of World Revolution" and "The Diplomacy of Construction of Socialism in One Country." The second volume of this study has so far failed to appear, but in 1953 Professor Onoe published another book entitled "Soviet World Policy" (Soren no Sekai Seisaku), which consisted of a popular version of his earlier work plus a second part treating the period 1938-1941 and a final seven-page chapter bringing the story up to the present time. In addition to these two studies, Onoe made public some of his research in a series of articles on the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, Bolshevik theory and Soviet foreign policy, and on "International Law and Soviet Treatment of Prisoners-of-War," a topic on which he is eminently qualified to write not only by academic training but also by personal experience. In the spring of 1956 Professor Onoe was invited by the United States government to visit the educational centers of America under the Foreign Leaders' Program of the International Education Exchange Service of the Department of State.

Another piece of Japanese academic research on Soviet foreign policy is the short volume, "An Analysis of Soviet Diplomacy—Basic Knowledge for the Understanding of the Soviet Union" (Soren Gaiko no Kaibo—Sovuieto Ninshiki no Kiso Chishiki) by Professor Nakamura Kikuo of Keio University. The author is a specialist on socialism, though not on Russia. He is not familiar with the Russian language and has based his work on Western and Japanese sources. It was written during a summer vacation for publication in the Democratic Japanese Association series, an anti-Communist organization aiming "to enlighten the young and the workers against those Japanese who are the vandals of the twentieth century." Professor Nakamura, himself a director of the organization, asserts that "Communist truth is the mythology of the twentieth century."

Soviet-Japanese relations as well as Soviet policy toward Japan have been the topic of several books recently published in Tokyo. In most cases, however, the authors were not academic people but rather former Moscow correspondents, ex-diplomats and ex-military officers or the translator-researcher type. These books have mostly dealt with pending problems between the Soviet Union and Japan, such as the status of the Kurile Islands and of South Sakhalin, trade prospects between the two countries, fishing rights and repatriation of Japanese from the U.S.S.R. Scholarly work on the historical basis for Japan's claims to the Kurile and other islands has been done by Professor Takakura Shin'ichiro of Hokkaido University.

A detailed research monograph on the Siberian Intervention, an important episode in Russo-Japanese relations, appeared in 1955. Titled "Historical Study of the Siberian Expedition" (Shiberia Shuppei no Shiteki Kenkyu), it is the work of Hosoya Chihiro, a young lecturer in diplomatic history at Hitotsubashi University. This is one of the few thoroughly documented Japanese scholarly works. The bibliography evidences use of not only Japanese materials (mostly Foreign Ministry archives) but also English, French, German and Russian sources. It contains an index (a luxury in Japan even for a research monograph) and a detailed 14-page chronology for the five-year period. This research was in part supported by a grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education. In 1955 Hosoya, on a Rockefeller fellowship, went to Columbia University to continue his

studies and to survey American resources on Russo-Japanese relations.

e. Economics

Until the surrender of Japan, research on Soviet economics had been a virtual monopoly of the Japanese government. Academic work in this field actually dates from 1946 when the changed political atmosphere of occupied Japan allowed Soviet economics to become a legitimate interest of the Japanese university.

At present, academic research on the economy of the U.S.S.R. is still hampered by a number of obstacles: there is no central research institute like the Russian Research Center at Harvard University or the Rand Corporation; source material on the subject is still meager compared to that available in the United States and Western Europe; government support even in relative terms is hardly comparable to that in the United States and there are no foundations like the Carnegie, Ford or Rockefeller; and last, but not least, the division of the scholarly community into Marxist and non-Marxist factions gives research on Soviet economics strong political overtones and militates against objective analysis. The fact that the Japanese scholar has traditionally displayed a predilection for theoretical discussions and that, as a result, Japanese research on Soviet economics concentrates rather heavily on Soviet theory and tends to disregard Soviet practice needs to be noted again in this context.

On the other hand, a number of prewar Japanese government researchers who had specialized in Soviet economics are now on the faculties of several universities. Their government background and field-work in Russia bring to the academic world useful practical experience and a more down-to-earth approach to Soviet reality. Further, a few younger university professors and research assistants are beginning to familiarize themselves with the latest research methodology and are entering such new fields as the study of Soviet economic growth, national income analysis or research on real wages.

Quantitatively the largest amount of academic research in Soviet economics is being carried on at Hitotsubashi University's Economics Research Institute, headed by the Harvard-trained economist Tsuru Shigeto, who may perhaps best be characterized as an unorthodox Marxist. A total of five faculty members, all Marxist oriented, have a major research interest in Soviet economics. Assistant Professor Nonomura Kazuo,* a graduate of Osaka University of Commerce and once associated with the Research Department of the South Manchuria Railway Company, is known as the translator of Paul Sweezy and Alexander Baykov and as an interpreter of Soviet economic developments from a strictly Marxist viewpoint. His best-known work is "The Economy of the Soviet Union" (Sorempo no Keizai), which appeared in 1953 under the imprint of one of Japan's most successful publishers, Iwanami. Oka Minoru,* a translator of Maurice Dobb's writings, is another leading Marxist economist whose primary interest is Russia. Except translations from the English, Oka has so far no major works in the Russian field to his credit. Professor Katano Ichiro,* a graduate of Tokyo University of Commerce (now known as Hitotsubashi), is considered Japan's outstanding specialist on Soviet cost accounting (khozrashchot), with several research monographs on the subject. Hiradate

Toshio* (also connected with Yokohama National University), in the past a researcher with the South Manchuria Railway Company, has written extensively on Soviet planned economy. Hiradate is also active on the political front: he is now head of the Yokohama chapter of the Association of Democratic Scientists and is prominent in the Soviet Researchers' Association. His works, all written from a purely Marxist viewpoint, include "The Soviet Planned Economy" (Sovueto Keikaku Keizai), "An Analysis of the Soviet Economy" (Soren Keizai no Bunseki) and "Soviet Economics" (Sovueto no Keizaigaku). Soejima Taneomi,* a lecturer at Hitotsubashi, has published a number of short articles and is known only among a narrow circle of specialists who consider him the leading Marxist student of Soviet agriculture.

Other Japanese scholars engaged in research on the Soviet economy are scattered throughout Japan's major universities.

Waseda University in Tokyo is represented by Hiratake Denzo,* a professor in the University's School of Commerce. Though not an economist by training, Hiratake was known in prewar times for his research on Soviet economic problems and especially for his work on the economic geography of the Soviet Far East. Recently (1955) he made public the result of two decades of research, "An Analysis of Soviet Economic Development" (Sovueto Keizai Hatten no Bunseki), the largest work of its kind in Japan. The study covers the entire course of Russian economic development from the early days of the Slavs to the present time, devoting about two-thirds of the space to the postwar period. While some of Hiratake's Japanese critics have reproached him for being too concerned with facts and for failing to show in his analysis the sophistication of British and American students of Soviet economics, even these critics concede that he has made a major contribution to Japanese scholarship by systematically covering Soviet materials now available in Japan. A listing of the Russian language sources used in this study runs to 50 pages. Hiratake has gone so far as to limit himself entirely to Russian materials disregarding both Japanese and Western contributions. At present he is engaged in research on Soviet social insurance.

Keio University professor of economics, Kiga Kenzo,* is rather an exception among Japanese non-Marxist specialists on the Soviet economy, having spent his entire career in academic life. Kiga, a son of a Keio professor and a graduate of the same institution, did research on planned economy in Germany from 1938 to 1940. After Kiga's return from Europe, his research focus shifted to the study of the Soviet planned economy. Kiga considers most representative of his research a work entitled "The Soviet Planned Economy" (Sovueto Keikaku Keizai) and "Balance and Efficiency of the Soviet Economy, part of a symposium entitled "An Analysis of the Present-Day Soviet Economy" (Gendai Soren Keizai no Bunseki), which appeared in 1953 under the editorship of Dr. Takagaki Torajiro, one of Japan's leading authorities on banking and finance. In contrast to Marxian economists, Kiga is familiar with Soviet research in the United States and Western Europe, and he has made a consistent effort to bring together interested scholars for an objective study of the Soviet economy and of the problems it poses for the economist.

The other leading Japanese experts on the Soviet economy, insofar as they are not of Marxist orientation, are all men with government

experience. Dr. Ibe Masaichi,* currently on the faculty of Tokyo College of Economics, spent several years in the early thirties studying in Leningrad. After his return home he became one of the Foreign Ministry's specialists on Soviet economic problems. For the last ten years Ibe has been part of the academic community, without entirely severing connections with his former colleagues in the government. Ibe is active as a teacher, writer and researcher. Of his sixteen published works, the majority deal with planned economy and its social and political ramifications. Together with Kiga and several other non-Marxist Soviet specialists Ibe has participated in a study group headed by the previously mentioned Dr. Takagaki. In this capacity he contributed a chapter to another symposium on the Soviet economy, "The Soviet Planned Economy and its Monetary System" (Soren Keikaku Keizai to Zaisei Kinyu Seido), which appeared in 1954 under the imprint of the Banking Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Finance. In 1955, Ibe was engaged in a study of Soviet-Japanese trade. To judge by another of Ibe's studies ("Present Day Economic Systems"—Gendai Keizai Taisei Ron) he is firmly opposed to Communism, and sees the crucial problem of our time as the creation of an economic system which could accommodate both planning and individual freedom.

Professor Wada Toshio* of Takushoku (Colonial) University has spent the last three decades in research on Soviet economic problems: at first with the North Sakhalin Mining Company, then with the Foreign Ministry and these last years in the academic profession. Wada's primary research field is Soviet labor and statistics. A number of his shorter studies recently appeared as part of the two previously mentioned symposia. Like Ibe, Wada is a non-Marxist.

Tokyo Municipal University Professor Yasuhira Tetsuji* is still in his early forties (most of the other non-Marxist economists with Soviet interests are some ten years his seniors). He combines good training in economics (Tokyo University) with knowledge of the Russian language (acquired in prewar times in Manchuria), and has substantial research experience through past association with the Cabinet Planning Board and the North Manchurian Economic Research Institute. Yasuhira, translator of Abram Bergson's Soviet Economic Growth, knows Western sources as few Japanese economists do. His "Development of Socialist Economic Theory" (Shakaishugi Keizai Riron no Tenkai), published in 1953, is likely to be only the first in a number of substantial research monographs. Yasuhira is also responsible for a major portion of the previously referred to symposium on the "Soviet Planned Economy and Its Monetary System," to which he contributed the sections on Soviet currency policy and prices, the nature and function of money in the U. S. S. R. and on Soviet foreign trade and foreign economic policy. All these studies were well received by Japanese economists, or at least by those of non-Marxist orientation. In 1956, Yasuhira was engaged in a critical evaluation of the Soviet Academy's "Economic Textbook" while continuing his research on the relationship between capital formation and economic growth in the U. S. S. R.

Engaged in research on Soviet economics, but less productive and not as well known are Professor Udaka Motosuke,* of Tokyo University, a former staff member of the East Asia Research Institute and a Marxist specialist on the Soviet planned economy; Kihara Masao,* a professor of

Marxist orientation lecturing on planned economy at Kyoto University and author of "Soviet Planned Economy" (Sodomei Keizai Ron); Ozaki Heihachiro,* of the faculty of Yokohama National University, active in the pro-Communist Soviet Researchers' Association; and Hosei University Professor Iida Kan'ichi,* a graduate of the Harbin Institute, author of "An Economic History of Russia" (Roshia Keizai-shi) and in 1955 lecturing among a number of left-wing organizations on the "Economic Textbook" of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; the non-Marxist Professor Matsuyama Shigejiro,* of Hiroshima University in Western Japan (a former member of the Harbin Institute faculty), researching on Soviet national income; and finally, Professor Matsumura Shiro* of Tenri University (near the city of Nara), a specialist on Soviet agriculture, who spent several years at Leningrad University before joining the research staff of the South Manchuria Railway Company.

f. Politics and Law

Three facts emerge clearly from a survey of Japanese academic research on Soviet law and politics: (1) the bulk of research is being done in two institutions, Tokyo and Nagoya universities; (2) the field is monopolized by leftists and extreme leftists; and (3) activity centers around Yamanouchi Ichiro,* professor of law and director of the Social Science Research Institute (Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo) of Tokyo University, chief editor of "Soviet Jurisprudence" (Sovueto Hogaku—see page 175) and head of the Soviet Researchers' Association.

Yamanouchi's interest in Soviet law and constitution dates from the days when he taught Japanese constitutional law at Kyushu University, in the nineteen twenties. His Soviet interest eventually developed to the point where he left Kyushu to study Russian in Tokyo. Ever since, Yamanouchi has been doing research in the Soviet field and is now widely considered Japan's academic authority on Soviet law and the Soviet constitution. His viewpoint is distinctly Communist and a trip to the Soviet Union in 1954 has apparently confirmed his beliefs. The journal on Soviet law, "Soviet Jurisprudence," of which Yamanouchi is chief editor, includes among its staff and contributors virtually all of Japan's left-wing specialists on the subject (for a roster of the editorial committee see Appendix to the companion Who's Who). Yamanouchi has several books to his credit, a three-volume work, "The Law of the Socialist State" (Shakaishugi Kokka no Ho), probably his greatest contribution. His most ambitious undertaking is the publication, now underway, of a 33-volume translation series on Soviet law under the title "The Soviet Legal System" (Sovueto Horitsugaku Taikei). This project provides the framework for translation in the field of Soviet law at institutions throughout Japan.

Under Yamanouchi's direction a substantial amount of translation work and some research on Soviet law is carried on at Tokyo University, mainly at its Social Science Research Institute. Staff members Kida Jun'ichi and Fujita Isamu are largely concerned with the study and translation of Soviet writings on law rather than with analysis and interpretation. The fourth specialist on Soviet politics and law at Tokyo University, Fukushima Masao,* a repatriate from the U.S.S.R., is known for his book, "Soviet Postwar Society" (Sengo no Soren Shakai), which incorporates his and other

Japanese repatriates' personal experiences in the Soviet Union. Fukushima's current interest is Soviet family law.

The second major academic center for the study of Soviet law and politics is in central Japan at Nagoya University, where three young scholars are engaged in teaching and research. Professors Inako Tsuneo* and Taniuchi Yuzuru* are both graduates of Tokyo University and disciples of Yamanouchi Ichiro.* Inako is at present doing research on the structure and functions of the Soviet courts and is also engaged in a comparative study of East European and Soviet law. Taniuchi's main interest lies in Soviet local administration and in the role of the Soviet bureaucracy. The publications of these two scholars consist mainly of joint translations of Soviet works and occasional shorter papers in professional journals. The third member of the Nagoya team, Professor Hasegawa Masayasu, *came from Tokyo University of Commerce (now Hitotsubashi). His contribution amounts only to a few scholarly articles on Marxist law. Hasegawa's pronounced interest in legal theory is also reflected in the translation of R. Schlesinger's Soviet Legal Theory.

Professor Gomamoto Katsuichi* of nearby Aichi University is something of an exceptional case among Japanese specialists on Soviet law and politics. A former faculty member of Harbin Institute, Gomamoto spent much of his prewar career in legal research for a Japanese concern doing business with the Soviet Union. In this capacity he traveled frequently to Russia. His last visit there was an involuntary one: he was repatriated to Japan in 1947 from a Soviet camp. Gomamoto's published research includes a book-length study of labor law entitled "Soviet Civil Law and Labor Law" (Sovueto Mimpo oyobi Rodoho).

The only other Japanese universities where research on Soviet politics and law was found to be in progress are in the Kyoto and Kyushu areas.

At Kyoto University Professor Miyauchi Hiroshi specializes in Soviet criminal law. At Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto Professor Maeshiba Kakuzo * covers the entire area of Soviet politics, administration and law. Before the war Maeshiba spent a number of years in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as a newspaperman. At present he is one of the directors of the Communist-controlled Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and a contributor to its journal. He is probably one of the best-known Japanese commentators on Soviet political developments. Books by Maeshiba largely aim at the educated non-specialist. His introductory "Soviet Politics" (Sovueto no Seiji) was issued in 1955 in the popular Iwanami New Books series which includes, besides the translation of Sir Bernard Pares' Russia, "The Soviet Economy" (Sorempo no Keizai) by Nonomura Kazuo* and "Soviet Foreign Relations" (Sovueto no Gaiko) by Hatanaka Masaharu. *

Professor Yanagi Haruo* of Kyushu University in the city of Fukuoka, where he also heads the local chapter of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, belongs to the Yamanouchi circle of devotees of Soviet law. His reputation is largely based on several translations of Vyshinsky and other Soviet legal works.

Reference should also be made to Yonemura Shoichi, a practicing attorney, who has developed an active research interest in Soviet law and who now collaborates with Yamanouchi Ichiro* on the previously mentioned 33-volume collection of Soviet legal writings.

g. The Natural Sciences

Since the Second World War, Japanese scientists have followed closely every aspect of Soviet scientific work. Tangible evidence of this new trend can be found in the appearance of numerous Soviet science circles in the larger universities and the many books and articles on Soviet research that have been published in recent years in Japan.

Japanese interest in Soviet scientific developments was further demonstrated at a unique conference on Soviet science held in May 1954 at Tohoku University (Sendai), one of the leading Japanese universities in the field of science. Professor Emeritus Miyagi Otogoro of that university set the tone of the meeting in an opening message in which he stated, "I have been aware, through personal experience, of excellent examples of Soviet scientific work." Some fifteen lecturers, mostly from Tohoku University, presented research papers or discussed a wide range of topics including "The Path of Soviet Science," "Soviet Astronomy," "Soviet Mathematics," "Soviet Physics," "Current Problems in Soviet Geology," "Soviet Medicine," "Dermatology and Venereology in the Soviet Union," "Observations on Soviet Civil Engineering," and "Soviet Engineering in the Field of Transportation." (See appendix F 2 for brief summaries or comments on papers presented.)

Within such a diverse field of Japanese interest in Soviet science two areas have attracted most attention and have been studied quite intensively: Soviet genetics, especially as applied to agriculture, and Soviet medicine.

Chronic food shortage and agricultural productivity are among Japan's most crucial problems. It is natural then that the methods of the Russian biologist I. V. Michurin for increasing agricultural yields and the experiments of T. D. Lysenko should be discussed widely in Japan and that they should have captured the imagination of farmer and scientist alike. The study of Michurin's work in Japan has given rise to a "Michurin movement," which provides a good example of the fusion of political and academic worlds that often characterizes Japanese interest in Soviet scientific achievements. Although Michurin's theories have been known for some time in Japan, the movement was launched only in 1951, not by a geneticist or agronomist, as one might have expected, but by a specialist on the history of slavery in the United States, Communist Kikuchi Ken'ichi. Kikuchi gathered a group of high school students in the rural Ina district of Nagano Prefecture in Central Japan, where he was then residing, and with the support of the Young Communist League started a study group on Michurin's methods. The movement was soon joined by other Communist propagandists, by veteran sponsors of Communist causes (such as the publisher Otake Hirokichi*), and also by scientists—most of them individuals with strong left-wing convictions. Kikuchi soon started publishing a bi-weekly tabloid "Agriculture in the Ina District" (Ina no Nogyo). "Michurin groups" began to spring up all over Japan. Finally, early in 1954, a national convention of these groups was held in Tokyo. These Soviet methods for increasing agricultural productivity known in Japan as Yarobi (from the Russian yarovoi) were even discussed in the Japanese National Diet. The Japanese Ministry of Agriculture eventually agreed

to examine these theories at its experimental stations. Japanese efforts to popularize "Michurinist biology" were described at length in Izvestia and the Michurin Association of Japan was invited in 1955 to send materials on its work and delegates to Moscow for the celebrations of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Russian scientist.

At present several Japanese biologists and agronomists are testing Michurin's and Lysenko's theories in the laboratory and in the field. Among the better known Japanese scientists engaged in such research or in disseminating information among the educated public are Yasugi Ryuichi* (son of the noted Slavicist Yasugi Sadatoshi*), a zoologist specializing in the history of Soviet science; Sugi Michitane, an agronomist and one of the directors of the Michurin Association; Yoshioka Kin'ichi,* an expert on agricultural techniques, director of the Agriculture Management Research Institute and the first recipient of the Asahi Science Award; and Dr. Tokuda Mitoshi, author of the much-discussed book "Two Theories of Genetics," who lectures on evolution at Kyoto University. Among the younger men deserving attention is Takanashi Yoichi, a graduate of the Agriculture Department of Tokyo University, who devotes full-time to writing on Soviet genetics and to work for the Michurin Association and for the Association of Democratic Scientists. Mention must also be made of the biologist and neurologist, Tsuge Hideomi of Tokyo's Hosei University. Dr. Tsuge served in Japanese military government during World War II and emerged after the war as one of the sponsors of the Association of Democratic Scientists and executive director in both the Japan-Soviet and the Japan-[Communist] China Friendship Associations. He was the first Japanese scientist invited by the Soviet Academy of Sciences to visit the U.S.S.R. toward the end of 1953. It is largely due to his efforts that the exchange of scientific literature between Japan and the Soviet Union was put on a regular basis. Tsuge plays an outstanding role as a translator of Soviet materials on genetics and as a purveyor of knowledge about Soviet science.

Soviet medicine has also come in for particular attention in Japan during the past several years. Most larger Japanese medical schools now have their Society for the Study of Soviet Medicine (Sovueto Igaku Kenkyukai). The best known among these study circles is probably the one at Tokyo University which has prepared introductory as well as specialized works on Soviet medicine, sponsored the translation of Soviet medical treatises and published an occasional journal "Soviet Medicine" (Sovueto no Igaku). Japanese medical researchers have given special attention to the theories of I. P. Pavlov. Dr. Hayashi Takashi, for instance, a physiologist trained in Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union and currently Professor at the Keio University Medical School (and incidentally also known as a writer of detective stories) translated the works of Pavlov into Japanese. There are several studies on "natural childbirth" (the Soviet method based on Pavlov's theory of conditioned reflexes), the most popular a book entitled "Theory and Practice of Painless Childbirth," issued by a Communist publisher. Many other Japanese prominent in the medical profession are engaged in research on Soviet medicine. Among them is Dr. Kizaki Kuniyoshi, chief of the Section for Internal Diseases in the Osaka Red Cross Hospital who visited the Soviet Union in the fall of 1953 and Dr. Fukumi Hideo, chief of the Bacteriological Division of the

National Preventive Medicine Research Institute. Both Japanese medical journals and general magazines report from time to time on current Soviet medical theory and practice.

The growing number of Japanese scientists who in recent years have taken up the study of the Russian language is further indicative of the intense Japanese interest in Soviet science.

CHAPTER XIII PUBLICATIONS

The Japanese are avid readers. According to a recent survey of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation approximately twenty thousand new titles are published annually; yearly book sales exceed 100,000,000 or over one per person a year. The interest of the Japanese public in foreign books is likewise great. Most major European and American works are quickly translated and published in Japan. This is also true of Soviet publications.

The following sections will treat postwar translations from the Russian, original Japanese works as well as periodical literature in the Russian and related fields.

1. Translations and Original Works

While in Japan the line of demarcation between original works and translations is obscured by the practice of occasionally identifying a compendium of translations simply as "edited by...," it is quite clear that the largest volume of postwar Japanese effort in the Russian field has been translation. Of a total of 2,711 works in the Russian field published in Japan in the nine years from 1946 through 1954, only 575 represent original Japanese endeavor while translations number 2,136 different titles. The yearly printing in these categories now approaches one million copies.

The nature and interest emphasis of such postwar Japanese work may by judged from the following Table 5, which indicates the approximate number and percentage of publications—translations and original works—by subject.

Translations

As shown in Table 5, three-quarters of all Japanese translations from the Russian represent literature. During a sample period, 1950-1954, in number of titles Russian literature ranked fourth after Japanese, French and English-American until outstripped by German in 1953. During 1954 German maintained its lead over Russian, though incomplete figures for the subsequent period suggest that Russian may soon again move back into the fourth position. Comparative figures for the entire literature field during the five-year period, 1950-1954, may be seen from Table 6. Russian literature averages 6.3 percent of the total literature titles but 15 percent of the foreign literature titles.

Table 5

Postwar Japanese Publications in the Russian Field
(1946-1954)

Translations from Russian			Original Japanese Works		
Topic	No. of Vols.	%	Topic	No. of Vols.	%
Russian Literature	1531	71.8	Repatriation from U. S. S. R. *	110	19.2
Soviet Literature	202	9.4	Language Texts and Dictionaries	99	17.2
Lenin and Leninism	133	6.2	Russian Literature	88	15.3
Stalin and Stalinism	79	3.7	Economics	40	7.0
Other books by Soviet leaders and official documents	40	1.9	History and Foreign Relations	32	5.6
Science	35	1.6	Travel Accounts and Memoirs	31	5.4
Culture	30	1.4	Introductory works	30	5.2
Education	21	1.0	Current Affairs and Exposes	29	5.0
History	17	0.8	Politics and Law	25	4.3
Politics and Law	17	0.8	Soviet Life and Culture	20	3.5
Economics (including Labor)	9	0.4	Lenin and Leninism	18	3.1
General Works	9	0.4	Stalin and Stalinism	15	2.6
On Japan	7	0.3	Soviet Literature	13	2.3
Agriculture	6	0.3	Agriculture	11	1.9
Total	2136	100.0	Science and Medicine	6	1.0
			Others	8	1.4
			Total	575	100.0

* This category includes the writings of Japanese repatriates from the Soviet Union and other works on this general subject. The figure represents a minimum of items identified. In the case of the repatriation category accurate figures cannot be established for two reasons: (1) such accounts often bear misleading or unidentifiable titles, and; (2) during the early postwar years a number of flimsy editions were published which consequently failed to find their way into the publishers' annuals or into the libraries.

Table 6

Literature

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Japanese	1,533	2,139	2,307	2,879 (1,675)	2,937 (1,707)
French	344	492	494	566 (279)	529 (191)
English and American	372	397	453	468 (218)	502 (226)
German	140	203	228	317 (147)	298 (97)
Russian	189	246	289	286 (126)	233 (66)
Chinese and Other Oriental Literatures	37	103	103	122 (69)	106 (43)
Italian	13	21	18	16 (8)	15 (3)
Spanish	3	2	7	7 (5)	9 (0)
Others	139	151	118	137 (87)	207 (142)
Total	2,770	3,754	4,017	4,798 (2,614)	4,836 (2,472)
Percentage— Russian Literature of Total Literature	6.8%	6.5%	7.2%	6.0%	4.8%
Percentage— Russian Literature of Foreign Literature	15.3%	15.2%	16.9%	14.9%	12.3%

Note: Quantities in parentheses are new publications, excluding reprints.

In the field of pre-Soviet Russian literature translations of Leo Tolstoy lead all others, nearly 600 volumes of his works (including new editions and reprints) by 22 translators having been published in Japanese since 1946. Dostoevsky ranks second with more than 300 volumes by 19 translators, followed by Turgenev with almost 200 volumes by 24 translators. All three writers are represented by one or more complete Japanese editions of their collected works. Other Russian authors whose writings are popular in Japan may be seen from the following figures on the number of volumes and translators:

Authors	No. of Vols.	No. of Translators
Tolstoy	584	22
Dostoevsky	317	19
Turgenev	182	24
Chekhov	91	15
Gogol	65	12
Pushkin	52	12
Gorky	47	20
Garshin	20	unknown

Lermontov
Goncharov
Artsybashev } over 10 volumes
Baikov
Kuprin

The translation of such lesser-known authors as Leskov, Serafimovich, Grigorovich, Pisarev, Sologub or Korolenko, as well as the fact that some three hundred Japanese translators earn a substantial part or their entire living from Russian literature, offers further comment on the intensity of Japanese interest in Russian literature and culture. In addition, a small number of emigre Russian writers, as well as a few Soviet authors whose works are proscribed in the Soviet Union, continue to appear in Japanese translation.

It may be noted that Soviet writings, in treating Russian literature in Japan, ignore the most important place of Dostoevsky. This is, of course, not surprising in view of the latter's unpopularity with Soviet officialdom. However, with the recent thaw in Soviet literary bureaucracy, the Soviet International Cultural Relations Organization VOKS has requested samples of Japanese work on Dostoevsky, including translations of his writings, for the forthcoming celebration of the 75th anniversary of the great Russian novelist's death.

Soviet literature ranks a very poor second to prerevolutionary Russian literature, comprising only one eighth as many titles. The most popular Soviet author in Japan is Maxim Gorky, a recognized writer, it may be suggested, long before the Bolshevik Revolution. With some forty works rendered into Japanese by twenty translators he outstrips all other Soviet authors yet trails behind six of the great Russian literary figures of the nineteenth century. Other comparatively popular Soviet authors are Sholokhov, Ehrenburg, Simonov and Fadeev. The relative lack of Japanese interest in Soviet literature has been of concern in Communist circles and was recently discussed at length at a round-table conference sponsored by the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association.

Perhaps the most objective and penetrating analysis of the situation is that offered by Nobori Shomu, * one of Japan's leading authorities on Russian literature, who when interviewed in connection with the present study, explained the comparative unpopularity of Soviet literature in Japan as follows:

> First, since the political and social structures of Soviet Russia and Japan are entirely different the Japanese reader finds it difficult to attain a full understanding and to experience a sense of familiarity, or identification.
>
> Second, as the literary policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sets forth the requirements of literary production, the resulting standardized and formalistic literary product is of little interest to the Japanese reading public.
>
> Third, as one of the leading writers of the current Soviet literary world has pointed out, Soviet literature fails to delineate man's inner life, his inner spiritual world. Even when the factory, the workshop, the modes of production and the class struggle are all described in detail, the private lives, the love of man and woman, are touched upon only en passant.

The depth and the complexity of human emotions and man's unlimited spiritual development are simply ignored. The Soviet writer pays more attention to the machine than to the human being. Man does not come alive.

Fourth, the attitude of the Japanese translators is also a factor. It is a mistake to translate a novel, as is so often done, because it has been awarded the Stalin prize, without considering whether it suits the Japanese temperament and answers the needs of the Japanese reader.

After literature, translations of works by and on Lenin and Stalin together account for 10% of the total translated titles. More than fifty translators have engaged at one time or another in preparing Japanese versions of these standard Soviet works. A popular 13-volume collection of Stalin's entire works was completed in 1954 and a 35-volume edition of Lenin's collected works is being published at the rate of several volumes per year. Thus, literature and the Soviet "classics" comprise more than 90 per cent of the Japanese translations from the Russian.

What remains of translations in the natural and social science fields constitutes about 180 titles (or less than 10%). In this figure are included several Soviet works on the Far East and Japan.

Original Works

The most voluminous and perhaps the most important original Japanese work in the Russian field since the war is that occasioned by the forced detainment and indoctrination of close to half a million Japanese in Soviet territory, largely between the years 1945 and 1950. Published material in this category, more than 100 books(and perhaps five times that number of articles), may be divided into four types in terms of origin and character: (1) Japanese government reports; (2) publications of repatriate organizations; (3) reports and statements of the Japanese Communist Party; and (4) the writings of the repatriates themselves.

Several departments of the Japanese government have published reports on the subject. The Repatriation Agency of the Welfare Ministry in 1950 and again in 1955 put out substantial accounts containing statistics and charts based on data from its own files and from those supplied through interviews conducted with the guidance and cooperation of the Occupation authorities. These were augmented by two shorter volumes, a pictorial record and a 1951 interim report. These four reports together contain most of the basic information on Japanese returnees from Soviet territory. Coincident with the Geneva International Conference on Repatriation, the Japanese Foreign Ministry during 1952 issued two separate reports on the status of Japanese still in Soviet hands, a key issue in Soviet-Japanese relations. The Japanese government has continued research on the problem. On the eve of the Japanese-Soviet negotiations in London in the spring of 1955, the Foreign Ministry issued its latest report on the subject. This revised set of figures on Japanese detainees in Soviet territory was based in part on data obtained from recent repatriates, undoubtedly a continuing significant source of information on the Soviet Union.

Repatriation organizations and groups, of various political orientation,

have kept the issue alive with occasional reports and appeals. Among the more active are the Association for the Speedy Repatriation of Compatriots in the Soviet Union, the League for the Protection of the Livelihood of Repatriates from the Soviet Union and the National Council of Family Organizations for the Speedy Repatriation of Compatriots from Abroad (see also page 180).

Typical of the Japanese Communist Party's publications on the topic—largely political and propaganda tracts—is the booklet by the late Secretary-General Tokuda Kyuichi entitled "What Did I Request?" which sought to clarify the Party's stand on the controversial issue. The JCP has encouraged and even subsidized laudatory accounts of life in the Soviet Union by sympathetic repatriates.

Of greater interest and value, however, are the many books and articles written by the repatriates themselves, which together present an intimate picture of the life and reactions of Japanese in Manchuria, Siberia, Central Asia and European Russia. These cover almost the complete range of research value, literary competency and political orientation. Thus, a Japanese artist's somewhat naive and uncritical account of internment in Central Asia is balanced by more critical, detailed treatments of the daily life and indoctrination of prisoners there, or in Manchuria or Siberia. The reports of several of the repatriated military officers are generally more penetrating, reflecting their outlook and training in observation. A few titles selected at random may help to convey more meaningfully the nature and flavor of this material: "Crossing the Urals—Soviet Russia as Observed by Young Internees," "The Truth About Japanese Prisoners in Siberia," "A Woman Prisoner Disquised as a Man—Death Records of Unrepatriated Six-Hundred Thirty-Five Appended," "Diary of a Prisoner-Interpreter," "Two Years Without Spring—The Ulan Bator Internment Camp in the Hidden Borderlands of the USSR.," "The Nakhodka People's Trials," "Soviet Southern Sakhalin—Records of a Japanese Who Became a Soviet Official." While quite uneven and often biased, much useful information on local conditions in the Soviet Union and the indoctrination process can be gleaned by a systematic and critical study of these unusual writings. (A study of Soviet indoctrination of Japanese is under preparation and will appear as part of this Far Eastern and Russian Research Series.)

Language texts and dictionaries comprise the second largest category of original Japanese publications in the Russian field. Comparative statistics for the number of language texts and dictionaries published in Japan from 1950 through 1954, however, show Russian a poor fifth after English, Japanese, German and French in that order. The number of both English and Russian texts and dictionaries published annually during the five-year period has remained fairly constant, with an average of 260 per year on the English side as against 14 for Russian. Publication of Chinese and other Oriental language texts and dictionaries, it may be noted, doubled during 1953 and 1954, reflecting the increasing interest in Communist China. The percentage of Russian language texts and dictionaries compared to the total number of language titles has averaged 2.3% during the past five years.

The following table (Table 7) gives the picture in more detail.

Language Texts and Dictionaries

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
English	289	259	245	250 (99)	248 (101)
Japanese	122	143	137	189 (75)	195 (94)
German	56	72	62	108 (25)	84 (25)
French	26	38	42	64 (14)	34 (10)
Russian	13	15	12	15 (8)	14 (9)
Chinese and other Oriental Languages	6	7	7	14 (7)	14 (7)
Spanish	3	6	2	7 (5)	8 (4)
Italian	2	3		1 (0)	2 (1)
Others	32	43	50	48 (15)	47 (16)
Total	549	580	557	694 (248)	646 (267)
Percentage of Russian language	2.4%	2.6%	2.2%	2.2%	2.2%

Note: Quantities in parentheses are new publications excluding reprints.

The category of Russian literature comprises only about 15% of original Japanese works in the Russian field (88 books) as against 72% of Japanese translations from the Russian. The original contributions are mostly histories of Russian literature and biographies and commentaries on the great Russian literary figures of the nineteenth century. Comparative statistics for Soviet literature (13 books, which incidentally include a number of Soviet works on Russian classical literature), show less than 3% while works on Lenin, Stalin and their ideology (excluding Marxism) together account for 6% (33 books) of the total original Japanese publications in the Russian field. In the social sciences, economics leads in number of volumes published (40), followed by history and international relations (32), travel accounts and memoirs (31), introductory works (30), current affairs (29), politics and law (25), and Soviet life and culture (20). Most of this work may be characterized as Marxist oriented; it is distinguished by the indiscriminate use of Soviet sources and it often parallels the Soviet line.

Separate comment should be made on those writings, memoirs, travel accounts and commentaries of official and private postwar Japanese visitors to the Soviet Union—government functionaries, journalists and writers, businessmen, labor leaders, academicians, Red Cross representatives, professional left-wingers and other tourists. Since 1952 when the self-appointed "peace delegate," Kora Tomi, made her much publicized, if unauthorized, trip to Moscow, the number of Japanese travelers to the Soviet Union and to Communist China has increased markedly. The nature and diversity of these visitors may be judged from a review of some of the groups which have traveled to the U. S. S. R. during the six-month period from February through August 1955: February— 13-member wrestling team; April— 34-member labor union delegation; May— 15-member academic delegation; June— 3-member trade mission;

July— 15-member farm delegation, six government officials attending International Whaling Commission in Moscow, 17-member athletic team; August— 38-member National Diet group.

The Japanese press has been anxious to obtain the reaction of all these visitors to their Soviet experience. Numerous newspaper and magazine accounts have already appeared. Representative of Japanese reports of the U. S. S. R. so far published are the following: "The Soviet Union and Communist China as I Saw Them," by Kora Tomi; "Travel to the U.S.S.R. and Communist China," by left Socialist Diet member Hoashi Kei; "The Soviet Union in Everyday Garb," by Mainichi Newspapers Soviet Correspondent Watanabe Zenichiro*; and "Soviet Journey," by Professor Yonekawa Masao,* the dean of Japan's translators of Russian. Undoubtedly much more of this memoir-type material may be anticipated in the near future, as general Japanese interest in the Soviet Union (and in Communist China) appears to be rising. If the research value of most of these works is questionable, they do, in the aggregate,serve to furnish us with a cross section of Japanese opinion and reaction to those Russians and to that portion of the Soviet Union the Japanese have been permitted to see.

Of particular interest to the student of Russo-Japanese relations are the recollections of Japanese diplomats stationed in Russia at critical times, and often based on the archives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. In the postwar period three such books deserve special mention: the memoirs of Ashida Hitoshi,* Morishima Goro* and Sato Naotake.* In a substantial book entitled "Russia on the Eve of Revolution" (Kakumei Zenya no Roshia), published in 1950, Dr. Ashida, Prime Minister in 1948 and a recognized diplomatic historian,reviews his experiences as a young Foreign Ministry language student in St. Petersburg during the First World War. He recalls in detail the life at the Tsarist Court, wartime Russian politics and foreign relations, the conclusion of the secret Russo-Japanese alliance in 1916, the role of such controversial figures as Rasputin as well as the historic revolutionary events which preceded the author's departure in January 1918. Morishima Goro,* former head of the Foreign Relations Committee of the National Diet, in "The Tormented Embassy in the Soviet Union—Recollections of Soviet-Japanese Relations" (Kuno suru Chuso Taishikan—Nisso Gaiko no Omoide), written in 1946 immediately upon his return from Soviet internment (although published only in 1952), characterizes the wartime relations between the two countries while he was Minister to the Soviet Union during the crucial years from 1942 to 1946. The third book, "Two Russias" (Futatsu no Roshia),which has gone through several printings, is based on eighteen stenographically recorded interviews conducted by the veteran Russia hand Kuroda Otokichi* with Sato Naotake, who incidentally was Morishima's superior during the latter's four-year Soviet assignment. Sato's memoirs, covering a period ten times as long, are recollections of the Russian episodes in a distinguished diplomatic career, starting with his first tour of duty in the Tsarist capital in 1906 and ending as Imperial Japan's last Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Keen interest in Soviet affairs is perhaps further demonstrated by the number of Western works translated into Japanese. Here we find the histories of Sir Bernard Pares and George Vernadsky, almost all of the works of David Dallin, books by the Webbs, E. H. Carr's The Soviet

Impact on the Western World, Louis Fischer's and Isaac Deutcher's Stalins and David Shub's Lenin. Japanese translations have appeared of many Western accounts of life and travel in the Soviet Union such as Andre Gide's "Back From the U.S.S.R.," John Steinbeck's A Russian Journal, United States Ambassador Walter B. Smith's My Three Years in Moscow, Postmarked Moscow by the wife of former American Ambassador Admiral Kirk, the recent account by the New York Times correspondent Harrison Salisbury, reports by Walter Duranty, the Red Dean of Canterbury Hewlett Johnson and others. Many more specialized Western works have recently likewise been translated into the Japanese. Among these mention should be made of the analyses of Soviet economy by Maurice Dobb, Alexander Baykov and Abram Bergson, Julian Towster's Political Power in the U.S.S.R. and even such technical studies as those by United States Department of Agriculture experts Wolf Ladejinsky and Lazar Volin on Soviet agriculture.

What publications in the Russian field have met with the greatest response in Japan? This question can be answered to some extent by examining Japanese book sales. In 1955 three translations from the Russian made the national best-seller lists. It is significant that during the same period there was only one other book translated from a foreign language about which this can be said. Characteristically two of these Russian works represented prerevolutionary Russian classical literature and the third was recommended by the Japanese Communist Party: in 1955 Dostoevsky's "The Brothers Karamazov" and Tolstoy's "Anna Karenina" sold around one hundred thousand copies and each of the first three volumes of the economics textbook edited by the Soviet Academy of Sciences between 100,000 and 180,000 copies within a few weeks. At the beginning of 1956,book wholesalers' associations reported that the total sale of the four volumes of this Soviet work had passed the one million mark, thus collectively exceeding the record of the number one Japanese best-seller which had done only slightly better than 600,000 copies. This amazing success of a work which by all standards belongs in the category of technical books can only be explained by the Marxist climate in Japan and by the promotional backing of labor unions and of a variety of left-wing organizations where such literature is in vogue.

2. Periodical Literature

The average Japanese is not only an avid reader of books. Recent statistics show that some 300 million copies of periodicals are sold yearly in Japan. More impressive than the figure itself are the number and variety of Japanese magazines that have been appearing since the war.

The postwar peak in periodical publications was reached in 1947 when the Japanese reader could choose from among more than 7,000 different titles. Since then competition and rising production costs have whittled down this figure. For several years now the number of periodicals has fluctuated around 1,500, only 700 of which are distributed nationally and appear regularly enough to be listed in publishers' yearbooks. Of these seven hundred publications, about one third are concerned

exclusively with science and medicine which together, however, account for only one-fifth of the total periodical circulation. The remaining two-thirds, about five hundred titles, include everything from fine arts to the social sciences. It is remarkable that in 1955 seven Japanese periodicals were devoted to the Soviet Union. These are discussed in the following sections.

An examination of postwar Japanese periodical literature (excluding technical journals and scientific publications) indicates that between 1950 and 1954 some four thousand articles in the Russian field were written by about a thousand contributors. Of these, some forty prolific authors accounted for a total of 500 articles, with one writer responsible for more than thirty pieces. The list of writers and commentators on Russian subjects is steadily growing: one hundred new contributors were counted in the second half of 1954 alone.

An exhaustive survey of Japanese periodical literature (excluding the sciences) for the three months from October to December 1954 produced the following figures on the topical distribution of the 251 articles in the Russian field identified and examined during the sample period:

History, Foreign Relations and Trade	71
Economics	47
Language, Literature and Thought	30
Theater, Music and the Arts	24
Politics and Law	23
Travel Accounts and Recollections	23
Current Affairs	18
Agriculture	5
Education	5
Bibliography	5

(See Appendix D for a bibliographic listing of these articles.)

Much of this quantitatively impressive output consists of semi-translations, reminiscences and speculation. Even the more substantial articles are seldom supported by adequate documentation. Sometimes it is difficult to tell where the author paraphrases a translation and where his own analysis begins. This applies especially to those articles which treat Soviet developments in a sympathetic vein—incidentally a category which appears to outnumber that of neutral or anti-Communist contributions. Despite these obvious shortcomings, generally recognized by the Japanese themselves, much useful material in the field of Russian studies can be found in the periodical literature of postwar Japan. This is particularly true of the government product.

Although it would hardly be possible to describe the many small and often short-lived Japanese publications concerned with Russia, an attempt will be made to deal separately and in some detail with the major periodicals and collectively and more briefly with the less significant publications in the Russian field as well as with those on Communism. To round out the survey of Japanese periodical literature in this field, a brief section has been added analyzing pertinent coverage in the general periodicals (including special issues devoted to the Soviet Union) and another, listing several relevant postwar publications now in the defunct category.

a. Soviet Yearbook (Sovuieto Nenkan)

The need for information and the increasing interest in the Soviet Union since the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty (1951) have had a stimulating effect on Russian research within the Japanese government. One of the major products of this effort was the publication, in the summer of 1954, of the initial postwar edition of a Soviet yearbook prepared under the auspices of the Research Section of the Prime Minister's Secretariat (Naikaku Sori Daijin Kambo Chosashitsu).

This impressive-looking compilation (more than a thousand large, closely printed pages) constitutes the first Japanese attempt since the war to assemble and present detailed information about the Soviet Union and its satellites in a systematic fashion. Behind the anonymity of the Secretariat's Research Section one finds an array of Japanese specialists on the Soviet Union. In a way this represents a maximum effort on the part of the Japanese government to pull together the nation's loyal research forces in the Soviet field, centering around the Russian section of the Foreign Ministry. A closer study of the volume shows that the compilers have drawn on some of Japan's prewar Russian experts, now retired from government service,and on the several institutes and individual researchers that are concerned with the study of the U. S. S. R. and the problems of Communism. How closely in touch with Soviet affairs some of these experts were became evident with the arrest of several of the contributors, one of whom, a Foreign Ministry specialist, subsequently committed suicide after implication in an espionage network operated in Japan by the Soviet agent and defector Iuri Rastvorov.

Much of the analytical and statistical material in the yearbook is taken from English and American sources, as well as from Soviet publications, although some data appear to be the result of independent gathering and collating. It is known, for instance, that the Prime Minister's Secretariat has for some time been systematically collecting material on the Communist areas of Europe and Asia and that it has cooperated with other agencies in the pooling of information and the preparing of specialized studies. Careful examination of the text confirms the assumption that Japan has so far been unable to bring together the wealth of documentation available in the United States. What is more disappointing is the fact that the unique body of political and economic information on the Soviet Union known to have been collected by the Japanese government from thousands of repatriates does not appear to have been incorporated in the work.

The yearbook deals in the main with the U. S. S. R. and to a lesser extent with its European satellites, Communist China, Outer Mongolia and North Korea, as well as with the international Communist movement. In the Soviet section full treatment is given to all conceivable aspects of the Soviet Union, from topography to religion, from history and Party organization to music, from economic planning to sports. More than one hundred pages are devoted to military questions—a reflection perhaps of the background of some of the compilers. Each of the sixteen Soviet republics is treated in some detail.

A separate section takes up Soviet foreign relations, country by

country. Of value to the Western student of Soviet foreign policy is a special, rather detailed, section on Soviet-Japanese relations, comprising chapters not only on the history of Soviet-Japanese diplomatic relations, but also on postwar Soviet policy toward Japan, the Soviet Union's peace treaty offensive and Soviet-Japanese prewar and postwar trade. The discussion of the international Communist movement is remarkable more for its comprehensiveness (even Cyprus, the Saar and Eire are mentioned) than for its depth. The omission of any treatment of the Japanese Communist Party (especially its ties with Moscow and Peking) from the section on the international Communist movement is, however, unfortunate.

Reference material occupies almost one quarter of the yearbook. This includes brief biographical sketches of over two hundred Soviet personalities (deceased and living), a chronology, the texts of the Soviet constitution, important treaties and laws, and the proceedings of the 19th Party Congress. (An annotated translation of the complete table of contents will be found in Appendix B.)

Organized along the lines of its several prewar predecessors, the "Soviet Yearbook" reflects both the weak points of Japanese research in general and the relatively low level of Russian research in Japan: documentation is usually lacking, there is no index, and most of the historical sections constitute little more than a rehash of prewar writings, failing to take into account recent findings. More attention to analysis and interpretation would have enhanced the value of this work. Nevertheless, the "Soviet Yearbook" provides a wealth of useful data in readily available form to the Japanese researcher and policy-maker. To the Western student of Soviet or Japanese affairs the historical and current treatments of Soviet-Japanese relations and conflicts represent the major contribution of the "Soviet Yearbook."

b. Soviet Monthly (Soren Geppo)

A successor to the prewar "Russian Monthly" (Roshia Geppo), the "Soviet Monthly," is now published by the Sixth Section of the European-American Bureau of the Foreign Ministry. At the end of the war and during the early Occupation days, publication of the monthly was suspended for a while. This was followed by an interval when the periodical was mimeographed. In its present form the "Soviet Monthly" is slightly larger than its predecessor but closely resembles it in appearance and general pattern of organization. It should be noted that this publication is primarily meant for official circles. Although not classified, its distribution outside the government is limited to a few Japanese and foreign organizations which do not appear to include Japanese academic institutions. The reason for this state of affairs lies, of course, in the deep cleavage separating the predominantly anti-government and pro-Soviet academic world and the traditionally anti-Communist Japanese officialdom.

The purpose of this publication is to survey and report systematically developments in and related to the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement. Accordingly, a substantial portion of the material included is identical with that found in the American Current Digest of the Soviet Press and monitored foreign broadcast reports.

The "Soviet Monthly" generally consists of three sections: research

reports, documents in translation, and "Important Developments In and Involving the Soviet Union." The research section appears in most but not all issues. In an average number of some 200 pages, the research and documents sections occupy some 50 pages, while the largest part of the publication is taken up by the section on Soviet developments. An outline of an average issue will serve to illustrate better the contents of the journal:

I. Research (Chosa)
II. Documents (Shiryo)
III. Important Developments In and Involving the Soviet Union (Soren Kankei Juyo Jiko-shi)
  A. Domestic
    1. Political
    2. Economic
    3. Military
    4. Social and Cultural
  B. Foreign Relations
    1. General Foreign Relations
      a. Atomic energy
      b. Soviet delegations abroad
      c. Foreign delegations to the Soviet Union
      d. Movement of diplomatic personnel
    2. United Nations and International Conferences
    3. The Americas
    4. Europe
    5. Asia and the Near and Middle East
    6. Soviet Press
  C. Neighboring Countries
    1. People's Democracies
      a. Poland
      b. Czechoslovakia
      c. Hungary
      d. Bulgaria
      e. Rumannia
      f. Albania
      g. East Germany
      h. North Korea
      i. Outer Mongolia
      j. General
    2. Other Neighboring Countries
      a. Finland
      b. Yugoslavia
      c. Turkey
      d. Iran
      e. Afghanistan
  D. The Communist Movement
    1. General
    2. The Cominform
    3. World Federation of Trade Unions
    4. Leftist International Organizations
    5. Communist Movements in Western Europe

a. General
b. Great Britain
c. France
d. Italy
e. West Germany
f. Austria
g. Belgium
h. Holland
i. Northern Europe

6. Communist Movements in the Americas
   a. United States
   b. Brazil
   c. Chile

7. Communist Movements in Asia and Elsewhere
   a. Indo-China
   b. Malaya
   c. Burma
   d. Philippines
   e. India
   f. Nepal
   g. Jordan
   h. Egypt
   i. Tunisia
   j. Morocco
   k. General

The largest section on Soviet developments (as evidenced from the outline), in addition to material on the U. S. S. R. and its satellites, unexpectedly contains also data on other adjacent countries such as Finland, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan. This undoubtedly reflects the jurisdictional responsibility of the Sixth Section rather than an interpretation of the position of these countries vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Communist China, on the other hand, is handled by the Asian Affairs Bureau. The entries under each of the headings range from a short news item of a few lines to a several-page summary of important events often containing direct quotation from the source. The subsection on the Cominform, in addition to a report on its activities, also provides an index to its official publication For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy. The section on Soviet developments is based on the Soviet and foreign press and on broadcasts and occasional reports from Japanese diplomatic and consular posts on the periphery of the U. S. S. R.

The documents section contains translations of pertinent material such as the constitutions of Hungary, Albania, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania; a comparative study of the old and new Soviet constitutions; documentation of the Nineteenth Party Congress, the Second Congress of the Polish Worker's (Communist) Party; translation of the articles on foreign policy in the "Large Soviet Encyclopedia" and the "Diplomatic Dictionary"; complete translation of Stalin's article on "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R.," a number of documents on Soviet trade, anti-religious propaganda and the restrictions on foreign diplomats in the Soviet Union, as well as many laws and regulations and important speeches by Communist leaders.

The emphasis of the research section is on Soviet economic questions. Representative studies, ranging from 15 to 50 pages, in this field are the nature of Soviet economy and its present state, postwar budgets, the International Economic Conference and Soviet trade plans, survey of Soviet labor policies, postwar developments in agriculture, the standard of living, the characteristics and objectives of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, postwar price policy, and Soviet statistics. The December issue regularly carries an annual survey of the Soviet Union and of the Communist movement during the preceding year. Similar surveys were from time to time prepared on postwar Turkey, Iran and other countries under the jurisdiction of the Sixth (formerly Fifth) Section. Occasionally the problems of Communist parties outside the Soviet bloc are discussed as, for instance, the significance of the 1952 purge in the French Communist Party. The scope of research may be judged by the wide variety of topics treated in recent issues. Such reports include studies of Soviet patriotism, the Soviet position on the question of territorial waters, personnel shifts and organizational reforms in connection with the death of Stalin, the peace movement, the Soviet Union and the Greek Orthodox Church, elections to the Supreme Soviet and personnel changes, and the teaching of history in the U. S. S. R.

The research studies are based on both Soviet and Western sources, indicated in a general way and usually not by page reference. The studies dealing with economic problems are quite comprehensive and contain numerous statistical tables, although the use of Soviet statistics appears less critical than would be desirable. The variety of materials used for an article on Soviet economics may be illustrated by a partial list of references. Western sources include books of Harry Schwartz and the Russian emigre scholar S. N. Prokopovich, an article by Professor Abram Bergson in the Political Science Quarterly, United Nations data, Survey of Current Business by the U. S. Department of Commerce, Petroleum Press Service, Iron Age, World Almanac, the French press agency AFP, The London Economist as well as the Swiss newspaper Neue Zuercher Zeitung and The New York Times. Among Soviet sources cited one finds several books on Soviet economic geography and socialist construction, Soviet periodicals such as Voprosy Ekonomiki (Problems of Economics), Planovoe Khoziaistvo (Planned Economy) and, of course, the standard Pravda material. Other studies such as, for example, one on Soviet patriotism (based primarily on the Soviet press and on articles from the "Large Soviet Encyclopedia") or one on military developments (citing extensively from the Soviet Army's newspaper Krasnaia Zvezda [Red Star]) are almost entirely constructed from Soviet sources. "The Soviet Monthly," being a government publication, does not give credit to individual staff members responsible for its preparation. Not even the lengthy research reports are signed.

"The Soviet Monthly," with its wealth of translated Soviet documents, valuable detailed chronology and useful reviews of Soviet developments, is at present unquestionably the most substantial and useful Japanese publication on Soviet affairs. It is regrettable that this journal is not more widely distributed among the leading Japanese academic centers engaged in the study of the Soviet Union. As a government publication, the "Soviet Monthly" would probably be unacceptable to the left-wing scholar in any case.

To the non-Japanese scholar in the contemporary Russian field, the "Soviet Monthly" complements the Current Digest of the Soviet Press. Although the "Monthly" lacks the Digest's useful general index to Pravda and Izvestia, it is more comprehensive in the field it covers by virtue of inclusion of Soviet broadcast material and Japanese diplomatic and consular reports and, it may be added, along with its predecessor the "Russian Monthly," boasts a history which dates back over twenty years. The "Monthly" offers not surprisingly a thorough, systematic treatment of Soviet-Japanese relations including Soviet attitudes toward Japan, official statements and references to Japan made in the Soviet press and over the radio. On these topics the publication is the best source. It is definitely a must item for Japanese and foreign students of Japanese-Soviet relations.

c. Continental Problems (Tairiku Mondai)

"Continental Problems" is a monthly published by the Continental Problems Research Institute for distribution to its members and to a number of government agencies. (For background on the organization itself see page 124) The first issue—then entitled simply "The Continent"—appeared in January 1952, and the publication has continued regularly ever since.

An average issue of the periodical consists of eighty pages with many maps, statistical tables and occasional illustrations. The magazine is devoted almost in its entirety to the Soviet Union and Communist China, the areas receiving about equal weight. Other regions treated at times include Southeast Asia and the Soviet satellites. (See Appendix B3 for a sample table of contents.) As is natural with an organization headed and staffed by former military officers, the emphasis of its monthly publication is on the study of the natural resources and military potential of the Soviet orbit, and on military aspects of economic and political questions. Over half of the average issue consists of signed and unsigned articles prepared by the Institute staff. Other contributors include former colleagues of the staff members, several of them one-time Japanese military attaches in the Soviet Union and its neighboring countries, a few government officials, journalists with service in Russia and recent visitors there, Japanese prisoners-of-war repatriated from the U. S. S. R., and other, mostly anti-Communist, specialists on Russian affairs.

In the military realm representative articles include a treatment of such topics as the Soviet military budget, a history of the Red Army, Soviet Far Eastern strategy and the oil problem, Party and army relations in the Soviet Union, civil aviation, railroads, special training of Soviet Arctic troops and military training of civilians. The remaining Soviet material is generally devoted to domestic politics, foreign policy and economic problems. Such articles include a discussion of the Kremlin's policy toward Japan, elections to the Supreme Soviet and religious policy as well as a yearly review of developments in the U. S. S. R. In addition to many articles on Communist China, there are a number concerned with the relationship between the two major Communist powers, focusing for instance on an analysis of North Korean reconstruction or on the exchange of students among the Soviet Union, Communist China and Eastern Europe.

Other articles compare American and Soviet military potential and within this framework examine the rearmament of Japan.

Not all these articles are original contributions. In fact, upon closer scrutiny, many turn out to be essentially translations of Soviet and Chinese Communist material. Apart from these, the periodical carries also complete Communist documents in translation. Some articles are transcripts of lectures by members of the Institute staff. Finally, ample use is made by the editors of interviews and questionnaires (what the Japanese call anketo—Fr., enquete; Russ., anketa), two popular journalistic devices in Japan. One such recent questionnaire conducted after the fall of Malenkov, entitled "The Political Changes in the Soviet Union and Future Trends," was answered by thirty persons, including the Institute's advisors and contributors and several other journalists, businessmen and university professors. Their consensus was : basic Soviet policy seemed unlikely to undergo any change, but the assumption of control by Nikita Khrushchov presaged a return to Stalin's tough policy. A few issues of "Continental Problems" are devoted to a central theme such as atomic energy, discussing under this heading, for instance, the struggle for atomic supremacy between the United States and the Soviet Union—a topic admittedly somewhat outside the field of competence of even a full general of the Imperial Japanese Army.

It is somewhat difficult to evaluate precisely the types of source materials which go into the contents of "Continental Problems," since documentation is generally lacking. This holds true also of the numerous statistical tables, charts, graphs and maps characteristic of this publication. Even a cursory reading, however, reveals the use of a wide variety of sources (Soviet, Chinese and Western). It appears that, especially in discussing military topics, the authors have drawn upon their personal knowledge of the Soviet areas, their previous, largely military experiences, and sometimes even on their old manuscripts. Some new data on the Soviet orbit have been derived from former Japanese officers repatriated from the U.S.S.R. and Communist China.

"Continental Problems" may be of interest to the student of Soviet affairs for its presentation of military and strategic problems by the Soviet experts of the defunct General Staff. The publication is of further interest as a mirror for the views of the prominent public figures who lend the Continental Problems Research Institute their names or support.

d. Soviet Studies (Soren Kenkyu)

"Soviet Studies," published by the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union, described earlier (see page 127), is now in its fourth year—no mean feat in postwar Japan, where the life expectancy of a new periodical is short. At first this monthly was distributed only to members of the Association and to a number of government agencies. More recently, however, "Soviet Studies" has been placed on sale in a few bookstores as part of a campaign to reach a wider audience.

An average issue of "Soviet Studies" has some eighty pages of articles on current Soviet affairs, reminiscences, recent eye-witness reports on the Soviet Union, interviews, biographical sketches of Soviet personalities, translations from the Soviet press, book reviews and a

chronology. A few vignettes, apparently designed to portray Russian life, and an occasional cartoon from Krokodil enliven the presentation. "Soviet Studies" in format, contents and in its peculiar combination of informative articles on the Soviet Union and recollections of old Russia hands closely resembles the prewar "Monthly Russia" (Gekkan Roshia). It will be recalled that "Monthly Russia" was published by the Japan-Soviet News Agency (see page 66), whose president Kondo Yoshiharu* is today the managing director of the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union, the organization responsible for "Soviet Studies." Since September 1953, "Soviet Studies" also bears the notation, above the title, "Communist China" and "Eastern Europe." Even so, the discussion of intra-orbit relations and internal affairs of Communist areas outside the U.S.S.R. take up relatively little space. (See Appendix B2 for a sample table of contents.)

Articles deal with a wide range of topics, offering something to virtually everyone, however slight his interest in Soviet affairs. The editors pay special attention to economic issues, to the foreign policies of the Soviet Union, and to Soviet political and economic relations with Japan and Communist China. These topics, despite their relative importance, make up no more than about a fourth of the average issue, for other contributions may include anything from Communist Party structure or the question of Soviet national minorities to a discussion of the new encyclopedia or the position of women in the U.S.S.R.

A substantial portion of the magazine is devoted to historical recollections and briefer contributions by old Russia hands—apercus on out-of-the-way aspects of the Soviet scene. Noteworthy among the recollections is a series of articles under the title "Stories about the Soviet Union—Past and Present." The first 22 installments were written by Kuroda Otokichi,* an eye-witness of the October Revolution. Other accounts were furnished by Tanaka Bun'ichiro,* the author of the Foreign Ministry's confidential history of Russo-Japanese relations. The editors have also drawn on earlier writings of such experts as Miyagawa Funao,* captured by the Soviet forces in Manchuria. The contributions in a lighter vein, zuihitsu ("random brush strokes"), a very popular literary genre in Japan, are well represented in each issue. The writers, mostly men of stature with Soviet experience (ex-diplomats, military officers and a few academic people), are seldom interested in undertaking serious research, preferring rather to jot down a few amusing comments which can be tossed off without much loss of time. Titles such as "Toilet Paper," "Fishing on the Volga" or "Shaliapin and Shigemitsu Mamoru" will convey something of the flavor.

More recent eye-witness reports have been furnished by group interviews with repatriates from the Soviet Union and by the increasing number of Japanese who have visited Russia since 1953 on private or semi-official business. The November 1955 issue, for instance, carried stories written by members of the National Diet and the full text of their interview with Khrushchov. Questionnaires submitted to a representative group of prominent readers also appear from time to time. At the beginning of 1955, for example, "Soviet Studies" sent out a set of three questions: (1) Can we trust "peaceful coexistence"? (2) What are the prerequisites for an adjustment of our relations with the Soviet Union and China? (3) Can we expect much from trade with Communist China and the Soviet Union?

Almost all of the 74 specialists polled agreed that the Soviet approach could not be trusted. They considered recognition of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, cancellation of the Sino-Soviet Agreement, the return of the Kuriles and the repatriation of the Japanese detained in the Soviet Union a prerequisite for the final successful adjustment of relations. Trade with the Communist nations was generally approved, but prospects for substantial volume were considered slim.

Profiles of Soviet leaders, scientists and literary figures (usually limited to one page) are the work of the editor, Maruyama Naomitsu,* who is known to have laboriously gathered Soviet biographical data for a number of years. Translations from the Soviet press are based on Pravda and Izvestia and run on the average to four pages. This section is generally supplemented by an item entitled "Eyes on the Soviet Union," a collection of dispatches from the world's capitals by the correspondents of major Japanese, American and European newspapers or wire services. An occasional brief book review is often a reprint from the journal published by the U.S. Information Service in Tokyo. A two-page chronology of Soviet affairs completes the reference portion of "Soviet Studies."

The Association for the Study of the Soviet Union has already been described as a conservative, anti-Communist organization. Contributors to the Association's journal naturally conform to this pattern. Among them are a group of older ex-diplomats such as Sato Naotake* and Morishima Goro,* and ex-officers like Yamaguchi Suteji* and Kotani Etsuo,* all of them with Soviet experience, Diet members interested in Soviet affairs, several ex-Moscow correspondents, and specialists from the Foreign Ministry's Soviet section and other government agencies. Conspicuous by their small number are contributors from the academic world, not surprising in view of the strong left bias among Japanese university specialists on Russia.

"Soviet Studies" sometimes gives the impression that it was created primarily as an outlet for the recollections of old Russia hands rather than for the publication of original research. This magazine has little appeal to the scholar and is rarely found in Japanese college libraries. Despite an increasing number of more substantive contributions of the Soviet Union, especially in the field of economics, the magazine still exhibits some of the basic weaknesses common to even the specialized Japanese journal: a lack of analytical content, the absence of documentation and dependence on a small circle of contributors.

But "Soviet Studies" also reveals a more attractive side. The historical articles written by persons who have lived through the events they describe are occasionally of value both to the Western and to the Japanese student. If the interviews with returnees from Soviet territory fill few gaps in our knowledge of conditions in the U.S.S.R., they do convey an idea of the Japanese reaction to Soviet reality. To the Japanese concerned with Russia, they offer of course much more: current information systematically arranged, conclusions stemming from a non-Communist point of view and critical comments on Soviet sources.

e. Japan and the Soviet Union—Soviet News
(Nihon to Sovueto—Sovueto Nyusu)

"Japan and the Soviet Union" (prior to September 1955 known as "Soviet News") is the mouthpiece of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association (see page193). The purpose of this newspaper is threefold: (1) to acquaint the members with the country-wide activities of their Association and with similar "friendship organizations" abroad; (2) to facilitate personal contacts between nationals of the two countries; and (3) to familiarize the Japanese reader with Soviet institutions and developments. In short, the aims are to bring about closer relations between the two countries and to create in Japan an atmosphere of receptivity for Soviet ideas and the Soviet system. The content of the paper reflects this triple purpose.

At first irregularly issued, the newspaper became a monthly late in 1951 and since 1952 has been published regularly at the rate of three issues per month. It is a four-page tabloid ordinarily available only to members of the Friendship Association or to regular subscribers. (See Appendix B6 for the contents of a few sample issues.)

A substantial portion of "Japan and the Soviet Union" (up to one-fourth) is taken up by announcements of the Association and by reports on the activities of its central chapter in Tokyo and of its branches in the larger cities and in other key communities, especially in the vicinity of American bases. These reports and announcements may include, for example, a summary of a talk by an official of the Association on the progress of Japanese-Soviet negotiations in London, a brief report on a signature campaign for the Peace Appeal (together with a printed ballot), the program of Russian language courses to be started by the Osaka chapter, and the distribution schedule of Soviet films to be shown by various chapters and other interested groups.

The bulk of the paper, however, is devoted to material on the Soviet Union, of Japanese as well as of Soviet origin. There is such a variety of articles, translations, illustrations, reprints of speeches and so forth that it would be difficult to give an idea of its scope without going into some detail. A single issue may carry interviews with the members of a Japanese academic mission to the U.S.S.R., an article on the Soviet-Chinese transportation networks, a statement by the Russian writer Ilya Ehrenburg regarding the peace movement, a letter from a Soviet railroad official to a Japanese railroad worker, a discussion of the retirement system in the U.S.S.R. or an article about animal husbandry. Some of the translated material is quite technical. So are many of the original contributions written by Japanese scientists.

As might be expected, much emphasis is placed on foreign relations. Soviet policy statements, interviews with officials in Moscow and with members of the unrecognized Soviet Mission in Tokyo figure prominently in almost every issue. But almost equal space is reserved for the introduction of "cultural" material. This may range from a translation of

Russian folk-songs (with accompanying score), a Russian recipe, stills from Soviet motion pictures and pictorial descriptions of life in the U.S.S.R. to more sophisticated discussions of Soviet literature and the fine arts, often by writers having just returned from Moscow. Question-and-answer columns, Japanese letters to the editor, correspondence from Russia and a profusion of pictures provided by the Soviet news agency Tass complete the average issue.

Articles usually bear the writer's signature. Among the contributors are many of the prominent Communist or pro-Communist writers and other intellectuals, especially those who hold membership in such groups as the Soviet Researchers' Association or the Democratic Scientists' Association or in the many cultural organizations which actively support the peace drive and other ultraleft-wing causes. It is not surprising to the student of Communist tactics that high Japanese Communist Party officials seldom figure among the acknowledged contributors. A conspicuous exception is Nozaka Ryo, head of the JCP's Women's Section and wife of Party chief Nozaka Sanzo.*

At first glance, this small paper because of its political orientation may appear to have little significance to the Japanese student of Russian affairs and none to the foreign scholar. Actually "Japan and the Soviet Union" is useful to the researcher in many ways. It provides the Japanese with up-to-date translations (not only from Pravda or Izvestia, but also from "Soviet Culture," "Soviet Woman," Ogonyok, or the "Large Soviet Encyclopedia"). In its columns he can also find articles—some of them authoritative—on Soviet science and comments on current events. While none of this material may be new to the non-Japanese specialist, this newspaper can provide him as well as his Japanese counterpart with certain data not readily available elsewhere.

"Japan and the Soviet Union" contains an abundance of material on Soviet-Japanese relations. Eye-witness reports from recent visitors or repatriates contain fresh, if biased, information. Interviews with Soviet officials (both in Japan and in the Soviet Union) appear sometimes in no other source. Further, a column listing new Japanese translations from the Russian and reviewing current books on the Soviet Union, the announcements of the activities of the Friendship Association, of small pro-Soviet publishers and of politically interested Russian study groups together provide a picture of Japanese left-wing concern with Soviet affairs. To the Western student of the Soviet impact on Japan, then, "Japan and the Soviet Union," when systematically studied, proves an unexpectedly fruitful source.

f. Soviet Jurisprudence (Sovueto Hogaku)

"Soviet Jurisprudence," launched as a bimonthly, appeared for the first time in the spring of 1955. Despite the appearance of a second issue, the future of this journal is not assured. As shown, the mortality rate among newly established Japanese periodicals is notoriously high. The periodical deserves study for a different reason: it is representative of the trend among Japanese academic specialists on Soviet law and politics, who almost without exception subscribe to the Soviet point of view.

This journal is not published by an organization, but by a group of university teachers and researchers among whom the younger generation, at the assistant professor and assistant level, predominates. Tokyo University's Professor Yamanouchi Ichiro,* Japan's leading left-wing expert on Soviet law, is mentioned as advisor and the editorial committee counts among its members several of his disciples. The ten editors include some of the better-known Japanese students of Soviet law teaching in the government universities of Tokyo, Kyoto, Nagoya, and Kyushu, as well as at Hosei University, one of Tokyo's larger private institutions. (For names see Appendix to the companion Who's Who.)

The journal's initial issue of 70 pages contains only two original contributions, dealing respectively with "The Study of Soviet Law in Japan" and "Vyshinsky's Theory of Law." The bulk of the publication (about 80%) is devoted to translations of Soviet or other non-Japanese Communist authors in line with the announced editorial policy to further the study of Soviet law in Japan by introducing accurate translations of the more important Russian source material and writings. A brief review of the Soviet Academy's book "The State and Law" completes this first issue of "Soviet Jurisprudence." To judge by the contents of the second issue the editorial committee plans to maintain approximately the same pattern. (See Appendix B4 for the table of contents of the initial issue.)

It would, of course, be a mistake to expect this journal to offer a forum for an unbiased discussion of Soviet law. The editors state that the inability to understand the Soviet Union is caused by a "lack of a scientific approach." They aim, therefore, to "clarify the real nature of the Soviet socialist state " through the study of the Soviet legal system and theory. According to the editors, a "sound and scholarly examination" of the Soviet legal system requires an "understanding of Marxism," and the tenor of the articles suggests that "understanding" in this case means accepting Marxian tenets. That a column marked "Collection of Important Soviet Laws and Decrees" deals with the Supreme Soviet's "Decree Regarding the Protection of Peace" is further suggestive, as are the left-wing materials advertised in the publication. In the entire journal there is not a single word that could be interpreted as criticism of the Soviet system, nor any reference to pertinent Western works or authors. Clearly this journal is issued by a self-contained group of politically like-minded men and designed for readers of kindred spirit. As the only Japanese periodical in its field, "Soviet Jurisprudence," if it survives, will undoubtedly exert influence on the immature student and the unsophisticated professor.

g. All Soviet Union—Soviet Economy (Oru Soren—Soren Keizai)

The publication in October 1955 of "Soviet Economy" (subsequently renamed "All Soviet Union") marked perhaps the first time that a periodical centered on the subject of the Soviet economy has appeared in a non-Communist country. The publisher, the Industrial Economics Research Institute (see page 132), seemed confident of the success of this unique venture, for during the first two months of the magazine's existence, five issues of the fortnightly had appeared on schedule and the number of pages had

increased from sixty-eight to ninety. The reported circulation for early 1956 was 20,000 copies. "All Soviet Union" apparently is here to stay.

The make-up of the first several issues suggests that they had been carefully planned and that the editors were seeking to make the new journal interesting as well as informative. Almost the entire magazine consists of translations from the Soviet press, from periodicals like Nauka i Zhizn' (Science and Life) and Vneshniaia Torgovlia (Foreign Trade) and from technical books. The material is limited almost wholly to the domestic economy of the U. S. S. R., although a few articles have dealt with Soviet-Chinese trade or with economic issues of Eastern Europe. In both cases, however, the treatment was based on Soviet sources. Articles other than outright translations consist largely of compilations based on Soviet data and presented with a minimum of editorial comment. To lend authenticity to the publication such articles are frequently introduced by a Japanese engineer or another specialist who evaluates the technical information and attempts to assess Soviet strength and weaknesses in their field, often making comparisons with Japan and other major industrial nations. Articles of this type have been concerned with the Soviet automobile, electrical power, steel and textile industries, or such questions as automation in the production of automobile pistons. Briefer discussions of specialized topics like Soviet photographic equipment probably based on personal observation, economic news from the U. S. S. R., and lengthy reviews of standard Soviet works in the field of economics make up much of the remainder of the magazine.

Perhaps with the aim of making the rather technical publication more palatable, an increasing amount of political and cultural subject matter with greater popular appeal has been introduced. While rather run-of-the-mill sketches of Soviet cities or important personalities (Saburov, Mikoyan, Lysenko) may have a definite place in a publication devoted to the Soviet economy, the presence of articles on Russian cuisine and Soviet women's fashions is somewhat harder to reconcile with the original title of the publication. This trend, discernible in the early issues of the publication, reached a logical climax with the change of the magazine's name to "All Soviet Union" early in 1956. (See Appendix B5 for a sample table of contents.)

Even from the point of view of locating Japanese translators sufficiently expert to handle the often highly technical material, the publication of "All Soviet Union" is something of an accomplishment. Moreover, much of the information presented is probably new to the Japanese reader though not to the Western specialist, who will further, no doubt, criticize the virtual absence of documentation.

Where does "All Soviet Union" stand in the political spectrum? In accordance with the Industrial Economics Research Institute's stated objective, the journal generally refrains from expressing editorial opinion, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. The materials used are exclusively Soviet. The magazine on occasion has referred to a certain technological backwardness of the Soviet economy. It also includes Krokodil cartoons lampooning certain aspects of life in the U. S. S. R. Advertising from left-wing organizations or publishers is conspicuous by its absence. All this leads to the conclusion either that the editors actually aim at objectivity or that they are attempting a very sophisticated

approach either anti-Communist or pro-Communist. The answer to this problem is suggested by a recent full-page account in the pro-Communist "Japan and the Soviet Union," which praised "All Soviet Union" for its "objectivity."

h. Soviet Literature (Sovueto Bungaku)

Today, as before the war, the Russian classics enjoy a far greater popularity in Japan than the works of contemporary Soviet authors. But there can be no doubt that the Japanese political and intellectual left is making a determined effort to interest the reader in Soviet literature. Evidence of this is the appearance in 1955 of the quarterly "Soviet Literature"—quite likely the only publication outside the Communist bloc devoted entirely to the literature of the U. S. S. R.

The purpose of this magazine is described in a prefatory statement as follows:

> "The Soviet Union across the sea is one of our neighbors. In the past, it has had close political and cultural relations with Japan. These relations are likely to become even more intimate in the future.... Russian literature is being widely read here and... now forms the flesh and blood of contemporary Japanese literature. The literature of the Soviet Union not only perpetuates the glorious tradition of the Russian classics, but opens a new and as yet uncultivated field.... Soviet literature, the literature of truth, possessing an attractive freshness, has met with response throughout the world.... While the reader in Japan has been acquainted with many Russian works, the majority of them belong to the literature of the classical period. The new literature of the Soviet Union has not been sufficiently introduced to the Japanese people. The purpose of our quarterly, inspired by the Second Soviet Writers' Congress, December 1954, is to introduce widely and properly the products of this rich Soviet literature; to constitute a reliable guide to it and thus to foster a fruitful development of Japanese literature. As literature is a mirror of society and man, we expect through this journal to convey to a wide circle of Japanese readers the truth about the Soviet Union and to contribute to an understanding of the U. S. S. R."

A postscript, speaking of the "role of the literature of new socialism," the "pioneering character of Soviet literature" and the "absurdity of speaking of Soviet aggression," further serves to underline the ideological outlook of the publication.

Six well-known translators of Russian literature constitute the editorial committee of "Soviet Literature" : Yonekawa Masao,* Yokemura Yoshitaro,* Kurahara Korehito,* Kuroda Tatsuo,* Wakuri Seiichi,* and Inoue Mitsuru.* Some of these men may have joined primarily for professional reasons, but all the editors are known for their association with the pro-Soviet movement in Japan. The presence of Inoue Mitsuru, one of the leading figures in the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and of Kurahara Korehito, member of the Japanese Communist Party's Central

Committee places "Soviet Literature" unmistakably in the pro-Soviet camp.

The first issue of "Soviet Literature" was almost entirely taken up with the presentation of the speeches, reports and resolutions of the Second Soviet Writers' Congress. Only eleven pages out of more than three hundred constituted original contributions: "The Second Soviet Writers' Congress and Japanese Literature" by Kurahara and "The Significance of the Second Soviet Writers' Congress" by Yokemura. Having set the tone with this first volume, the editors expect to devote more space in the future to the introduction of Soviet novels, poems, plays and literary criticism.

i. Other Periodicals in the Russian Field and on Communism

Besides the preceding eight major periodical publications, two other periodicals in the Russian field deserve mention.

The Jiji Press Agency in Tokyo has been issuing a semi-weekly "Special Report on the Communist Orbit—From Inside the Iron Curtain" (Kyosanken Tokuho—Tetsu no Kaaten no Uchigawa kara). This mimeographed bulletin of some 30-40 pages is a compilation of news about the Communist bloc based on the Soviet and foreign press and radio broadcasts. A sample issue contains such items as "The Elimination of Beria from the Soviet Encyclopedia," "Emphasis on Siberian Agriculture," and "The Soviet Aircraft Industry—Engine Research and Production."

In the autumn of 1955 a new magazine entitled "Two Worlds" (Futatsu no Sekai) made its appearance in Tokyo. An examination of the first seven issues shows that more than half of the contents of "Two Worlds" is devoted to the Communist world. The absence of Soviet sources, however, is perhaps the periodical's most conspicuous feature. Representative articles on the Soviet Union have included translations of Western writings on the history and future of Soviet aviation, the Red Navy and on Soviet foreign policy; and Japanese contributions on Soviet-American competition in the Arctic, Ehrenburg (by Watanabe Mikio*), a comparison of Soviet and American labor productivity, strange tales from [Soviet] slave labor camps, the utilization of atomic energy in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., a letter to Khrushchov (by Maruyama Naomitsu*), and a history of the Japanese possession of the island of Sakhalin, as well as a round-table discussion by repatriates from the Soviet Union describing their experiences, and a visit to their Khabarovsk camp by Japanese National Diet members.

For convenience sake all other minor periodicals in the Russian field and on Communism discussed elsewhere in this study are listed here by category: (a) research groups, (b) the Japanese Communist Party, (c) student Soviet study groups, (d) Communist China research and friendship associations, and (e) repatriate organizations.

(a) Research groups. The Soviet Press Agency (Sovueto Puresu Tsushinsha, see page 130) publishes the "Daily Soviet Press Bulletin" (Nikkan Sovueto Puresu), "Soviet News Bulletin" (Sovueto Jiho), "Weekly Bulletin of Pravda Editorials" (Purauda Shasetsu Shuho) and Nedelia (The Week). The Hozumi monitoring group (Hozumi Research Institute—Hozumi Kenkyujo, see page 131) puts out "Soviet Broadcasts" (Soren Hoso); Research Institute for World Democracy (Sekai Minshu Kenkyujo, see

page 135) — "Opinion and Comments" (Shucho to Kaisetsu) and until recently "Asia Reborn" (Shinsei Ajia) — now renamed "Overseas Affairs" (Kaigai Jijo) and published under the auspices of the Research Institute for Overseas Affairs of the Takushoku (Colonial) University; Far Eastern Affairs Research Association (Kyokuto Jijo Kenkyukai) —"Far Eastern Information Bulletin" (Kyokuto Tsushin); Daily Labor Press Agency (Nikkan Rodo Tsushinsha) — "Daily Labor News" (Nikkan Rodo Tsushin); The Social Movement Press Agency (Shakai Undo Tsushinsha) — "Social Movement News" (Shakai Undo Tsushin) and especially its Research Edition (Kenkyuban) dealing exclusively with the Communist movement: the Democratic Workers' Association (Minshu Rodosha Kyokai) — "Democratic Labor" (Minro Shimbun) and "Democratic Labor Daily Special Report" (Nikkan Minro Tokuho); and the Social Movement Research Association (Shakai Undo Kenkyukai) — "Flash Report on the Japanese Communist Party" (Nikkyo Josei Sokuho), later renamed "Public Safety Report" (Koan Joho), a term reminiscent of the nomenclature of Japanese internal security agencies, like the Public Safety Investigation Agency (Koan Chosajo) whose publications in the Communist field though important are not generally available.

(b) The Japanese Communist Party. The work of the Japanese Communist Party bearing on the Russian field and its main publications — the daily newspaper "Red Flag" (Akahata), the monthly "Vanguard" (Zen'ei) and others including peripheral theoretical journals on Marxism like "Studies in Marxism-Leninism" (Marukusu-Renin Shugi Kenkyu) will be discussed in the following section on page 185 . In this connection reference should also be made to the publication of the Michurin Association of Japan (see page 152) "Agriculture in the Ina District" (Ina no Nogyo).

(c) Student Soviet study groups. Student groups engaged in the study of the Soviet Union and related subjects (see page 195) are responsible for publications like "Soviet Studies" (Sovueto Kenkyu, not to be confused with the organ of the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union bearing the same title in translation), a small irregular, mimeographed journal put out at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and the "East European Civilization" (To-O Bunka) by the East European Research Group at Chuo University in Tokyo. The latter though primarily concerned with Eastern European satellites carries translations from Russian periodicals and articles touching on Soviet topics.

(d) Communist China research and friendship associations. Likewise of indirect interest are the publications of the left-wing Center for the Study of China (Chugoku Kenkyujo) and other research organizations concerned with Communist China but which often treat aspects of Soviet policy in the Far East. This is also true of the newspaper "Japan and China" (Nihon to Chugoku), the mouthpiece of the Japan-China Friendship Association, counterpart of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association.

(e) Repatriate organizations. Finally, special mention must be made of the publications of repatriate organizations: "The Repatriation Promotion News" (Kikan Sokushin Dayori) by the National Council of Family Organizations for the Speedy Repatriation of Compatriots from Abroad (Rusu Kazoku Dantai Zenkoku Kyogikai) and "The Repatriate's Companion" (Kikokusha no Tomo) by the General Headquarters of the Association for the Promotion of Repatriation of Japanese from China (Zaika Doho Kikoku Kyoryokukai Sohombu). These

and other similar publications often contain data on conditions in Communist countries.

j. General Periodicals Including Special Issues on the Soviet Union

Most Japanese periodicals published for a wider audience carry an article on Soviet affairs in at least every other issue. Sometimes each issue contains a contribution in the Russian field and occasionally when national attention is focused on the Soviet Union (as during the Japanese-Soviet talks in London) a publication will put out a special Soviet issue. (See Appendix C for sample tables of contents of several special issues.)

Rather than attempt to draw up a list of all Japanese periodicals which frequently carry articles on the Soviet Union or on things Russian only publications which are likely to prove consistently productive in the Russian field will be briefly discussed. This admittedly somewhat arbitrary and incomplete selection is based on a substantial sampling of Japanese postwar periodical literature over an extended period of time. To round out this picture a "List of Articles in the Russian Field (Social Sciences and Humanities only) published from October through December 1954" is appended (Appendix D).

Among the larger monthlies which report regularly on Soviet affairs (particularly in the field of foreign relations) are "Central Review" (Chuo Koron), "World" (Sekai) and "Reconstruction" (Kaizo) — all three representing in their editorial policy the ideological left, the orientation of the vast majority of Japan's intellectuals. From time to time these periodicals provide a picture of the Soviet Union as seen through the eyes of the left-wing Japanese visitor to Russia. On the other hand, several center and right-wing magazines on current affairs often print articles on Japanese-Soviet relations, life in the Soviet Union (as reported by non-Communist repatriates or visitors to the U. S. S. R.) and interpretations of Soviet foreign policy. In this category are "Japan Weekly" (Nihon Shuho), "World Weekly" (Sekai Shuho), "The World and Japan" (Sekai to Nihon), "We and the World" (Sekai to Warera), the more historical "Japan and the Japanese" (Nihon oyobi Nihonjin), the politico-biographical monthly "Personalities" (Jimbutsu Orai), and the quarterly "Foreign Affairs" (Gaisei) published since January 1956 by the Japan Institute of Foreign Affairs (see page 133). The most popular general magazine for the educated Japanese "Literary Annals" (Bungei Shunju) — perhaps best characterized as a mixture of the Saturday Evening Post and Harper's — also frequently publishes eye-witness accounts by Japanese travelers and topical articles on Soviet foreign policy. This publication differs from its competitors in that it follows a more flexible and independent editorial policy and, though inclining toward the left, permits also the expression of the conservative viewpoint.

Most leading journals for the economist devote some space to the discussion of the economic problems of the U. S. S. R. Much of Japan's research on the Soviet economy has been published during the last years in "Economics Review" (Keizai Hyoron), "Economics Research" (Keizai Kenkyu) issued by the Economics Research Institute of Hitotsubashi University, "Management Research" (Keiei Kenkyu), "Meiji University Com-

mercial Reports" (Meidai Shogaku Ronso), and "Journal of the Mita Academic Society" (Mita Gakkai Zasshi) published under the auspices of Keio University. Among the magazines for the businessman "Economist" (Ekonomisuto) and "Diamond" (Daiyamondo) frequently feature stories on the U.S.S.R. These, however, fall into the category of current affairs. More scholarly and treating Russian developments from the historian's point of view are contributions to "Social Economic History" (Shakai Keizai Shigaku), "Historical Review" (Rekishi Hyoron) and "Intellect" (Chisei).

The largest number of articles on Russia is found in the many Japanese periodicals dealing with literature and the arts. This is partly a result of the Japanese writer's and artist's interest in Russian culture and partly a reflection of the leftist sympathies which prevail among these groups. Articles on classical Russian and Soviet prose or poetry have been particularly numerous in "Literature of New Japan" (Shin Nihon Bungaku), "World Arts and Letters" (Sogo Sekai Bungei) published by Waseda University, "Literary Arts" (Bungei) and Poetoroa. Japanese specialists on Russian theater arts and music write most often in "New Theater" (Shingeki), "Tragedy and Comedy" (Higeki Kigeki), "Motion Picture Review" (Eiga Hyoron), and "Musical Arts" (Ongaku Geijutsu) and Teatoro.

If the Japanese reader wants to learn about Soviet publications or recent translations of Russian writings, he can turn to several reference periodicals: "Biblos" (Biburosu), "Desk" (Tsukue), "Publishers' News" (Shuppan Nyusu) and especially the weekly "Japanese Reader's Journal" (Nihon Dokusho Shimbun). The latter, favoring the leftist point of view, often prints interpretative articles on Russian and Soviet literature or such contributions as the 12-article series in 1955 on the Soviet Academy's new economic textbook, then a best-seller in Japan.

Apart from these periodicals the Japanese reader can obtain information on the U.S.S.R. from Japanese editions of Soviet and American magazines. These have included such old stand-bys as the Japanese version of New Times, the pictorial The Soviet Union, a Soviet cinema magazine and "Soviet Woman" as well as the U.S. Department of State publication "Problems of Communism."

k. Defunct Periodicals in the Russian Field

The mortality rate among Japan's periodicals has always been high. To the usual problems of rising production costs and intensive competition for the reader's yen must be added, in the case of periodical literature in the Russian field, difficulties peculiar to this type of publication. Such literature, both Communist and non-Communist, is often issued by comparatively small, financially unstable organizations. It cannot hope to attract a wide circle of readers. Moreover, in the case of pro-Communist publications, the sponsoring groups for the most part are ephemeral as a result of the rapidly shifting Communist Party line and of the periodic regrouping of the intellectual left. Frequently, the editor and publisher are from the academic world, lacking experience and business acumen. Therefore, only a handful of periodicals in the Russian field have been able to maintain an unbroken record of postwar publication.

Typical is the fate of "The Russian Language" (Roshiya-go). Published first for a time in 1950, then again in 1952 (under the editorship of Yokemura Yoshitaro*) mainly for the intermediate and advanced language student, the magazine, though supported by the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, had its ups and downs, appearing irregularly and eventually expiring in 1954. A similar fate befell "Beginner's Russian" (Shoto Roshiya-go), issued with interruptions between 1953 and early 1955 and "The Friend of the Russian Language" (Roshiya-go no Tomo), published by the Association of the same name. One should not be surprised if either or all of these magazines should reappear.

Among other publications now on the defunct list are "Soviet Trade" (Sovueto Boeki), already mentioned in discussing the Soviet Press Agency; "Soviet Monthly" (Gekkan Sovueto), issued during 1946; and "Russian Literature" (Roshiya Bungaku), published between 1950 and 1952, the predecessor of the current "Soviet Literature" (see page 178).

The now defunct monthly "Soviet Culture" (Sovueto Bunka), published during 1946, was only the first in a series of publications produced by the members of the Soviet Researchers' Association (see page 190). Despite the clear pro-Communist bias of "Soviet Culture" and its successors, these periodicals have some value to the researcher interested in following Japan's left-wing interpretation of developments in the U. S. S. R. More substantial than "Soviet Culture" was "Soviet Studies" (Sovueto Kenkyu—not to be confused with the publications of the Association for the Study of the Soviet Union and that of the student group at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), issued in 1949 by the Communist publishing-house Nauka under the editorial direction of Communist publicist Horie Muraichi* and ultra-leftwing Professor Yamanouchi Ichiro.* "Soviet Studies," which appeared somewhat irregularly several times a year, reviewed events in the Soviet Union, dwelling particularly on political and economic developments. Its contributors included, besides the editors, such well-known left-wing Soviet specialists as the former Foreign Ministry official Ogata Shoji,* Professors Hiradate Toshio,* Soejima Taneomi,* Iida Kan'ichi,* and Yanagi Haruo,* the editor of "Soviet Culture" Sonoge Shiro,* and the executive director of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, Hiroshima Sadayoshi.* "Soviet Studies" was succeeded by "Soviet Knowledge" (Sovueto Chishiki) and "Soviet Yearly Report" (Sovueto Nempo — issued in quarterly installments), published between 1951 and 1953. The latter publication, containing the standard pro-Soviet account of Soviet developments, some documents and a chronology, is valuable mainly for its substantial section on relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

No account of Russian studies in postwar Japan would be complete without a discussion of what might be termed political and cultural organizations with a vested interest in Russian culture or the Soviet system. These range from the extreme left of the political spectrum through pro-Communist groupments to the area where the left and center (though not the right) mingle. In every instance, however, these organizations are characterized by a sympathetic approach to the Soviet cause and a willingness to support directly or indirectly the Communist propaganda drives. While for most of these organizations Russian research and training, insofar as they exist at all, are primarily means toward creating an atmosphere of receptivity for Communist ideas, some of these groups have a strong influence on Japanese efforts in the Russian field and thus constitute an important aspect of postwar Russian studies and of the Soviet impact on Japan.

The major organizations deserving a detailed description in this category have been arranged under four headings: (1) The Japanese Communist Party; (2) The Soviet Researchers' Association together with other semi-political, semi-cultural groups; (3) University Soviet study groups; and (4) The Russian Literature Association of Japan.

1. The Japanese Communist Party (JCP)

Because of the Japanese Communist Party's special historical and ideological relationship with Moscow and in view of the influence of Marxism-Leninism upon the Japanese academic community, consideration of JCP training, research and publications in the Russian and related fields merits some consideration. Strictly speaking, the Party has produced no work on the Soviet Union which may be classified as research. Its interest in training in Soviet affairs has been generally limited to the language and ideological areas.

Japanese Communist direct contacts with Soviet Russia go back to the period immediately following the Bolshevik Revolution. No useful purpose could be served here by attempting to review the record of the Party's close historical ties with Moscow. Suffice to say that from the birth of the Party in July 1922 until the curtailment of its activities on the eve of the Pacific War, Japanese Communists went regularly to Russia for meetings, instructions and training. During the nineteen twenties and the early thirties the JCP sent as many as fifteen students and cadre members per year for training to the Stalin Communist University for the Toilers of the East, the Lenin School and similar institutions maintained in the Soviet Union for the training of "foreign students." (To be detailed in a separate study on Soviet institutions for the training of Asians. See also the

Appendix to the companion Who's Who for names of Japanese who attended these Soviet institutions.)

A number of the present JCP leaders received training at one of these Soviet special schools. Other Party leaders have attended conferences or have traveled extensively in Russia. Tokuda Kyuichi, the recently deceased Secretary-General, made several trips to the Soviet capital for instructions and "orientation" during the prewar period, the first in 1921. Nozaka Sanzo,* Tokuda's successor and a principal policy maker for two decades, spent the years 1931 to 1940 in Moscow as Japanese advisor to the Comintern before moving on to Yenan, where he worked with Mao Tse-tung until the end of the Second World War, when Nozaka returned to Japan. His wife, Ryo, head of the women's section of the JCP, spent altogether fifteen years in the Soviet Union.

The pseudo-historical writings of these Communist leaders, despite their obvious bias, at times, prove unexpectedly useful sources of certain points of information. Biographies and autobiographies worthy of note in this respect include Tokuda's "Memoirs," Nozaka's "Sixteen Years in Exile,"and "Impressions of the Soviet Union" by Kurahara Korehito,* head of the Party's cultural affairs section. On the second and third echelon, Japanese Communists with Russian experience or training are numerous. (See lists in appendix to the companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.) Theorist Fukumoto Kazuo and organizational specialists Kasuga Shojiro and Tanaka Shojiro are perhaps the best-known names of the group with Moscow experience. To these leaders, however, must be added the names of a number of lower-ranking party cadre who were indoctrinated as prisoners-of-war in Soviet camps and special training schools during several postwar years, largely from 1946 to 1949. (A separate study of the Soviet indoctrination of Japanese prisoners-of-war is under preparation and will be published as part of this monograph series.)

In postwar Japan, the JCP has preferred to handle its Russian language and area training indirectly through several pro-Communist front organizations centering about the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association. This activity, as will be seen from a subsequent discussion of that Association's role, has been quite substantial and appears to be increasing (see the following section). The postwar resurgence and new, legal status of the JCP after 1945 made possible an increase in the type and volume of Communist material on Marxism-Leninism and on the Soviet Union, even though JCP policy from 1946 to 1949 sought at the same time to play down the Party's ties with Moscow.

On the ideological front the principal proponent and interpreter of Soviet developments has been the Party's Marxism-Leninism Research Institute (Marukusu-Renin Shugi Kenkyujo). Shortly after his return to Japan early in 1946, Nozaka set about establishing such an institute under the direct supervision and guidance of the Central Committee "to inform the masses of Marxism-Leninism." According to Nozaka's own account in the JCP monthly "Vanguard" (Zen'ei), June 15, 1946, the objectives of the Institute (to be operated by a ten-member committee of which Nozaka would be chairman) were "to conduct research on Marxism-Leninism, to clarify the various policies of the Party, to raise the theoretical level of Party members and to bring about an understanding of Marxism-Leninism among the masses." The following projects were outlined in the same

report as within the scope of the Institute's activity:

(1) The bringing together of theorists and researchers in Japan who are well versed in Marxism-Leninism, the carrying out of research and the publication of the results of such research in the Party organs and various other publications;
(2) The translation and introduction of Marxism-Leninism, as well as a careful examination of the translations of Marxist-Leninist treatises published in Japan;
(3) The furtherance of understanding of Marxism-Leninism among the masses through "Marxism-Leninism lectures" and the establishment of a "Marxism-Leninism University";
(4) The establishment of a "Marxism-Leninism Library" by collecting and cataloguing all Marxist-Leninist documents published in Japan and in other nations.

The Institute has apparently been successful in fulfilling several of its main objectives. Many publications, mostly translations, bearing the Institute's imprint have appeared in postwar Japan. A good example is the publication of Stalin's "Problems of Leninism." Although in 1950 there was already available in Japanese a full translation made in Japan as well as another version prepared in Japanese in the Soviet Union, the Marxism-Leninism Research Institute , upon orders of the Central Committee of the JCP, nevertheless issued a third revised version of the same work for use as required reading by Party members. In 1954 alone the Research Institution published some twenty-five volumes, primarily Lenin's works. That the Institute is still operating actively may be judged from brief notations in the October 1955 issue of "Japanese Reader's Journal" (Nihon Dokusho Shimbun), which announced that during that month the Institute published Volume XII of the "Complete Works of Lenin," and in the January 1956 issue of "Publishers' News" (Shuppan Nyusu), which reported the publication of Volume VIII of the Institute's Marx-Engels series

Much of the Institute's analytical work seems to be contained in an unofficial quarterly journal "Studies in Marxism-Leninism" (Marukusu-Renin Shugi Kenkyu), published by the Aoki Publishing House. The table of contents of the spring 1954 issue may suffice to reflect the nature of the publication:

General
The Characteristics of Japanese Capitalism (With reference to the program of the Left Socialist Party)
Historical Survey of Social Democracy
An Aspect of the Problem of Social Democracy in Postwar Japan
Lenin's Struggle Against Social Democracy and Opportunism
Criticism and Counter-Criticism
Research Notes
One of the Bases of Agricultural Theory
Scientific Study of Military Affairs in the Korean War
Changes in the American War Economy Since the Korean Aggression
The Problems of Artistic Consciousness and Form
Book Reviews
Vols. I and II. "Collected Works of Lenin"
History of the German Revolutionary Movement
Problems of Proletarian Literature

The Japanese Communist Party, with the help of its publications section and through the good offices of several Communist commercial publishing houses, disseminates material on Soviet ideology and Soviet life. "The Marxism-Leninism Series" of the San-ichi Publishing Company as well as "Soviet Science and Technology" by the same publisher were both written by a group of prominent Party members, several of them with personal experience in the Soviet Union.

Further perspective on the scope and increasing volume of JCP work on the Soviet Union may be attained by a study of the contents of "Vanguard" (Zen'ei). Some 120 articles dealing with aspects of Soviet affairs, ranging from translations and commentaries on Zhdanov's, Stalin's or Molotov's reports to discussions of Lysenko's theories and eulogies of Lenin and Stalin, appeared in the journal during the almost ten years from 1946 to 1955. Little original research is reflected in these articles which are largely translations from well-known Russian sources or recognizable paraphrases of Pravda, Izvestia, or the Cominform newspaper. A few articles bearing such titles as : "Answering a Question on the U. S. S. R.: Did the U. S. S. R. Break the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact and Invade Japan?" (February 1952); "What is the Aim of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Pact?" (March 1952); "Relaxation of International Tensions and the Path toward a Normalization of Japanese-Soviet Relations" (September 1955) are of somewhat more interest to the student of the Soviet line in Asia.

Material on the U. S. S. R. and related topics covered in "Vanguard" (Zen'ei), February 1946 through September 1955, falls into the following subject categories (in order of greatest to least number of articles):

1. Lenin and his works (27 articles)
2. Stalin and his works (25 articles)
3. U. S. S. R. — political (17 articles)
4. October Revolution (8 articles)
5. Peace and peace movement (only translations from the Russian, 6 articles)
6. U. S. S. R. — economic (5 articles)
7. Malenkov and his speeches (4 articles)
8. Literature and literary policy (4 articles)
9. Sino-Soviet relations (4 articles)
10. Soviet view of Japan (translated from the Russian, 3 articles)
11. The atomic bomb and disarmament (only translations from Russian, 3 articles)
12. Soviet-Japanese relations (3 articles)
13. Military tactics (2 articles)
14. Molotov (2 articles)
15. Vyshinsky (2 articles)
16. Bulganin speech (1 article)
17. Khrushchov speech (1 article)
18. Zhdanov report (1 article)
19. Musorgski (1 article)
20. Philosophy (1 article)
21. Theater (1 article)
22. Others (1 article)

It is highly significant that only about one-tenth of these 120 articles

related to Soviet affairs (that is, fourteen articles) appeared during the four years from 1946 through 1949, while nine-tenths of them were published in the six years 1950-1955. More specifically, in contrast to 2, 7, 1 and 4 articles on the U. S. S. R. for the years 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949 respectively, the year 1950 yielded 17 articles on the Soviet Union. By 1952 the number had reached 23, while during the first nine months of 1955 alone the Party included 39 articles on Soviet affairs in its official monthly. The explanation for this striking increase in volume appears to lie both in the Party's abrupt shift to a more "international," i. e., Soviet-oriented policy after the Cominform criticism of January of 1950 and in the intensified Japanese post-treaty (September 1951) interest in the Soviet Union and in Communist China (the number of articles on Communist China was even larger). Thus, as one might expect, the JCP material on Soviet affairs contributes more to our understanding of the Japanese Communist movement than to our knowledge of the Soviet Union. (A comparative study of JCP writings on the U. S. S. R. and Communist China will be published as part of this monograph series.)

A similar picture of Soviet coverage is observable in the Party newspaper "Red Flag" (Akahata), which resumed publication in June 1952 after having been suspended for two years for a provocative article occasioned by the Korean War. A sampling of the 20-month period, June 1952 to February 1954, shows 94 items bearing directly on Soviet affairs. Most of these stories are day-to-day pieces of the typical Tass and Pravda variety, although original articles on Soviet-Japanese relations such as "People's Rally for the Regularization of Soviet-Japanese Relations" (May 30, 1953), "Opening of the Japanese-Soviet Library" (June 27, 1953), and "Good-by, Our Japanese Friends—A Parting Word from the Soviet Athletic Team" (January 28, 1954) contain data and at times have implications of interest to the student of Soviet and Japanese Communist strategy and tactics. To a lesser extent this applies also to the recently discontinued more popular Party monthly "New World" (Atarashii Sekai), the Communist "New Woman" (Shin Josei) and "Peace" (Heiwa, Paix, Mir, Paz, Friede), the organ of the Japanese "peace" movement.

Finally, a word about the works published under JCP auspices by Japanese repatriates from the Soviet Union. Most of these eye-witness accounts of life in Soviet Russia appeared from 1947 through 1949. A strange case of a prisoner-of-war is that of Itagaki Tadashi, son of the famous Japanese general and war criminal executed after Japan's surrender. Entitling his book "May This Cry Reach My Father's Heart," the young Itagaki tells the story of his life and conversion to Communism during four years in the U. S. S. R. — perhaps omitting certain unpleasant aspects. Upon return to Japan, he joined the JCP, but later broke with the Party. Another more typical, strongly pro-Communist account of the life of a Japanese prisoner, entitled "As A Prisoner In Siberia," was written in 1949 by the Chief of the Cultural Department of the Communist-sponsored League for the Protection of Repatriates from the Soviet Union. Such works by the repatriates, when checked against more objective accounts, disclose— perhaps unwittingly— information on the life, attitudes and indoctrination of Japanese prisoners in the U. S. S. R. and some scattered data on the area.

By arousing interest in things Soviet and by providing special

training in Moscow for some of its members, the JCP has contributed in its own way to the development of Russian studies in Japan. As a consequence, the Party now has a core of leaders with substantial Soviet background. In the postwar period systematic training in the Russian language and in Soviet affairs appears to have been delegated by the Party to several cultural and other front organizations, where an increasing number of young sympathizers receive a smattering of the Russian language and a somewhat heavier concentration of Marxist theory and Soviet propaganda. Rumors that the JCP has recently resumed its prewar practice of dispatching groups of potential leaders and cadre members to Moscow are persistent enough to merit further investigation.

The Japanese Communist Party's "research and training" contribution in the Russian field is restricted to (1) politically motivated interpretations of Marxism-Leninism and of Soviet "Socialist construction"; (2) a vast quantity of translations from the Russian and their dissemination throughout Japan; (3) personal, though highly colored, remembrances of the Comintern, Party life, travel and study in Soviet Russia; and, of perhaps most interest to Western students, (4) writings which do occasionally add to our knowledge of Soviet policy in Asia, especially on the relations of Moscow and Peking with the Asian Communist parties.

2. The Soviet Researchers Association (Sovueto Kenkyusha Kyokai), The Japan-Soviet Library (Nisso Toshokan), The Japan-Soviet Friendship Association (Nisso Shinzen Kyokai) and Related Organizations

One finds in Japan today a multitude of study groups, reading circles, researchers' associations, short-term training schools, discussion groups and seminars, not directly affiliated with the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), but sympathetic to the Soviet way of life. No doubt, these organizations are primarily politically motivated, as suggested by the number of Communist Party members among their leaders and the rank and file, and yet these groups play a special role in Russian studies in Japan.

Seasoned Russian experts often constitute the core of these Japanese organizations of the left. Some of these men, as part of the JCP cadre, have gained a knowledge of their subject through prolonged stay in Soviet training institutions or from numerous visits to the Soviet Union. Others, trained in Japan, but steeped in Russian culture, have a professional interest in the U. S. S. R. and see their advantage on the Soviet side. Among the latter we find some of Japan's leading translators of Russian classical and modern literature. The third group consists of confirmed Marxists and Communist sympathizers while the last category comprises several of the prewar Japanese government's top military and Foreign Ministry specialists on Soviet affairs. Such Russian experts as ex-Lieutenant-General Yamaoka Michitake, * the one-time head of Japan's military intelligence on the U. S. S. R. and Ogata Shoji, * the former head of Foreign Ministry Russian research, if genuine ideological converts, have apparently been able to make the transition from co-prosperity to co-existence. Depending on the ratio of these varied ingredients, the character of the postwar left-wing organizations concerned with Russia may thus range

from an openly pro-Communist organization to a gathering of men genuinely interested in the study of Russian literature and culture, yet paying lip service to the Soviet Union.

The origins of these groups go back to the spring of 1946, in the early days of the Occupation, when Konstantin Simonov and other noted Soviet writers visited Japan. On this occasion a few Japanese intellectuals and artists with long-standing interest in Russia formed a welcoming committee, the Association for Cultural Liaison between Japan and the Soviet Union (Nisso Bunka Renraku Kyokai). From the beginning this Association was pledged support by the Soviet Mission in Tokyo, then accredited to Allied Headquarters. The Russians further promised to arrange for an exchange of materials and persons between the two countries. Since the members of the original welcoming committee of 1946 now constitute the nucleus of the host of organizations actively promoting Japanese-Soviet friendship, a few prominent figures in this group might profitably be mentioned. These include Kurahara Korehito,* Communist Party Central Committee member in charge of cultural activities; Otake Hirokichi,* Japan's principal importer and publisher of Soviet materials; Inoue Mitsuru,* a prewar employee both of the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo and of the Tass news agency; Hijikata Yoshi,* a theatrical director trained in Russia; the actor Kawarasaki Chojuro; the singer Seki Taneko (recipient of the 1955 Stalin Peace Prize); the former Moscow correspondent Hatanaka Masaharu*; Hani Goro, a leader of the pro-Communist intelligentsia; the previously mentioned former chief of the Foreign Ministry's Russian research section, Ogata Shoji; and the noted translators of Russian literature, Yonekawa Masao* and Yokemura Yoshitaro.*

Among the initial activities of this group were a Gorky festival in Tokyo, early in 1946, attended by a thousand persons including representatives of the Soviet Mission; lectures on Soviet culture sponsored jointly with other groups or newspapers; showings of Soviet motion pictures in Tokyo and other large cities, as well as Kabuki theater and geisha parties attended by prominent Japanese and Russians, the latter including the ranking Soviet officer in Japan, General Kuzma Derevyanko. About a year later (February 1947) the group formally established the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, an important organization which will be described subsequently.

The Soviet Researchers' Association, an influential grouping of leftist scholars (many of them active on the previously described welcoming committee), came into existence in December 1945, only a few months after Japan's surrender. This Association comprises most left-wing Japanese scholars with vested interests in Russian studies. The organization has been headed by Professor Yamanouchi Ichiro* (the veteran student of Soviet law, widely thought to be a Communist) since 1956 when his predecessor assumed the presidency of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association. (For the names of officers of these two and other political and cultural organizations in the Russian field see the appendix to the companion volume Who's Who.)

The activities of the Soviet Researchers' Association fall into three categories: (1) lectures for members, (2) study groups, and (3) public conferences and meetings.

Lectures have dealt with such subjects as Soviet reconstruction, postwar Soviet culture or a new Soviet textbook on economics. Among the lecturers we find not only Japanese Marxist scholars, but also officials of the Soviet Mission in Tokyo as well as such outstanding Communist personalities as Nozaka Sanzo* (in 1956 First Secretary of the JCP), who spoke on the topic "What We Expect of the Soviet Researcher," former Communist member of the House of Councillors, Kaneiwa Den'ichi, or the Foreign Ministry's Russian expert, Higurashi Nobuo, who committed suicide in 1954 after being implicated in the Rastvorov espionage case.

The study groups are small gatherings of specialists for the discussion of subjects of a more technical nature under the following topical headings: (1) Natural Sciences, (2) Political Economy, (3) Socialist Culture, (4) Literature and Arts, (5) Law, and (6) Philosophy and History. Special sections for Soviet motion pictures and the like are organized from time to time to supplement the regular program, and occasionally joint meetings are held to consider problems of interest to all students of Soviet affairs, even non-members. One such meeting held in July 1953, for instance, brought together representatives of fifteen organizations including the Association for the Study of Soviet Medicine (Sovueto Igaku Kenkyukai), the Association for the Study of the Northern Fisheries and the Chiba Agricultural Research Institute. As it turns out, such meetings are often dominated by men who are primarily politicians rather than scholars. A substantial number of participants, rapporteurs and lecturers, though sympathetic to the Soviet cause, are, nevertheless, men with academic training and professional experience. The literature section appears to be the most active and has done most of the publishing. Here we find the widest range of political convictions, orthodox Communists as well as men like Nobori Shomu,* the former director of the Greek Orthodox Nikolai Russian Language School. The literature section is well known in the Soviet Union. A recent Soviet publication characterizes the work of the section as "not a narrow literary activity but one of the forms of a wide social struggle of the vanguard of the Japanese intelligentsia for a genuine Japanese renaissance, for a free, democratic Japan."

The third type of activity is aimed at the general public and offers Communist specialists on Russia a good opportunity to propagate their ideas. Public lectures, summer and short-term courses have been a constant feature of the Association ever since its first open lecture meeting in June 1947 at Tokyo University when the well-known Communist economist Horie Muraichi* spoke before 300 listeners on "Soviet Policy toward the Non-Soviet World" and the Chernyshevsky specialist Nishizawa Tomio*(later a managing editor of the Communist Party paper "Red Flag" and from 1950 underground until his arrest in June 1955) lectured on "Socialism and the Labor Theory of Value." Regular summer courses on Russian literature and on "Soviet Life" have since been held. In the latter series Professor Hiradate Toshio* discussed economic questions; former Moscow correspondent Hatanaka Masaharu* praised labor conditions; the ex-diplomat Ogata Shoji* reviewed the social security system in the Soviet Union; a recent returnee from Communist China spoke on Soviet city planning; a faculty member of Yokohama University lectured on education; and Mrs. Nozaka Ryo, long-time resident of Moscow and

head of the JCP Women's Section, pictured the life of the Soviet woman. The establishment of a reasonable admission fee of one hundred yen (about twenty-five cents) was intended to make it possible for almost anyone to attend.

Activities of the organization can best be followed by keeping up with their book publications, since unsettled financial conditions and shifting emphasis result in frequent suspension of the Association's major periodical publications, the most substantial among the latter having been (in chronological order) "Soviet Culture" (Sovueto Bunka), "Soviet Studies" (Sovueto Kenkyu) and "Soviet Knowledge" (Sovueto Chishiki), edited by one of the most active directors of the organization, Hiroshima Sadayoshi. * The study groups often publish collections of their research papers (such as, for example, volumes on Pushkin and Gorky), signed or unsigned symposia, and yearly reports like the "Soviet Annual Report" (Sovueto Nempo), issued in several installments and covering a wide range of events, supplemented by a discussion of Soviet-Japanese relations of Japanese fisheries in Russian waters or of the problem of trade between the two countries. The Association also supervises the compilation and translation of Soviet documents. Before the demotion of Malenkov a volume of his selected writings appeared under the Association's auspices. Apart from mimeographed reports available only to members, numerous published original Japanese works on the Soviet Union, largely in the social sciences, bear the Association's imprint.

The Japan-Soviet Library is more than its name implies: it is also the home of virtually all organizations of the left concerned with the Soviet Union. From a small reading room in one of the buildings requisitioned by the Soviet Mission shortly after the end of the war, the library has grown and moved into a two-story building located near the Communist Party's headquarters in the Yoyogi section of Tokyo. The library's official opening was reported in Pravda in 1953. While the Library's pro-Communist orientation is clear from its activities and relationships, it is perhaps a reflection of a deliberate policy that the director of the Library is Yonekawa Masao, * one of the world's great authorities on Russian literature and a Waseda University professor who is not known for his interest in politics and ideological matters.

Ten thousand Russian and three thousand Japanese books on the Soviet Union, supplemented by an increasing number of publications from the Communist orbit obtained through exchange and donations, form the bulk of the Library's resources. A few Western language books, gifts from European and American Communists, round out the holdings. About six thousand persons per year reportedly make use of these collections. Another one hundred thousand attend public functions sponsored by the Library for members and their friends. A Japanese newspaper recently asserted that the unostentatious Japan-Soviet Library could not equal the heated splendor of the American Cultural Center but that the greater enthusiasm of its visitors more than made up for this disparity. Some of these visitors, mostly students, readily admit that they feel more at home in the simpler surroundings.

The Library's role in the promotion of Russian studies in Japan can only be described in connection with a discussion of the Japan-Soviet

Friendship Association and other related organizations characterized by interlocking directorates made up in the majority of Communists and their sympathizers.

The Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, as mentioned previously, grew out of a Japan-Soviet Friendship Meeting held early in 1947 and attended by General Kislenko and his staff of the Soviet Mission in Tokyo and more than 200 prominent Japanese leftists, who included Nozaka Sanzo,* Communist labor leader Kikunami Katsumi and the Socialist Matsuoka Komakichi, the ultra-left Labor-Farmer Party leader Kuroda Hisao, Diet member Hoashi Kei, one of the first Japanese visitors to the Soviet Union after the war, and Hirano Gitaro, director of the leftist Center for the Study of China, and one of the most effective promoters of Communist causes. Originally a small, informal group, the Association has developed over the years into a major organization with headquarters in Tokyo's Japan-Soviet Library and branches throughout Japan, and its own regular publication "Japan and the Soviet Union" (for detailed description see page 174). The Association is particularly active in the larger cities, but it also operates in some of the smaller communities and wherever radical labor, pro-Soviet repatriates or American military bases provide a backdrop of anti-American sentiment.

At the organization's sixth national congress, held in Osaka in the summer of 1955, the position of President, long vacant, was filled by the election of Professor Tozawa Tetsuhiko, a political scientist of some note who served until then as president of the Soviet Researchers' Association. Elected as vice-presidents were the ubiquitous Russian specialists Ogata Shoji,* Hijikata Yoshi,* Horie Muraichi,* and Dr. Majima Kan, who likes to take the credit for getting the 1955 Soviet-Japanese negotiations under way. The roster of the Association's officials was rendered more impressive by the election of over one hundred directors drawn largely from left-wing literary and academic circles. (For a list of the Association's officers and directors see the Appendix to the companion volume Who's Who.)

In most respects the Friendship Association does not differ from its namesakes in other parts of the world. It maintains close relations with friendship and similar organizations outside Japan, including the American-Russian Institute in the United States. Liaison and open cooperation with the Soviet Union is channeled through the Soviet International Cultural Relations Organization VOKS, the Academy of Sciences and other Soviet cultural and scientific agencies as well as through the unrecognized Soviet Mission in Japan. With the increase in Japanese travel behind the iron and bamboo curtains, these ties with the Soviet world assume more and more importance and have already substantially enhanced the Friendship Association's prestige in Japan.

The Association is engaged in a wide range of cultural work, most of it with strong political overtones. Russian language training has already been discussed in connection with the Japan-Soviet Institute (see page 103). Other activities in which the Association and the Japan-Soviet Library cooperate include Russian record concerts, Soviet motion picture evenings reportedly attended in 1955 by over half a million people, Soviet cultural festivals and literary gatherings, sometimes in cooperation with the

Russian Literature Association. The work of one of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association's directors, the Stalin peace prize winner soprano Seki Akiko, will illustrate the type and scope of activity which the organization encourages and supports. During the past five years the singer has trained literally hundreds of Japanese choral leaders in Russian folk music and Soviet patriotic songs. It has been reported that there are now several thousand "Russian choral groups" in schools, factories, labor unions and cultural circles throughout Japan. These vocalists lend atmosphere to rallies and demonstrations by singing appropriate songs in Japanese and in the original Russian. The Friendship Association also sponsors or arranges lectures for the public and for specialists on current Soviet developments (politics, ideology, economic planning, art, medicine) or organizes among workers reading circles where such writings as the late Stalin's until recently authoritative "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." are interpreted by prominent Communist Party officials like Yamabe Kentaro, head of the JCP Control Commission. Especially popular in the rural areas have been meetings to discuss the application to Japanese agriculture of the theories of the Soviet biologist I.V. Michurin, sponsored in cooperation with the Michurin Society of Japan. In the cities activities include study sessions held jointly with the Association for the Study of Soviet Medicine or with the Society for the Study of Soviet Architecture or with other specialized groups interested in Soviet science and technology. The Friendship Association has been aided since October 1954 by the Japan-Soviet Center for the Exchange of Technical Works (Nisso Gakujutsu Bunken Koryu Senta), which provides Japanese scholars with recent Soviet scientific writings. In 1955 a total of thirty-nine scholarly organizations were affiliated with the Center, which then was maintaining liaison with the Soviet Academy's Moscow library in the case of social sciences and its Leningrad library for natural sciences. In arranging this and other Soviet-Japanese cultural cooperation the left-wing Democratic Scientists' Association has played an important role.

The Japan-Soviet Friendship Association has been most active also in the introduction of Soviet writings into Japan through translation work. Recent examples include a brief handbook on the Soviet Union compiled exclusively from Soviet sources, the translation of Stalin's and other hitherto sacred writings. Most of this work is done in conjunction with the Association of Japan-Soviet Translators and Publishers (Nisso Honyaku Shuppan Konwakai), another of the many groups which are housed in the Japan-Soviet Library and which are linked organizationally to the Friendship Association through interlocking directorates and ideologically by pro-Soviet convictions. The same translators' association occupies a dominant position in the translation of Soviet writings and is said to exercise a monopoly over their publication.

The Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and affiliated politico-cultural organizations of the ultra-left, though politically motivated and Soviet-oriented, have in their own way contributed heavily to the development of Russian studies in Japan as centers of Russian language training, and as intermediaries in the introduction and translation of Soviet materials, and in the dissemination of Soviet culture and science. With the increasing significance to Japan of the Soviet Union and with the re-establishment of Soviet-Japanese diplomatic relations, their importance is likely to grow.

3. University Soviet Study Groups

Today on many campuses throughout Japan students gather to practice Russian and to study the Soviet Union in "Soviet study circles." The presence of such a group at a particular university, however, is not necessarily an indication that Russian studies are part of the curriculum. Student interest in things Soviet has reached an all-time high and because of the very fact that most university programs still offer relatively little in the Russian field, left-wing students often take it upon themselves to organize extra-curricular study groups on Soviet affairs. In some cases the initiative has apparently come from the faculty or from off-campus Communist front organizations. As a result, the university Soviet study circles seldom limit their membership to bona fide students with an academic interest in Russia. Guest speakers too, it may be noted, are often drawn from outside groups and organizations.

While the degree of leftist coloring of these study groups varies from school to school, they are characteristically pro-Soviet in outlook. This common ideological denominator is probably as responsible as the common interest in Russian studies for the recent establishment of a nation-wide association of Japanese university Soviet study groups, the Federation of Student Soviet Study Groups (Gakusei Soren Kenkyu Remmei). How closely the parent organization and its affiliates may be tied to the pro-Communist All-Japan Student Federation (Zengakuren) is not entirely clear. But that these Soviet study groups are in constant touch with and regularly receive advice and support from the pro-Communist Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and the Japan-Soviet Library is beyond any doubt.

Rather than describe separately each of the many university Soviet study circles—which at any rate resemble one another in most respects—it may suffice to discuss in some detail the largest of these groups, the Soviet Study Group (Sovueto Kenkyukai) at the government Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Here students and faculty members have developed a substantial organization which holds frequent meetings and publishes its own journal "Soviet Studies" (Sovueto Kenkyu), a mimeographed 70-page item prominently displaying the Soviet hammer and sickle. From accounts made available by Soviet study circle members, a picture of the groups' varied activities can be gained. The program of a sample month, May 1954 (the second month of the Japanese school year), reads as follows:

May 1	Participation in the May Day demonstration (placards had been prepared by the students on the previous day)
6	First meetings of the History Study Circle and the Translator Circle (hereafter to meet weekly)
8	Welcome party for new members of the Literary Circle. First meetings of the Soviet Economics Study Circle and of the Advanced Russian Conversation Circle (hereafter to meet weekly)
10	Soviet Study group business meeting: re-evaluation of study program

May 19 First meeting of the Circle for the Study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (regular gatherings hereafter)
21 Liaison meeting with the Federation of Student Soviet Study Groups. (Discussion topics include Russian language practice and liaison with alumni.)
22 Discussion of research paper, "The Revolution of 1905 and its Impact on Tsarist Russia"
24 Business meeting
26 Participation in Meiji University Soviet Study Group gathering to discuss "Peaceful Co-existence between the United States and the Soviet Union"
29 Discussion of research paper, "Japanese Fascism before the War"

This calendar of activities, full as it may seem, does not give the full picture, for information from other sources reveals that students engage in a variety of independent studies concerned with the Soviet Union. The most popular subjects appear to be the Soviet motion picture and the Russian theater. The majority of the students, however, participate in one of the regular Soviet study circles: Translation, Conversation, History, Philosophy and Ideology, Economics, and Literature. The texts used by these circles are strictly Soviet materials. History, for instance, is studied through the "History of the C. P. S. U.," the economics circle uses Leontiev's "Political Economy," and philosophy is—or perhaps was—studied by way of Stalin's "Dialectical and Historical Materialism." The same exclusive use of Soviet sources is conspicuous also in the translations and original articles contained in "Soviet Studies." A sample issue of this journal contained among others the following student contributions: "The Glorious Path of the Mongol People's Republic" (translation from a Soviet source); "The Popular Character of Russian Literature" (translation from a Soviet source); "On the [Soviet] Motion Picture 'The Young Guard'"; "[Gorky's] 'Lower Depths' and Japan's New Theater"; "Premiere of [Shostakovich's] 'Ode to the Forest'"; "Stories of Japanese Shipwrecks in Russia"; "On [Chekhov's] 'Cherry Orchard'"; "The Characteristics of the Kievan State"; "Philosophy" (translation from the Soviet Academy's "Short Dictionary of Philosophy"). Like most of the left-wing publications devoted to the Soviet Union, the journal also contains some propaganda pieces not strictly in the Russian field, such as an article on Japanese fascism and a biographical study of the Korean Communist leader Kim Il-sung.

Under the motto "Understand the Soviet Union through the study of its language and culture," the Soviet study group also encourages participation in social activities which include the singing of Russian songs and the showing of Soviet motion pictures either on campus or at the Japan-Soviet Library.

The many student Soviet study circles in other universities are essentially smaller replicas of this larger group at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Only Chuo University's Society for the Study of Eastern Europe (To-O Bunka Kenkyukai), established shortly after the

war, is perhaps an exception. Broader in scope than the average campus study circle, it constitutes a gathering of faculty, students, alumni and certain outsiders, interested not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the smaller nations of Eastern Europe. As part of its program the Society has organized Russian language, social science and art sections which conduct seminars, sponsor lectures and arrange social evenings. In contrast to most study groups, the Society is the only one of its kind with a printed publication, "Eastern European Civilization" (To-O Bunka), which carries articles on the "new civilizations of Eastern Europe." Like the smaller study groups on other campuses the Society is affiliated with the national Federation of Student Soviet Study Groups and has the support of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and the Soviet Researchers' Association.

An examination of the activities and publications of the university Soviet study groups suggests that the students acquire practice in Russian, obtain some selected information on the Soviet Union, but that in the process they are exposed to a heavy concentration of Communist propaganda.

4. The Russian Literature Association of Japan (Nihon Roshia Bungakkai)

There are in Japan some twenty organizations for the promotion of the study of foreign languages and literature. Of these about a third (seven organizations) are devoted to the study of English language and literature; French and Chinese are each represented by four; and German, Italian and Russian by two organizations each. The two Russian literature societies are the Waseda University group, described in connection with the Russian program at the University, and the more substantial and important national organization, the Russian Literature Association of Japan.

The Russian Literature Association of Japan, established in the postwar period, is a professional society with the announced aim of developing the study of Russian language and literature and of promoting liaison between Association members. It is located quite naturally on the Waseda campus, Japan's greatest center for the study of Russian language and literature. The president of the Association is Yasugi Sadatoshi,* Professor Emeritus of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and a pioneer of Russian language studies in Japan. Vice-President is Yonekawa Masao,* currently Professor at Waseda University and unquestionably Japan's most popular and perhaps the world's most prolific translator of the Russian classics.

The Association claims some one hundred members, about forty of them free-lance writers and translators. Of these the largest contingent comes from Waseda University (14 persons), followed by the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (5 persons). Representatives from these two institutions occupy also most of the administrative positions. Among other universities with more than one member are Hokkaido University and the Kobe and Osaka Universities of Foreign Studies; one member is on the staff of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association; while another

heads the Nauka-sha Publishing Company, Japan's largest importer of Soviet publications. (See list of officers and members with their affiliations in the appendix to the companion volume Who's Who in the Russian Field in Japan.)

It has been said that the Association members range from the center to the extreme left on the political scale. The most telling comment on the relationship between the Russian Literature Association and pro-Soviet or leftist groups is that in 1955 thirteen of its officers and members also served as directors of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, and that when the Russian Literature Association celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the Russian writer Anton Chekhov, among the co-sponsors were listed such organizations as the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, the Japan-Soviet Library, the Association of Democratic Scientists, the People's Literature Association, Sohyo (the left-wing federation of Japanese labor unions) and the Committee for Peace.

The initial activities of the Association were limited to the arrangement of the traditional Kanreki or sixtieth birthday parties for the more prominent members like those for the veteran translators and officers of the Association Hara Hisaichiro* and Nakamura Hakuyo* celebrated at Waseda University at the end of 1950. Prior to the formal establishment of this national organization, local Russian literature groups had been organized. The Literature Section of the Soviet Researchers' Association and the Russian Literature Society at Waseda University have already been described. Active also were a few ephemeral groups devoted to the study of Russian literature like the Pushkin Society (Pushikin no Kai), inspired by the well-known translator and author Yokemura Yoshitaro* on the occasion of the sesquicentennial of the great Russian poet's birth.

In May 1954, the Russian Literature Association organized a two-day series of public lectures in Sendai (in northeastern Japan) attended by some two thousand people. Members of the Association presented papers on various aspects of Russian and Soviet literature, thought, education and theater. Another meeting was to take place in the fall of 1955 at the Osaka University of Foreign Studies to bring together the many members from the educational centers of central and western Japan. (Annotated programs of these two meetings, of the adjunct conference on Soviet science and of the Chekhov memorial celebration will be found in Appendix F.) Among papers prepared for these occasions were "Impressions of the Soviet Literary World" by Yonekawa Masao,* just back from a trip through the Soviet Union and China; "Pushkin and the Decembrists"; "Women in the Poems of Nekrasov"; "The Right and Left Hands of Tolstoy"; "Merits and Shortcomings of Dostoevski"; "The Literature of Various Soviet Nationalities"; "Some Observations on the Character Portrayal in the Works of A. Fadeev"; and "On the Phonetic Value of the Russian 'y'."

As part of the Sendai meeting, the faculty of Tohoku University held a conference on recent Soviet developments in the natural and related social sciences. In addition to the presentation of papers, the Sendai conferences scheduled showings of Soviet motion pictures and concerts of Russian folk music and contemporary Soviet music with recordings supplied by the Japan-Soviet Library. The scholars present at the two meetings participated in round-table conferences, radio discussions and social get togethers featuring Russian cuisine.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The beginning of Japanese interest in Russian studies is symbolized by the "Raft in the Northern Seas"—the era of the castaway fisherman-professor of Japan's secluded feudal period. By chance encounter with the Russian language and civilization on Japan's northern frontier, he was to become the precursor of the Japanese teacher, translator and interpreter of Russian.

Russian studies in Japan were an integral part of the Japanese reaction to Russian expansion in the late eighteenth century. The early contacts between the two countries led to the strengthening of defensive measures by the Shogunate, including the sending of expeditions to the north, and gave rise to literature on the "northern problem"—much of it concerned with Russia. Interrogation of returned fishermen from Russia augmented information obtained from Dutch and Chinese sources and provided valuable data on the Russian language and on Russia—the first official Japanese research project in the Russian field. Early Japanese study of Russia, then, was not so much motivated by intellectual curiosity as by the necessity of determining Russian intentions and capabilities. It was essentially government-sponsored research on a potential enemy and as such was bound to pursue the practical aims of seeking information on the country and its people, its national strength, its military potential. This motivating theme runs through the entire one hundred and fifty year history of Russian studies in Japan.

With the opening of Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century, another aspect was added to Russian studies. The Russian language became the fourth principal vehicle, after English, French and German, which brought Western culture, technology and civilization to Japan. Several hundred Japanese received their entire Western education through the medium of the Russian language at the government-supported Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. This process was aided by the Russian consular staff, members of which also served as teachers of Russian and purveyors of Russian knowledge. Outstanding among them was the Orthodox priest Nikolai. He organized several mission schools where many hundreds of young Japanese were trained, thereby greatly stimulating the study of the Russian language.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the introduction of Russian literature gave strong impetus to Russian studies in Japan. The Russian classics, especially Turgenev, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, concerned as they were with solutions to the problems of the time, aroused the sympathies of the Japanese younger generation then clamoring for political freedom and social change. At first, therefore, Russian literature was valued in Japan for its social content rather than for its literary quality, although it gradually began to affect the Japanese writer and to influence the evolution of modern Japanese prose.

By the turn of the century, when the interests of Russia and Japan

clashed in Korea and Manchuria, Japan had at its disposal perhaps a hundred Japanese with Russian training or experience and a body of literature in the Russian field. Among these Japanese specialists, translators and interpreters, some had studied in Russia, others were products of either Japanese government-supported, private, military, or Russian missionary language schools; still others had travel and practical experience in Russia and contact with the Russians in the northern regions. The range of Japanese information can be judged by the numerous publications in the Russian field: language texts, grammars and dictionaries, travel accounts, books on Russia, translations of Russian literature and of important Russian books and, finally, economic and military reports on Russia designed for military intelligence purposes. After the Russo-Japanese War, the problems arising from Japan's victory and the resulting Japanese activity in Manchuria, leading to increased commercial, political and cultural relations, encouraged the further development of Russian studies in Japan.

The impact of the Bolshevik Revolution constitutes perhaps the most important factor in the growth of Japanese training and research in the Russian field acting both as a stimulus and as an obstacle. The stimulus came from the Japanese occupation and economic exploitation of parts of the Russian Far East; from wider contacts with the Russians, especially with the large Russian refugee population of Manchuria; and from the socio-political impact of the Russian Revolution on Japan. The limiting factor was the attendant fear of the Japanese authorities that un-Japanese ideas flowing from the continent might subvert the nation. Alarmed by Communist activity and by the popularity of Soviet ideology, notably in university circles, the Japanese government introduced strict controls affecting teaching, research and publishing in the Russian field. Of the net effect, however, there could be no doubt: for while the Japanese authorities tried to suppress the growing interest in Russian language, literature and culture, they were obliged to direct more of their energies and efforts to the study of the old rival now fortified with and disseminating an aggressive, revolutionary ideology. The Japanese government, therefore, established several substantial official and semi-official research agencies as well as special schools and training programs in the Russian field.

Thus, in sum, Russian studies in Japan were born of government defensive and strategic requirements. After the opening of Japan, the Russian language also became a vehicle for the acquisition of knowledge of the West. In the late nineteenth century, a new factor was introduced with the development of an intensive Japanese interest in Russian literature, culture and thought. Finally, a fourth theme appeared early in the twentieth century when Marxist ideas and the Bolshevik success captured the imagination of many Japanese. The interaction of these factors has determined the character and the intensity of Japanese interest, training and research in the Russian field during the past several decades.

The Inter-war Period

Japanese training in the Russian field between World War I and World War II came to center in three government-supported institutions and one private university. To be sure, by 1930, some fifty universities,

(mostly schools of foreign trade and foreign languages), junior colleges and commercial high schools offered at least one course in elementary Russian. The leading private institution in this field was Waseda University in Tokyo, which maintained a department of Russian language and literature with a faculty of six. About fifty students were graduated from the department before it was closed on the eve of the China War. The students' interests were usually confined to language and literature and their political orientation was often left-wing. As a consequence, Japanese government agencies appear to have been reluctant to utilize their services. Waseda's Russian Literature Department, however, came to exert an important influence on Japanese intellectual life as a large proportion of its graduates became prominent writers, journalists and translators.

Government training was more substantial. Several government-supported institutions—the Harbin Institute, the Tokyo and Osaka schools of foreign languages, as well as special programs run by the military authorities and by the Japanese Foreign Ministry—offered training in the Russian language and in Soviet affairs. A total of more than 1,400 students are known to have been graduated from these programs, which in addition to the Russian language ordinarily offered some work in the history, geography, economics and culture of the area. Such training, however, centered on the language and lacked any disciplinary orientation. The programs were designed primarily to produce researchers, translators, interpreters, and technical intelligence specialists to meet the government's growing needs. At the same time, the military services and the Foreign Ministry had been attempting to develop a core of "Soviet specialists" by rotating a selected group of regular officers and diplomats in and around the Soviet Union. Not until the late nineteen thirties did the Foreign Ministry decide to select and train a small group of young career foreign service officers as Soviet specialists by establishing a three-year training program at Riga. These several members of the "Riga Group" are today among Japan's top authorities on the Soviet Union.

Prewar Japanese research in the Russian field was conducted by a number of government or semi-government organizations: (1) the South Manchuria Railway Company, the pioneer in the field, with a staff of about one hundred Russian specialists and significant collection, translation, research and publications programs centering on the natural resources, transportation facilities, economic potential and local conditions of the Russian Far East and Manchuria; (2) the Foreign Ministry, with an average of thirty-five staff members engaged in Russian research which was focused mainly on political affairs, in contrast to the economic and military orientation of the other agencies; (3) the Japanese Imperial Army General Staff, utilizing about fifty full-time Russian specialists for highly classified strategic, military and intelligence research; (4) the East Asia Research Institute (established as late as 1938), a government-backed organization with a Soviet affairs staff of about forty to fifty researchers, a radio monitoring unit and a large collection and research program on Russian political and economic developments; (5) the National Planning Board and the Total War Research Institute, also later additions to the Japanese research arsenal, headed by high-ranking military officers and staffed with some twenty Soviet researchers, together representing

the nearest Japan was to come to a coordinated governmental agency to deal with the total economic and military potential of the Soviet Union; and (6) the Home and Justice Ministries, where staff specialists concentrated on Soviet intelligence and Communist ideology, propaganda and activities in Asia.

Strictly speaking, there were no Japanese private or university Russian research centers during the inter-war period. Several news agencies specializing in Russian affairs (notably the Russo-Japanese and the Japan-Soviet news agencies) developed over the years into sizable organizations with staffs of trained translators and researchers. Such organizations published bulletins or magazines devoted to Russia and Russo-Japanese relations, Soviet handbooks, yearbooks and other reference works. In addition to the news agencies a great variety of other groups competed in the Russian-Soviet research and publications field. These organizations may be roughly divided into publishing houses specializing in the Russian field, research departments of Japanese business firms with substantial Soviet interests, the largest of these maintaining sizable Russian specialist staffs (Russo-Japanese Fisheries Company, North Sakhalin Mining and North Sakhalin Oil companies), and several small research institutes concerned with various aspects of Russian and Soviet culture and life.

Academic work in the Russian field was, of course, hampered by the attitudes of both the Japanese and the Soviet governments. The Japanese authorities did not encourage scholars to study things Russian, except under government supervision, while the difficulty of obtaining adequate research data on the Soviet Union offered a further obstacle.

Although few of the Japanese government studies and translations in the Russian field were made public, a vast amount of material in the Russian and Soviet area, largely translations of Russian literary classics and of a few Soviet works in the social sciences as well as a number of original Japanese efforts, was published. The Bolshevik Revolution sharply increased public interest in Russia, resulting in the publication of close to two thousand titles for the inter-war period. Until government suppression of the left-wing political and cultural movements became effective in the mid-nineteen thirties, two-thirds of the yearly 100 titles were translations. Toward the end of World War II as official restrictions and pressure increased, translations from the Russian declined, gradually approaching zero. The general Japanese interest in the Soviet Union throughout the period is reflected in the large number of introductory works (at first sympathetic, later largely restricted to the expose type on Soviet policy or domestic conditions), personal accounts (by military officers on the Siberian Intervention, journalists, scholars, and official and illegal travellers) and commentaries on current affairs. This category in the aggregate comprises about one-half of the original Japanese publications in the Russian field. Other original works included Russian language texts and dictionaries (some outstanding contributions); studies of Russo-Japanese diplomatic, commercial and military relations; economic and geographic works; and studies of the Soviet Far East. Among the translations, literature (including some excellent translations of the Russian classics) occupied quantitatively the ranking position, about a quarter of the total. Other important categories include publications on Communism and Soviet

ideology (among them many translations of Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, etc.) and works on Soviet economic developments.

Periodical literature in the Russian field shows almost fifty daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, yearly and irregular news bulletins, popular magazines, classified research periodicals and scholarly journals for the inter-war period.

Finally, mention must also be made of the many political and cultural organizations concerned with Russia which have contributed, if modestly, to Japanese training, research and interest in Russian affairs. These fall roughly into three categories: (1) left-wing groups, often linked to the illegal Communist movement active in the late twenties and early thirties, engaged in the translation and dissemination of material on and from Soviet Russia (Japanese Communist Party, Industrial Labor Research Institute, organizations connected with the "proletarian" movement); (2) right-wing groups, whose natural concern with the U. S. S. R. was stimulated by developments at home and abroad during the middle and late nineteen thirties; and (3) the various Soviet-Japanese friendship groups, some outright left-wing, others backed by the Japanese government (Russo-Japanese Art Association—research and translation, Japan-Soviet Cultural Association, Japan-Russia Association—training, etc.).

The nature and scope of prewar Japanese training and research on Russia and the implications for the West may be evaluated as follows:

1. In terms of emphasis and organized effort—the number of training institutions, faculty members and students, the number of research centers and researchers, and the volume of research materials produced, as well as the amount of translations from the Russian—prewar Japan must be ranked very high, probably second after Germany among the nations of the world.

2. Russian training and research in prewar Japan was virtually a government monopoly concentrated in several substantial training and research centers in Japan proper and in Manchuria. As the political atmosphere within the country was not conducive to academic research in the sensitive social sciences, academic interest in Russia was generally confined to the language and literature fields.

3. Government and government-sponsored research was largely classified. The majority of Japanese publications in the Russian field consisted of translations from the Russian.

4. The weak points and limitations of prewar Japanese training, research and publications in the Russian field are:

(a) prohibition against free academic inquiry and private research in Japan;

(b) the lack of objectivity of much of the original Japanese work which is politically motivated, either pro-Soviet or anti-Communist;

(c) lack of a disciplinary background (except in a few rare cases) on the part of the Japanese teacher and researcher, who generally came to the field by way of the language;

(d) the related general failure to adopt an analytical approach to the research problem;

(e) the general absence of documentation, indexing and bibliographical information in Japanese publications; and

(f) the relative Japanese inaptitude for the study of foreign languages.

5. The assets and strong points are:

(a) access or proximity to Russian Asia and the long frontier, stretching from Kamchatka to Mongolia, which facilitated the procurement of information;

(b) the resulting early start and consequently long tradition of Russian studies in Japan;

(c) substantial government support assuring the continuity of major training and research programs;

(d) Japanese control of Manchuria providing an ideal setting where Russian was the lingua franca, and the presence of substantial Russian communities in both Japan proper and Manchuria facilitating both training and research;

(e) an academic tradition which equipped the Japanese researcher for methodical compilations and categorical arrangement; and

(f) the reservoir of trained personnel as a result of the long tradition of Russian studies.

6. Japanese research on Russia made its most important contribution on Siberia, Central Asia and Mongolia, and on Soviet policies and activities in Asia (especially geography, natural resources, economic and military data, and biographical information). Further, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides the most complete and accurate materials on the whole range of Soviet-Japanese relations. A fair selection of this material is available in several collections in Japan, and at The Library of Congress and The Hoover Library.

The Postwar Scene

The political and economic effects of the defeat and occupation—the removal of the Japanese government from the Russian research scene, the disappearance of the principal training and research centers in Manchuria, such as the Harbin Institute, the South Manchuria Railway Company, etc., the disbanding of research organizations in Japan and the purge, the destruction or confiscation of Japanese materials on Russia, both in Japan proper and in Manchuria, and the detention by the Soviets of a number of Japanese Russian specialists—virtually eliminated Japan for a time from Russian training and research. At the same time, the Marxist orientation of the Japanese academic community, the emergence of the Japanese Communist Party as a powerful political and ideological force stimulating interest in Marxism, Communism and the Soviet Union, and the greater availability of Soviet sources in a new atmosphere of freedom combined to push the center of gravity in the Russian field to the left. While Japan's restricted territorial base and international position, as well as the endemic postwar economic crisis, tended to lessen the interest and participation of the Japanese government in Russian training and research, at the same time Japanese universities were now free to initiate or expand their curricula and research on Russia, and these studies began to attract a small but politically dedicated group of students on campuses throughout Japan.

Three specific issues, the repatriation of half a million Japanese from Soviet territory, the Korean War and the recovery of national sovereignty after the San Francisco Peace Treaty, have stimulated intensive postwar concern with Soviet affairs, provided fresh sources of information

on the Soviet Union and again created greater need for a more systematic approach to Russian training and research. The increased power and prestige of the Communist bloc has further added to the attraction of Russian studies. The period since the recovery of sovereignty consequently has witnessed intensified government training and research in Soviet affairs, the expansion of academic programs in the Russian field, an upsurge in pro-Soviet cultural and political activity, and public interest in Russian culture and the Soviet system, as well as increased trade and cultural exchange with the U. S. S. R. and Communist China. The effect of these developments has been to provide greater employment opportunities for the Russian researcher, teacher, translator and interpreter, as well as to broaden the base of Russian studies in Japan.

It seems appropriate to comment on Japanese personnel and library resources, and on the nature, level and scope of current Japanese training, research, and publications in the Russian field.

Personnel

Over the years up to World War II some two thousand Japanese were trained in the Russian language and literature and in Soviet affairs. Roughly nine hundred were active in the Russian field as language teachers, interpreters, translators, researchers, economists, and military intelligence, security and foreign service personnel. In the immediate postwar period, in consequence of normal attrition, the war, and Soviet capture and internment, not more than four hundred of them were in Japan. This loss was partly offset by a few Russian "experts" who emerged from among the hundreds of thousands of repatriates from the Soviet Union, as well as by a small number of capable young men from among the several hundred Japanese trained in the postwar decade.

Careful selection on the basis of language competence, professional experience, publications record and influence in the field shows a total of some 175 Japanese experts on Russia now active in Japan. Almost 35% of them are in the humanities and the arts, some 20% fall within the academic social science category, another 20% are in government service, while the remaining 25% are independent researchers, journalists and commentators (including former government personnel).

In the humanities and the arts, some fifty professors, translators, linguists and writers are primarily concerned with the Russian language, literature, theater and music. They are predominantly left-wing.

With regard to the academic social science community in the Russian field, four points may be made: (1) economics is the strongest area (some fifteen specialists) divided about equally between Marxists and non-Marxists (the latter largely former government research economists); (2) law, dominated by a highly theoretical approach and by ultraleft-wing, if not Communist, sentiment, is also well represented (some ten specialists); (3) history and international relations are very weak (only five specialists); and (4) government and politics as studied and taught in the major Western universities does not constitute a subject of academic inquiry in Japan.

Japanese government personnel resources in the Russian field fall into three groups: (1) veteran diplomats with long and direct experience in the U. S. S. R. and in Soviet affairs (about ten in number); (2) mid-career foreign service officers who have specialized in Soviet affairs, several of them with specific Russian language and area training as well

as field experience in the Soviet Union (six in number), approximating in background, interests and career (though somewhat younger) George Kennan and Charles Bohlen; and (3) Foreign Ministry and military staff officers, researchers or analysts (some twenty in number with duties similar to the specialists of the Department of State's Office of Intelligence Research. Present Japanese Foreign Ministry organization, it should be noted, does not admit a division between the research and policy function, hence the Ministry has only a single Soviet section. These figures exclude military specialists on the Soviet Union currently working in private research groups (perhaps fifteen or twenty former officers), some of whom may be expected to resume their government duties more directly as the Japanese military establishment and Japan's relations with Russia demand.

The last 25% of specialists are former military officers, researchers formerly with the South Manchuria Railway or with other government-related organizations, newspaper correspondents, writers and Moscow-trained Communists and anti-Communists. Their ideological orientation spans the political spectrum. A number of them are organized, largely on the basis of similar background and political orientation, into several so-called research institutes which focus on a wide variety of problems related to Soviet affairs. Mention must also be made of several pro-Communist political propagandists whose background and professional interest in Soviet affairs account for their inclusion.

Library Resources

With the loss of Japan's principal prewar Russian collections, library resources in Japan are generally inferior to holdings in Western Europe and certainly cannot compare to the major collections in the United States at The Library of Congress, The Hoover Library, The New York Public Library or to a number of American university collections. Nevertheless, several Japanese collections contain materials on certain subjects, expecially Russian-Asian relations, Manchuria, Central Asia and Russo-Japanese relations not readily, if at all, available outside of Japan. The principal Japanese holdings in the Russian field are located at Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo (with 10,000 volumes, including a large part of the prewar East Asia Research Institute collection and centered in the Soviet economics field); Waseda University in Tokyo (with 5,000 volumes mostly on Russian literature); the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (with a 7,000 volume general collection strong on language and linguistics); the Japan-Soviet Library in Tokyo (with 10,000 volumes, perhaps the best postwar Soviet collection in Japan—Communist-controlled, open only to its own members); the Hakodate Municipal Library in Hokkaido (the most important repository of materials on nineteenth century Russo-Japanese relations); and the National Diet Library in Tokyo (several thousand volumes including the remnants of the South Manchurian Railway Tokyo Library and most of the Harima collection [strong on Russian-Asian relations], as well as recent gifts and exchanges from the United States and Europe). Mention must also be made of somewhat smaller collections at Tokyo University, at Kyoto and Tenri universities, at the Osaka University of Foreign Studies, and at the Foreign Ministry.

Training

Japanese academic training in the Russian field continues as in the past to emphasize the study of Russian language and literature. At present about thirty Japanese colleges and universities, including virtually all the major institutions, provide Russian language instruction, mostly on

the elementary and intermediate levels. Attendance in such classes usually does not exceed fifteen students. In terms of enrollment, the Russian language ranks fourth after English, French and German. Among the several non-academic organizations offering Russian language courses, only two need be mentioned: the Orthodox Nikolai Institute and the Japan-Soviet Institute, both located in Tokyo and both offering only short-term language classes on several levels.

A Russian area program like that of Columbia University does not exist in Japan. Japanese "Russian area specialists" have acquired their training largely through practical experience rather than through academic training. The two Japanese institutions which approach most closely the American concept of area training are the two universities of foreign studies in Tokyo and Osaka. At both institutions, however, emphasis is placed on language and to a lesser extent on the study of Russian literature. Hokkaido University, although only beginning a Russian area program, has a high potential for development. Educational opportunities in the Russian field at other institutions are generally limited to one or two departments or disciplines. Compared to the universities of foreign studies, more attention is paid at other universities to work in the social sciences. Waseda University is the exception with its large, nationally recognized Department of Russian Literature.

The bulk of the social science training is concerned with Soviet economy, Soviet law and the Soviet system. Few courses are devoted to Russian history and foreign relations. Seven universities offer course work in Soviet economics. The most active among these are Hitotsubashi, Tokyo, Kyoto and Yokohama universities. Ten academic institutions provide one or more courses in Soviet law and the Soviet system, with Tokyo and Nagoya universities the most active among them.

In the past few years about one thousand Japanese students annually have been exposed to some academic training in the Russian field. The major Russian programs of the Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe colleges of foreign studies and Waseda University account for about half that number. An added manpower resource of somewhat dubious quality are the two thousand students—mostly working adults—"graduated" yearly from the short-term language classes of the Nikolai Institute and the Japan-Soviet Institute. Of the more than ten thousand Japanese who have come in contact with Russian studies in the postwar period perhaps only a few hundred, mostly graduates of the major programs, have acquired a working knowledge of the Russian language and some background in Russian literature or Soviet affairs. Very few of them appear to combine language competence with area and disciplinary training.

The Foreign Ministry's Russian training program was disrupted and curtailed by the war and Occupation. Only a few young Foreign Service officers have been trained in the postwar decade at the Ministry's Training Institute in Tokyo prior to field work in Finland. With the rearming and independence of Japan, an institutional framework was again created in the armed forces for the revival of a Russian training program.

Research

In the postwar period, Japan's limited responsibilities and capabilities have restricted government research on the Soviet Union, while the new academic and political freedom ushered in by the American Occupa-

tion has tended to promote academic and private research. As a result, Russian research in Japan, once a virtual government monopoly is now more equally distributed, at least quantitatively, among the universities, private research organizations and the government. The bulk of Japan's government research on the U. S. S. R. is concentrated in the Foreign Ministry, the only government center of Soviet research to survive the war. With a permanent staff of some twenty-five researchers (some recruited from disbanded government agencies), the Foreign Ministry produces an important monthly summation of Soviet affairs and a variety of working and problem papers, reports and analyses on various aspects of Soviet domestic and foreign policy and specifically on Japanese-Soviet relations, based on a wide range of Soviet, Japanese and Western sources. Among other government agencies reference should be made to the Research Section of the Prime Minister's Office (responsible for the over-all supervision and publication of the "Soviet Yearbook"), the growing Soviet research and intelligence unit in the Defense Agency, the Public Safety Investigation Agency (researching the Communist movement, Soviet ideology, security and intelligence systems) and the Legislative Reference Service of the National Diet Library.

A word should be said about the government's relations with the universities and private research organizations. In general, the universities and the bureaucracy view each other with suspicion. Cooperation in the sensitive area of Soviet studies seems almost entirely lacking. The government, however, does maintain an active interest in certain anti-Communist research groups concerned with Soviet affairs.

Private Russian research in Japan is conducted by many organizations and groups of varied size, structure, activity and political orientation. (The pronounced left-wing groups, which can be more meaningfully treated within the context of political and cultural organizations, are discussed separately.) Continental Problems Research Institute is an organization primarily composed of former military experts on the Soviet Union. Its main activity revolves around the publication of a monthly journal, "Continental Problems," which deals with Soviet and Chinese Communist military and strategic problems. The Association for the Study of the Soviet Union, composed largely of diplomats, ex-diplomats, and journalists, issues a monthly, "Soviet Studies," consisting of popular treatments, translations and some research articles on Russia. Both organizations sponsor monthly conferences on Soviet affairs and both maintain good relations with the conservative government and with other private anti-Communist groups concerned with the Soviet Union. For reasons already suggested, these groups have only tenuous links with the academic world, exert little influence on the thinking of the university community, and have a very limited impact on Japanese public opinion. In addition, there are in Japan several press and translation services and small research groups which publish daily and weekly bulletins based on the Soviet press and radio, as well as a number of study circles and several groups engaged in the study of Communism and Communist movements.

Academic research in the Russian field has not only recovered from its low during the war years, but is developing as never before. A number of factors appear to be responsible for this "Russian research boom." The study of the Soviet Union, once virtually prohibited in Japanese uni-

versities, has become a legitimate endeavor of the academic world. There is in Japan a traditional prevalence of the Marxist outlook among Japanese professors together with a growing Japanese sympathy with the Soviet view on many international issues. Also for the first time in many years, the Japanese scholar may receive Russian professional literature and even visit the Soviet Union at a time when the accomplishments of Soviet scholars and scientists are receiving international publicity.

Academic research is concentrated in the two areas of Russian literature and Soviet economics: the first perhaps because of the traditional popularity of Russian literature, the second because it represents the best developed discipline among the social sciences in Japan. Some ten professors are active in research on Russian literature. In recent years, they have produced a number of histories of Russian literature, introductory works, and biographies or critical studies of the great Russian literary figures of the nineteenth century. Now, as in the past, emphasis is on the pre-Soviet period. Until the surrender of Japan, research on Soviet economics was a virtual monopoly of the Japanese government. Academic work on the subject actually dates from 1946 when the changed political atmosphere of occupied Japan allowed Soviet economics to become a legitimate interest of the Japanese university. The transfer of several former government economists to the faculties of Japan's universities further contributed to this increased academic activity. Academic research is concentrated at Hitotsubashi University with five faculty members in Soviet economics, all Marxists. Several other Japanese universities have one or two faculty members who are mainly engaged in the compilation, translation and annotation of Soviet economic writings. Other research includes (1) politics and law — mostly leftist scholars at Nagoya and Tokyo universities engaged in the translation and annotation of Soviet laws; (2) history — a postwar phenomenon, four or five historians compiling general histories; (3) foreign relations — two scholars who have produced respectively a general work on Soviet foreign policy and a research monograph on the Siberian Intervention; (4) language — little research in linguistics; mostly the preparation of texts, grammars and dictionaries by some ten scholars; (5) natural sciences — primarily the study of Soviet medicine and Soviet genetics as applied to agriculture.

Publications

The largest volume of postwar Japanese effort in the Russian field consists of translations comprising about four-fifths of the total number of Japanese titles on the subject. Of these Japanese translations from the Russian eighty percent are literature. Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev and Chekhov lead all others in that order, while Soviet literature ranks a poor second. Over 10% of the translations are Soviet "classics," mostly Lenin and Stalin (more than fifty translators). All other categories account for the remaining less than 10%. With respect to original works, the most voluminous (some 20%) and perhaps the most important original Japanese work in the Russian field since the war is that occasioned by the forced detainment and indoctrination of close to half a million Japanese in Soviet territory. The next largest categories (also nearly 20% each) are original Japanese works on Russian literature and language texts and dictionaries. The remaining 45% in order of quantitative importance are introductory works and treatments of current affairs (10%), economics (7%), Leninism-

Stalinism (6%), history and foreign relations (6%), travel accounts and memoirs (5%), politics and law (4%), and Soviet life and culture (3%). Much of the original work may be characterized as Marxist-oriented and is distinguished by the indiscriminate use of Soviet sources. Several publications in the Russian field have met with great response in Japan as evidenced in the ability to place on the national best-seller lists (in recent years, Dostoevsky's "The Brothers Karamazov," Tolstoy's "Anna Karenina," and the textbook on political economy edited by the Soviet Academy of Sciences).

Some useful material on Russia can be found in the periodical literature of postwar Japan, especially the government product. Postwar Japanese periodical literature (excluding technical journals and scientific publications) contains over five thousand articles in the Russian field by about a thousand contributors. Most important general magazines, both right-wing and left-wing, on occasions have special issues devoted to the Soviet Union. Topics most often treated are History — Diplomatic and Commercial Relations, Economics, Language — Literature — Thought, Theater — Music and the Arts, Politics and Law, Current Affairs, Travel Accounts and Recollections, in that order. Much of this quantitatively impressive output consists of semi-translations, reminiscences and speculation. Even the more substantial articles are seldom supported by adequate documentation. Pro-Soviet contributions outnumber the neutral or anti-Communist items.

Periodicals devoted to the Russian-Soviet field and/or Communism are more numerous in Japan than in the United States. They numbered eight in 1955 and can be roughly divided as follows: one yearbook (published by the Research Section of the Prime Minister's Office — lacking in documentation and without an index); the non-classified monthly summation of Soviet Affairs published by the Soviet section of the Foreign Ministry, the most substantial and useful Japanese publication in the Soviet field today and the best available source on Japanese-Soviet relations; four monthly general magazines on the Soviet Union (two pronouncedly anti-Communist and two "objective" — one based exclusively on Soviet sources, the other only on Japanese and Western sources); two quarterlies, both pronouncedly sympathetic to the Soviet Union (one on Soviet law and another on Soviet literature — both consisting mostly of translated Soviet material); and the tabloid pro-Communist mouthpiece of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, published three times a month. In addition to these eight major periodicals there are five daily or weekly news bulletins and a number of irregularly published student papers. This does not include the more than ten defunct, postwar periodicals in the Russian field, eight periodicals on Communism or the three major Japanese Communist Party publications. Almost all Japanese periodical literature on the subject is characterized by absence of documentation and lack of analytical content.

Cultural and Political Organizations

The picture would not be complete without reference to several important Soviet-inspired or Russian-oriented Japanese cultural and political organizations: the Japanese Communist Party, the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, the Japan-Soviet Library, the Soviet Researchers' Association, and the Russian Literature Association of Japan. These organizations together form the broad base on which much general interest in Russian

culture and the Soviet system is built. By their many activities, they exert considerable influence in such matters.

By arousing interest in things Soviet and by providing special training in Moscow for some of its members, the Japanese Communist Party has stimulated the growth of Russian studies in Japan. Even more important is the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association and its affiliated politico-cultural organizations of the ultra-left, which have contributed heavily to the development of Russian studies in Japan as centers of Russian language training, and as intermediaries in the introduction and translation of Soviet materials and in the dissemination of Soviet culture and science (particularly in the literature and economics fields). The somewhat less politically motivated — though leftist oriented — Russian Literature association of Japan serves to stimulate research and general academic and cultural interest in Russian affairs. Further, leftist dominated Russian clubs and Soviet study circles at colleges and universities throughout Japan afford students an opportunity to acquire practice in the Russian language and to obtain some selected information on the Soviet Union. In the process, they expose the student to a heavy concentration of Communist propaganda. In the aggregate, there can be little doubt that all these political and cultural organizations of the left have a decided impact on Russian studies in Japan. Although their contribution to research, except the field of Russian literature, is negligible, their wider political influence appears to be considerable.

Nature and Scope of Postwar Russian Studies in Japan

The nature and scope of postwar Japanese training and research on Russia and the implications for the West may be evaluated as follows:

1. Training and research has not as yet fully recovered from the serious setback occasioned by the war, defeat and occupation. The Manchurian training and research facilities have been lost, but the major government-supported training centers in Japan remain active and have been augmented by several newly established or expanded academic programs. Foreign Ministry training has been severely curtailed, while the military services appear to be in the process of reinstating limited training programs. Of the prewar major government or government-supported research centers only one — the Foreign Ministry — remains.

Comparatively little is left of the vast Russian holdings which were either unavoidably or deliberately burned in Japan at the end of the war, confiscated by the Soviets in Manchuria or shipped to Washington by the American Occupation authorities. Today, a growing exchange program with the Soviet Union provides Japan's major libraries with substantial postwar Soviet publications, while, on the other hand, relatively fewer of the Western publications on Russia find their way into Japanese libraries both because of an unfavorable ideological climate and because of the greater cost.

Japan's total personnel resources in the Russian field — language teachers, translators, interpreters, researchers, military and foreign service specialists — amount to somewhat less than half of the prewar peak.

Because of the relatively greater political freedom in Japan and the enhanced international stature of the Soviet Union in the postwar period, the total volume of published material in the Russian field substantially exceeds prewar production, while the number of government and semi-governmental studies has declined markedly as a consequence of the

disappearance of many of the principal government research organizations and researchers.

In terms of popular interest in Russia, Japan today ranks first in the non-Communist world. With respect to number of training centers, faculty members and students, postwar Japan ranks very high, probably second to the United States. In volume and quality of research and the number of research centers, postwar Japan probably now must be ranked below the United States, Western Germany and Great Britain.

2. Postwar training and research in the Russian field reveals four important shifts in emphasis from the prewar pattern:

(a) a shift in the center of gravity from the government to academic programs;

(b) a shift in ideological orientation to the left;

(c) a shift in the academic community from an almost exclusive preoccupation with language and literature to a somewhat marked interest in the social sciences; and

(d) the growing importance of political and cultural organizations of the left with strong Russian training and research interests.

3. Geographically, the centers of Russian training and research, libraries and personnel, as well as the publication outlets, are located in Tokyo.

4. The weak points and limitations of postwar Japanese training, research and publications in the Russian field are:

(a) The ideological cleavage which generally characterizes the Japanese political scene and especially plagues the Russian field in Japan tends to divide students and faculty sharply into anti-Communist and pro-Communist factions, with a preponderance of the latter category characteristic of the Russian training and research scene. This results too often in both a conspicuous lack of objectivity where research is involved and an emphasis on indoctrination rather than education. Another important consequence has been a widening of the gulf between the usually conservative government and the predominantly left-wing academic community.

(b) A corollary of the ideological problem is the preponderance of Marxist or Soviet sources in Japanese university library collections on modern Russia. While access to Soviet sources is, to be sure, necessary and desirable for the study of Soviet affairs, it hardly follows that the exclusive and uncritical use of such sources by students largely trained by Marxist-oriented professors, will produce scholars of competence.

(c) Lack of substantial disciplinary training continues to limit the student of Russian affairs in Japan. Only slowly and at a few Japanese institutions has the notion of the importance of combining a disciplinary base (economics, history, political science) with the language and area background taken hold. As a result, courses on Soviet economics or Soviet law and politics often turn out to be an exercise in translation for students with some knowledge of Russian. As in the prewar period, the majority of researchers have come to the field by way of language and literature concentration and are badly equipped to make objective analyses and critical judgments on a variety of political and economic questions in the Russian area—though this, of course, does not always prevent them from doing so.

(d) The institutions where relatively concentrated Russian training is underway, the colleges of foreign studies, do not always attract a

high caliber of students.

(e) Due to the left-wing intellectual climate in Japan, it is difficult to publish books and articles which are unfavorable to the Soviet Union; many publishers hesitate to accept Russian translations which have not been cleared with the Association of Japan-Soviet Translators and Publishers, an organization which displays strong pro-Communist inclinations.

(f) Objective study of Russia is further hampered because the majority of Russian specialists in Japan have only Russian as a foreign language. A great percentage of them have visited or studied in Russia; few of them know English or any other Western European language, and still fewer have visited or studied in the United States or Western Europe.

5. The assets and strong points of postwar Japanese training, research and publications in the Russian field are:

(a) The long Japanese tradition and great interest and enthusiasm with respect to things Russian and the presence in Japan of a number of experienced teachers and researchers, including former government Soviet economists and military specialists.

(b) The development at Waseda University of one of the non-Communist world's centers of study and research in the field of Russian literature.

(c) The presence of half a million Japanese repatriates from the Soviet Union, whose recent, if limited, experiences in Russia constitute an important primary source, and present one of the few opportunities for original research on the Soviet Union in Japan.

(d) Japanese work on Soviet-Japanese relations and on Communism in Japan, of course, is the most detailed and firsthand information available on these topics.

Any attempt on the part of Americans to make recommendations or suggestions on Japanese training and research in the Russian field — in view of Japan's very long concern with the subject—may quite understandably strike the Japanese scholar or government official as highly presumptuous. It is rather with the recognition that the Japanese or British student of the American scene so often points out to us what is less obvious at closer range that a few final suggestions may be permissible:

1. that the Japanese make a greater effort to attain academic objectivity by the simple device of examining more carefully a wider range of source material, and by avoiding at the outset an open pro-Communist or anti-Communist approach to the research problem;

2. that the Japanese academic institutions and government-sponsored area programs insist that the Soviet specialists have disciplinary competence as well as language and area training;

3. that the Japanese attempt to break away from a characteristically theoretical approach which often bypasses political and economic reality by making greater use of the case-study and statistical methods as well as the analytical Western contributions to the field;

4. that greater liaison and closer cooperation be maintained among academic institutions and research centers;

5. that the Japanese adopt new concepts in library work, make more efficient operation of existing facilities, coordinate the use of materials in various institutions, as well as strive toward closer cooperation among

libraries, among scholars, and between the libraries and the scholars;

6. that the academic community, especially the major centers of Russian studies, consider the utilization of a select number of Japanese repatriates and others with firsthand knowledge of the Soviet scene in controlled sociological, political and economic studies;

7. that the Japanese academic and government programs make wider use of the intensive language training techniques and recent developments in language teaching in the West, including audio-visual aids, in an effort to produce students with at least real translation proficiency;

8. that because of the vast amount of postwar American and British work on Russia, the Japanese researcher be encouraged to acquire, in addition to a mastery of Russian, a working knowledge of English which would permit effective communication and an exchange of personnel;

9. that the Japanese seek to supplement and improve the useful aspects of their earlier language-area institutes with the postwar experiences of such integrated programs as those of Columbia and Harvard universities to produce a more substantial, uniquely Japanese approach to training and research in Russian affairs;

10. that the institutions which supply the majority of the upper-level of officialdom (Tokyo, Kyoto and Hitotsubashi universities) develop programs in the international relations field incorporating basic work in at least international politics and economics with Russian area training.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE OF SOUTH MANCHURIAN RAILWAY RESEARCH ON THE SOVIET UNION, 1934-1935

1. Geography—Surveys and Special Studies

Birobidzhan (Jewish Autonomous Region) Summary (trans. - *NOZAKI Yoshio)
Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Republic in 1934 (Mimeo.), 22 pp.
Economic Geography of Siberia, Parts I and II
Map of the Soviet Far East with Index
Navigation Conditions on the Selenga River, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 18 pp.
New Materials on the Geography and Mineral Resources of Eastern Siberia
New Materials on the Geography and Mineral Resources of the Soviet Far East (trans.)
The Peoples of the Soviet Far East
The Present Situation in the Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Republic
Research on the Northern Air Routes
Soviet Far East — A Summary (trans.)
A Study of the Regions of Permanent Frost (trans.)
A Survey of the Argun River, 260 pp.
Topography and Soil of the Southern Trans-Baikal District, Parts I and II
Topography of Outer Mongolia, Parts I and II (trans.)
Weather Conditions on the Moscow - Irkutsk Air Route (trans.)
20 studies ranging from 14 to 56 pages each concerned with a different local district of the Soviet Far East (e.g. Nikolaevsk, Okhotsk, Komsomolsk, etc.)

2. Natural Resources

Forests of the Soviet Far East
Fuel Resources in the Western Trans-Baikal Region - Coal, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 6 pp.
New Materials on the Soviet Far East and Eastern Siberia: Natural Resources and their Utilization, Parts I and II
Non-Ferrous Mineral Deposits of Eastern Siberia (trans.)
Principal Gold Deposits in the Trans-Baikal District, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 31 pp.
Siberian Coal Mining Areas

3. Agriculture

Serious Agricultural Crisis in the Soviet Union
Report of the Early Wheat Planting Experiments in the Amur Region (Mimeo.), 34 pp.
Soviet Agricultural Policy, 120 pp.
Soviet and North Manchurian Soy Beans (Mimeo.), 70 pp.

4. Industry

Changes in Soviet Industrial Organization
Commercial Agencies in Outer Mongolia (Mimeo.), 56 pp.
Completion of the Ulan Ude Glass Factory, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 5 pp.
Introduction to the Soviet Chemical Industry
Introduction to the Soviet Taxation System
Recent News of Soviet Finances

5. Transportation and Communications

Flooding of the Amur-Yakutsk Trunk Line
Lumbering and Hauling Statistics of Soviet Far Eastern Forestry Stations, "Confidential" 1 pp.
Navigation Conditions on Amur River Tributaries and Soviet Policy on River Navigation Development, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 40 pp.
Report on the Current Stage of Kuzbas Construction, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 65 pp.
Soviet Far Eastern and Connecting Railroads—Number of Freight Cars, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 52 pp.
Soviet Railroad Statistics for 1932, "Confidential" 170 pp.
Soviet Railroad Workers and National Defense Training
Technical Comments on the Former Amur Railroad, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 67 pp.
Technical Comments on the Former Ussuri Railroad, "Confidential" (Mimeo.), 143 pp.
Transportation and Communications Problems in the Soviet Far East, "Confidential" (trans.)
Ulan Ude Locomotive and Rolling Stock Repair Yard, (Mimeo.), 8 pp.

6. Miscellaneous

Collection of Important Soviet Statistics (trans.)
Criticism of the Red Army
Economic Statistics of Eastern Siberia (trans.)
Ideological Crisis in the Soviet Union (trans.)
Meat Supply in Outer Mongolia

APPENDIX B

REPRESENTATIVE TABLES OF CONTENTS OF PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS IN THE SOVIET FIELD

1. Soviet Yearbook (Sovuieto Nenkan), 1954
Compiled by the Research Section of the Prime Minister's Office

Introduction (a 25 page survey of the Soviet Union, East European satellites and the international Communist movement)

PART I SOVIET UNION - GENERAL

Section 1 Geography, Population and Nationalities

Chapter 1 Geography (11pp.)
Boundaries, topography, climate and natural resources
Chapter 2 Population (8 pp.)
Chapter 3 Nationalities (10 pp.)
Distribution of nationalities and problems and policy regarding nationalities
Chapter 4 Brief History of the Soviet Union (15 pp.)

Section 2 Government and Politics

Chapter 1 Outline of Postwar Soviet Politics (11 pp.)
Forced labor, political changes, Stalin's death, and Beria's purge and Malenkov's new policies
Chapter 2 Government Organization (26 pp.)
Legislative, administrative and judiciary organs
Chapter 3 Communist Party (21 pp.)
Position, role and central organs of the Communist Party

Section 3 Economics

Chapter 1 Soviet Socialist Planned Economy (7 pp.)
Chapter 2 Summary of Postwar Soviet Economy (11 pp.)
5th Five-Year Plan and the Malenkov Line
Chapter 3 Industry (16 pp.)
Development of industry through each of the 5 Five Year Plans
Chapter 4 Agriculture (12 pp.)
Development of the kolkhoz system
Chapter 5 Transportation (16 pp.)
Chapter 6 Communications (4 pp.)
Chapter 7 Domestic Commerce (10 pp.)

Chapter 8 Foreign Trade (19 pp.)
Organization, operations and trends, including statistics on East-West and China trade

Chapter 9 Finance (21 pp.)
Includes an analysis of the national budget

Section 4 Social and Cultural

Chapter 1 Postwar Cultural Policy (11 pp.)
Basic line, criticism of Western European culture, glorification of Soviet culture, and trend toward Russian orientation of culture

Chapter 2 Labor (19 pp.)

Chapter 3 Social Welfare (7 pp.)

Chapter 4 Religion (10 pp.)
. Policy and controversies

Chapter 5 Education (8 pp.)

Chapter 6 Science (5 pp.)
Characteristics and development of research, and scientific exchange

Chapter 7 Arts (9 pp.)

Chapter 8 Publishing and Broadcasting (15 pp.)

Chapter 9 Physical Education and Sports (11 pp.)

Chapter 10 Standard of Living (14 pp.)

Section 5 Military

Chapter 1 Soviet Concept of War (9 pp.)
According to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin

Chapter 2 History of Soviet Armed Forces (10 pp.)

Chapter 3 Strategy and Tactics (9 pp.)

Chapter 4 Command and Military Administration (5 pp.)

Chapter 5 Army (12 pp.)

Chapter 6 Air Force (12 pp.)

Chapter 7 Military Expenditures and the National Defense Budget (4 pp.)

Chapter 8 Military Training of Civilians and Civil Defense (5 pp.)

Chapter 9 The Revolutionary Campaigns (9 pp.)

Chapter 10 The Second World War (14 pp.)

Chapter 11 Military Forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (1 pp.)

Chapter 12 Navy (14 pp.)
Development, organization and capabilities

Section 6 Biographies (46 pp.)

Brief biographical sketches of over 200 prominent Soviet personalities (includes deceased)

PART II THE 16 REPUBLICS

The first 38 pages comprise a detailed description of the physical, economic, and other conditions, as well as of the national minorities of the RSFSR.

The remaining 60 pages give a similar description of the other 15 republics, the longest treatment being approximately 7 pages. (98 pp.)

PART III FOREIGN RELATIONS

Section 1 Diplomacy

Chapter 1 The Cold War and the Peace Offensive (11 pp.)
Progress of the "cold war" and the various peace offensives launched by the Soviet Union, including the peace offensive against Japan

Chapter 2 Brief History of Soviet Diplomacy (26 pp.)

Chapter 3 The United Nations and the Soviet Union (16 pp.)

Chapter 4 Relations with the United States (31 pp.)
Emphasis on postwar relations

Chapter 5 Relations with Great Britain (4 pp.)
Since March 1921

Chapter 6 Relations with France (3 pp.)
Since October 1924

Chapter 7 Relations with the Middle and Near East (8 pp.)
Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Israel, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt

Chapter 8 Relations with South and Southeast Asia (4 pp.)
Brief comment on relations with each country

Note: No Section II

PART IV
THE SOVIET BLOC AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Section 1 The Soviet Bloc

Chapter 1 The Soviet Bloc in Eastern Europe (9 pp.)
Introductory chapter with historical resume and present conditions.

Chapter 2 Polish People's Republic (9 pp.)

Chapter 3 Czechoslovakia (8 pp.)

Chapter 4 Hungarian People's Republic (7 pp.)

Chapter 5 Rumanian People's Republic (8 pp.)

Chapter 6 Bulgarian People's Republic (7 pp.)

Chapter 7 Albanian People's Republic (5 pp.)

Chapter 8 German Democratic Republic (9 pp.)

Chapter 9 Mongolian People's Republic (6 pp.)

Chapter 10 Chinese People's Republic (10 pp.)

Chapter 11 Korean Democratic People's Republic (11 pp.)
Contains a sub-section on the Korean War, the armistice and cease-fire negotiations.

Section 2 The International Communist Movement

Chapter 1 History of the Comintern (8 pp.)

2. Soviet Studies (Soren Kenkyu)
Vol. IV, No. 8 (40), August 1955

CONTENTS

Personal experiences of a diplomatic representative during the last days of the Revolution

Eyes on the Soviet Union (5 pp.)

Excerpts from Japanese and foreign press

1. Japanese newspaper editorials on the Japanese-Soviet Negotiations

2. Soviet Peace Offensive-Lowering of Soviet Prestige

3. Joint Nehru-Bulganin Announcement

4. Reorganization of Soviet Bloc-Dissolution of Cominform?

Soviet Chronology-June 1955 (2 pp.)

3. Continental Problems (Tairiku Mondai)
Vol. IV, Nos. 4 and 5, April and May 1955 Special Soviet Issue

CONTENTS

Analysis of the Soviet Political Change and Future Trends (17 pp.)

* DOI Akio

Cause of the Recent Political Change; Struggle for Power Also Vital Factor; Struggle for the Application of Marxism-Leninism; Future Domestic Developments; Future Foreign Policy; Future of Japanese-Soviet Relations; Significance of the Molotov Speech

New Soviet Defense Policy and the Rise of the Military (11 pp.)

* ASAI Isamu

New Defense Policy; Political Change and Rise of the Military

Industrial and Agricultural Problems in the Soviet Union Accompanying the Political Change (19 pp.)

IRIMURA Shoichi

Continental Problems Research Institute

Troubled Soviet Industry; Malenkov's Resignation and Soviet Agricultural Problems

Soviet Financial Policy in 1955 (7 pp.)

* IBE Masaichi

Materials For Japanese-Soviet Negotiations—Sakhalin and the Kuriles(8 pp.)

TANAKA Tadakatsu

Head of the Hokkaido Branch,Continental Problems Research Institute

Complete Text of Premier Bulganin's Address of February 9 to the Supreme Soviet (7 pp.)

The Active Moscow-Peking Axis (14 pp.)

IZAKI Kiyota

Continental Problems Research Institute

Questionnaire (33 pp.) Political Changes in the Soviet Union and Future Trends

Answers by more than thirty of the Institute's advisors and contributors, former military officers, journalists, businessmen and university professors.

Chinese Communist Military Service Laws (Part I) (10 pp.)

FURUTA Tokio-Continental Problems Research Institute

The Future of the Matsu and Quemoy Islands (5 pp.)
Continental Problems Research Institute
River Transportation in Communist China (8 pp.)
HAMANO Masaki
Continental Problems Research Institute
Materials on Asia (7 pp.)
Materials on the Soviet Union (5 pp.)
Readers' Column (2 pp.)

4. Soviet Jurisprudence (Sovueto Hogaku)
Vol. I, No. 1, May 1955

CONTENTS

Study of Soviet Jurisprudence in Japan (7 pp.)
FUJITA Isamu-Tokyo University, Social Science Research Institute
KIDA Jun'ichi
Some Problems of the Theory of State and Law (20 pp.)
VYSHINSKY, A. Ia.
Member, Soviet Academy of Sciences
On Vyshinsky's Theory of Law (7 pp.)
KIDA Jun'ichi
Important Soviet Laws and Decrees No. 1-The Law Regarding the Protection of Peace (translation)
Law and Morality (20 pp.)
M.Z. Selektor[?]
Translated by KIDA Jun'ichi
Translation from "Problems of Philosophy" (Voprosy Filosofii)
Essence of Law in Marxism-Leninism (I) (13 pp.)
Hermann Krenner[?]
Translated by YOSHIKAWA Tateo-Assistant Professor,
Hosei University
Book Reviews -"Theory of State and Law"
Soviet Academy of Sciences, Institute of Jurisprudence
Translated by FUJITA Isamu (2 volumes)
Review by SHIMIZU Mutsu
Research Assistant, Chuo University, School of Law

5. Soviet Economics (Soren Keizai)
Vol. I, No. 3, November 1, 1955

CONTENTS

The Three Conferences in Moscow (Negotiations between the Soviet Union and West Germany, East Germany and Finland (4 pp.)

Full Text of the Conference between the Japanese Diet Delegation and Bulganin and Khrushchev (8 pp.)
Record of the Japanese Diet Delegation's Visit to the Soviet Union (Part II) (7 pp.)
Trends in Soviet Agriculture - Overcoming its Backwardness (5 pp.)
Construction of Hydro - electric Plants at Kuibyshev and Stalingrad (with illustrations) (6 pp.)
Biography - Sketch of Prominent Personalities in the Soviet Economic World
A. I. Mikoyan (1 pp.)
Fashion Section (with photographs) (4 pp.)
Russian Cuisine Series (Part I) (1 pp.)
Bibliography - Introduction of New Publications
Development of Soviet Heavy Industry (Part II)
Published by the Alma Ata Academy of Sciences in 1954 (5 pp.)
Economic News from the Socialist Camp (6 pp.)
Short Story - The Ancient Truth (2 pp.)
Introduction of New Publications
Soviet Textbook of Economic Statistics (Part III) (8 pp.)
Profile of Industrial Cities - Komsomolsk and Nikolaevsk (1 pp.)
Friends of the Moscow Art Theater - by Vladimir (1 pp.)
Report - What Did the Soviet Agricultural Mission See in England? (4 pp.)
Minister for State Farms - I. Benediktov
Report - The Statement in Vladivostok of James Sinclair, Canadian Minister of Fisheries (1 pp.)
Materials - A Plan for the New Five-Year Plan by the Employees of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Works (8 pp.)
Review - Organization and Jurisdiction of the All-Union Trade Corporation (2 pp.)
Rumanian Industry and Its Distribution (9 pp.)
Illustrations and Cartoons from Krokodil.

6. Japan and the Soviet Union—Soviet News (Nihon to Sovueto—Sovueto Nyusu)

SOVIET NEWS No. 137, March 25, 1955

Page 1
Introduction of Our Culture Is Important for Japan - Soviet Friendship
Statement by Japan - Soviet Friendship Association Director Iwakami upon his Return to Japan (Photograph of Tokunaga Sunao and * Iwakami Jun'ichi upon arrival at Haneda)
70 Japanese Delegates Selected to Attend World Conference of Peace Lovers
Official Text of Secret Crimea (Yalta) Agreement
Provisional Translation of Foreign Ministry
Restoration of Scratched Film
(Soviet Discovery of a New Chemical to Restore Deteriorated Film)
Two Resolutions of the Executive Bureau of the World Peace Congress in Vienna

Radio Moscow Broadcast Schedule

Page 2 and 3
The Malenkov Resignation and Industrial Policy
(2 photographs of Soviet industrial plants and 3 of farming in the Soviet Union)
Increased Yield with Conservation of Labor Force
(As seen in a motion picture)

Page 4
Moscow's "Friend of Flowers"
Letter from Kiselev-"Information on Tulip Culture"
Oistrakh Concert
(Photograph of the Tokyo Concert of David Oistrakh)
Mutual Aid Society of Repatriates
Establishment Proceeds in Saga Prefecture
Biggest Canning Factory in Nakhodka
Soviet Song-Music Score of a Russian Folk Song
Announcements
(Russian language classes in Fukuoka, establishment of Japan-Soviet Friendship Association branches, etc.)
Requests for Soviet Motion Pictures
Congress of Society for the Study of Soviet Medicine
Soviet Methods of Welding Utilizing Sun Rays

SOVIET NEWS, No. 139, April 15, 1955

Page 1
Japanese-Soviet Negotiations Progress with Difficulty-Hampered by American Relations
Japan-Soviet Friendship Association Sends Classical Paintings to the Moscow Museum of Oriental Culture
(Photographs of 2 paintings)
Is There a Book for Me? — Spring Intoxicated Elephant
(Article and photograph of elephant visiting Moscow bookstore)
Soviet Motion Pictures Shown in a Morioka Village
Success of Moscow Ballet Group in Switzerland
Yamada Tokuko Selected by Japan-Soviet Friendship Association to Attend Peace Lovers Conference in Helsinki
Great Japanese Interest in Soviet Culture
Photograph of Association official addressing motion picture audience preceding showing of Soviet film

Pages 2 and 3
How is Cultural Exchange Proceeding?
Treated as Something Suspicious—If the Number of Books Would Increase
(Motion Pictures)
Music—An Historic Occasion-Oistrakh's Visit to Japan
Literature Leading Among Translations
Youth Art Exhibit

Scientific Exchange Away from the Rear Entrance At Last
Problems Still Remain
Russian Language - Enthusiasm Continues to Mount
On Exchange of Sports Teams
City Living - Women Barbers of Moscow - *IWAKAMI Jun'ichi
(with photograph)
Akutagawa Yasushi Composition Performed in Moscow (with photograph)
Program for a Soviet Literature Meeting Commemorating the Translation of "Quiet Flows the Don"
Oistrakh Has Taught Us - *INOUE Yoritoyo (with sketch)

Page 4
Schedule of Russian Language Classes in Tokyo, Chiba, Kobe, Otaru, Okayama, Fukuoka, Wakayama, Kyoto, Nagoya and Morioka
Cossack Voices Seeking Freedom—Motion Picture "Beyond the Danube"
(with photograph)
Schedule of Soviet Motion Picture Showings
List of Translations from the Russian for February
Announcement of Soviet Children's Art Exhibit
Soviet Song-Music Score of "From the Volga to the Don"
Notices and Announcements
(Local Japan-Soviet Friendship Association meetings, motion pictures, dance recitals, etc.)

SOVIET NEWS, No. 140, April 25, 1955

Page 1
Greetings - 26th May Day (Soviet Slogans)
Labor Delegation Visits Soviet Union
Participates in Moscow May Day Festivities
Friendship Improved Between Both Countries
Statement by Secretary - General Takano of the General Council of Japan Labor Unions
List of Japanese Labor Delegates to Moscow and Rumania
Dance Book Sent From Moscow
Let Us Send More Letters to the Soviet Union!—A National Railways Worker
Crowded Soviet Children's Art Exhibit—One Week Extension in Nagoya
United States Obstructs Economic Development of Japan
Dumping of Agricultural Products—Unjust Embargo
Statement by Soviet Delegate to ECAFE Conference
Notices (Short notices of new publications in the Soviet field)
Appeal Against Atomic War — Vienna Appeal
(Form to be cut out and sent to the Japan - Soviet Friendship Association with name, age, address and contribution, to support the Vienna Appeal)

Page 2
Preceding the Restoration of Diplomatic Relations
Recollections of Japanese and Soviet Workers

Incidents like the Katayama-Plekhanov handshake in Amsterdam in 1904, Japanese workers' agitation for the recognition of Soviets in 1923 paved the way for diplomatic relations

Publication of Dostoevsky's Works

Telegraphic Message from Sholokhov

Three Visitors to the Soviet Union

* Iwakami Jun'ichi, Tokunaga Sunao and Yoshida Kenji tell of the Soviet yearning for peace

Letter from a Moscow University Co-ed Majoring in Philosophy to Matsuo Yoshibashi

Meeting ECAFE Delegates—Japan-Soviet Trade Association

Publication of a Memorandum by a WFTU Delegate

Announcement of Local Japan-Soviet Friendship Association Meetings

City Living—Stories about Wrestling by *IWAKAMI Jun'ichi (Impressions of Japanese-Soviet Matches in Moscow with Photograph)

Page 3

Photographs-3/4 page spread on life in a Soviet mining town

Page 4

Let Public Opinion Triumph!

Artificial obstruction to the import of Soviet motion pictures

Strong Impression of Social Consciousness

Opinion of visitors to the Osaka Exhibit of Soviet Youth Art

Dance of Georgian Students (with photograph)

Shostakovich Admitted to Swedish Music Academy

Review of a Soviet Movie (with photograph)

Organizational Notices

Personal Notices

Missing persons—Request for information about a Japanese prisoner last reported in Komsomolsk Internment Camp

Soviet Songs

Music score and Japanese translation of "Katiusha"

JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION
No. 157, October 15, 1955

Page 1

Japan-Soviet Friendship Association's Board of Directors Urge the Resumption of Diplomatic Relations with the Soviet Union.

The Period from October 20—November 30 Designated as Japan-Soviet Friendship Month (includes programs of Soviet motion picture evenings, round-table conferences, seminars, choral concerts, social gatherings, etc. to be sponsored by the various city and prefectural Japan-Soviet Friendship Association groups)

Japan Physical Culture Association Invites Soviet Scholar to Japan

The Request of Japan-Soviet Friendship Association Transmitted to Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on October 5

Program of Second Evening of Soviet Music to be Held on November 12 under the Sponsorship of the J-SFA at Hibiya Hall, Tokyo

Soloist: *Inoue Yoritoyo and the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra
Program: Glinka's "Kamarinskaia", Prokofiev's "Romeo and Juliet" and Khachaturian's "Concerto for Cello"

Page 2

Article by Ballerina Matsuyama on impressions gained during a trip to Helsinki, Moscow and Peking; principally on drama and dance in Moscow (Photograph of Ulanova and Sergeev in a scene from "Romeo and Juliet")

Letter from *Inoue Mitsuru, dated October 7, 1955, from Peking, on meeting with Simonov and Agapov in Tashkent

Great success of the Takamatsu Branch, Tokyo of the J-SFA in presenting a motion picture evening in cooperation with the PTA and other organizations

Toyama Prefectural Branch of J-SFA schedules entertainment for Soviet sailors of the S. S. "Dniestr" undergoing repairs

Mingei Theatrical Troupe to present "Love Conquers Death," a Polish play concerning the "Rosenberg Incident"

Page 3

Opinions of Japanese Literati Regarding the Sholokhov Proposal (Yamagishi Gaishi, Nakamoto Takako, Eguchi Kan, Miyauchi Kanya, *Yonekawa Masao, Manabe Kureo and Sugimori Hisahide)

Great Success of West German 18-member Orchestral Group in Moscow (with photograph)

Song- "Golden Wheat" (music score)
Lyrics translated by *Inoue Yoritoyo

An Evening of Soviet Songs at a Japanese Steel Mill

Page 4

Entire page devoted to photographs of various Japanese delegations visiting the Soviet Union (National Diet members, scientists, labor union representatives, Congress of Mothers Group)

APPENDIX C

GENERAL PERIODICALS—
SPECIAL ISSUES ON THE SOVIET UNION

1. Japan Weekly (Nihon Shuho)
No. 332, July 5, 1955
Special Issue - The Inside Story of Japanese-Soviet Negotiations

CONTENTS

The Bungling Diplomatic Technique of Envoy Komura (6 pp.)
INOMATA Keitaro
A review of the Portsmouth Conference and the role of Foreign Minister Komura.

The Society of Anti-Russian Friends and the Hibiya Arson Incident
KONO Kiichi
An account by one of the participants of the incident which followed the conclusion of the Portsmouth Treaty

The Nikolaevsk Tragedy and the Failure of the Siberian Expedition (6 pp.)
*NAKAYAMA Sadao

Goto Shimpei and the Suicide of Adolph Joffe (6 pp.)
*KURODA Otokichi
The Goto-Joffe talks of 1923 and the circumstances surrounding Joffe's suicide by a man who had interviewed Joffe only three days before his death in 1927.

An Expose of the Yoshizawa-Karakhan Negotiations (6 pp.)
*SHIGEMORI Tadashi
The negotiations for the restoration of formal diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Japan conducted in Peking in 1924.

How I Bought the North Manchurian Railway - While Fighting the Army(6 pp.)
OHASHI Chuichi
Member, House of Representatives, Former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Vice-Minister of the Manchukuo Department of Foreign Affairs.

The Japan-Soviet Neutrality Pact - A Home Coming Gift (5 pp.)
*YAMAGUCHI Suteji
By the Japanese naval attache in Moscow.

The Tragedy of Japan, Led by Careless Men (5 pp.)
*AMAU Eiji
Criticism of the naivete of Japanese statesmen and diplomats who in their attempts to end the war were deceived by the Soviets.

On Top of Deceit A Declaration of War! (14 pp.)
KATAOKA Koji

General Yamada Otozo and the "Germ Warfare Trial" (1 pp.)

Cold Water on the Hatoyama Diplomacy - The Territorial Issue (4 pp.)
*WATANABE Mikio

2. Japan and the Japanese (Nihon Oyobi Nihonjin)
Vol. VI, No. 7 (1837) July 1, 1955

Special Feature Section—The Aims and Significance of the Restoration of Relations Between Japan and the Soviet Union

On the Restoration of Diplomatic Relations Between Japan and the Soviet Union (8 pp.)
MAEHARA Mitsuo
Professor, Keio University
Analysis of the reasons behind the Soviet move and Japan's position.

Issues Involved in the Restoration of Diplomatic Relations Between Japan and the Soviet Union (8 pp.)
TANAKA Naokichi
Professor, Hosei University
Significance of the Japan-Soviet negotiations and the principal issues: Territorial question, fisheries, repatriation, admission to the UN, trade, non-interference in domestic affairs and neutrality.

Statement Regarding the Restoration of Diplomatic Relations Between Japan and the Soviet Union (10 pp.)
UEDA Shinkichi
Former Attorney-General
Interview touching upon the restoration of relations, American defense policies regarding Japan, and Japanese Communist intrigue. Strongly anti-Soviet and anti-Communist.

Past and Present Conditions of the Northern Fisheries
Editorial Staff (9 pp.)
Includes map of fishing grounds and statistics on prewar and postwar fisheries.

The Japan-Soviet Negotiations and Coexistence (4 pp.)
NAKANISHI Shigeshi
Director, World Flux Research Institute
Soviet domestic problems and their relation to Japan-Soviet negotiations.

The Cultures of Russia and China (8 pp.)
ASANO Akira
The impact of Russian (including Soviet) and Chinese literature and ideology on Japan and other Asian nations.

The other 47 pages of this issue deal mostly with Japanese literature.

3. The Central Review (Chuo Koron)
August 1955, Vol. LXX, No. 8

Special Feature Section—Soviet Foreign Policy

Soviet Diplomacy from the Revolution to World War II (9 pp.)
*MARUYAMA Masao

Soviet Diplomacy Since World War II (13 pp.)
* SAKATA Jiro

Round-table Discussion - Undercurrent of Soviet Diplomacy (12 pp.)
Chairman: MAEDA Yoshinori
Participants: * SAKATA Jiro, * HAYASHI Saburo, * FUJISE Goro, MATSUMOTO Shigeharu
Emphasizes the unchanging objective of Soviet policy in spite of seeming surface changes.

In Addition, this Issue Contains the Following Articles Related to the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union and Communist China As I Saw Them (7 pp.)
KUWAHARA Takeo
Interviewed by YOSHIKAWA Kojiro
An account of Kuwahara's trip to the Soviet Union and Communist China with emphasis on literature and culture.

One Month of Japan-Soviet Negotiations (1 pp.)

The Heart of the Kuriles-Sakhalin Issue (11 pp.)
MORIZAWA Masateru
Mainly a historical resume of the controversy.

Peaceful Coexistence (3 articles) and Japanese-American Economic Balance Sheet are among the other articles of this 312 page issue.

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Special Feature Section—The Difficult Japan-Soviet Negotiations

What to Emphasize in Our Negotiations (9 pp.)
TABATA Shigejiro
Professor, Law School, Kyoto University
Asserts that the Kuriles-Sakhalin issue is of paramount importance.

Those Who Hope for the Breakdown of the Japanese-Soviet Negotiations (7 pp.)
HACHINAN Saburo
Writer contends that there are forces both within and outside of Japan which desire that the negotiations be drawn out in order that they may be utilized as propaganda against the Soviets.

Foreign Opinion on the Japanese-Soviet Negotiations (4 pp.)
HINOKI Kensuke

Japan and the Soviet Union (7 pp.)
An interview of E. M. Zhukov (member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Soviet delegate to the World Peace Conference for the Prohibition of Atomic Weapons) by INOUE Kiyoshi (member, Historical Research Association) touching upon the history of Japanese-Soviet relations, aspects of Japanese society, imperialism, etc.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF ARTICLES (INCLUDING TRANSLATIONS) IN THE RUSSIAN FIELD (SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES ONLY) PUBLISHED OCTOBER—DECEMBER 1954

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Ushiba Nobuhiko and Yamashita Taketoshi, "Public Report of the Soviet Economy Inspection Group," Keizai to Gaiko (Economy and Diplomacy) No. 192, 10 pp.

Vaganov, V., "State Trade Monopolies of the Countries of the Soviet Bloc," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 6 pp.

Yakumo Yoshitoshi, "Financial Planning of Soviet Railroads," Unyu to Keizai (Transportation and Economy), Vol. XIV, No. 10, 11 pp.

Yamaguchi Keishiro, "Recent National Budget and Economy in the Soviet Union," Keizai Riron (Economic Theory) No. 22, 21 pp.

Yamamoto Akira, "Problems in Soviet Commerce and Labor - Gogol', B.I., 'On Labor, Labor Force and Wages,'" Keiei Kenkyu (Management Research), No. 16, 28 pp.

Yamamoto Shigeo, "The Soviet Wage System and 'Excessive Profits,'" Ekonomisuto (Economist), Vol. XXXII, No. 48, 4 pp.

* Yasuhira Tetsuji, "On the New Trend in Soviet Independent Profit System and in the Revision of the Wage System," Denki Tsushin Keiei Geppo (Electrical Communications Management Monthly), No. 63, 10 pp.

Yoshida Nobukuni, "Visiting Soviet Factories," Zei to Zai (Taxes and Finance), Vol. XI, No. 12, 4 pp.

Yoshinobu Susumu, "Marx's Critique of Economics and Lenin's 'Imperialism,'" Keizai Ronso (Essays on Economics), Vol. LXXIV, No. 5, 17 pp.

Yuki Seigo, "Soviet Location of Industry - Dobb's Theory," Shin Chiri (New Geography), Vol. III, No. 1, 6 pp.

"Construction Plans for Linking the Chinese and Soviet Railroads," Gaikoku Kotsu Chosa Shiryo (Foreign Transportation Study Material), Vol. VIII, No. 10, 10 pp.

"The Economy of the Soviet Bloc," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 1 pp.

"11th All-Union Trade Unions Conference," Kaigai Rodo Keizai Geppo (Foreign Labor Economics Monthly), Vol. IV, No. 12, 5 pp.

"On Fixed Assets of Soviet Railroads," Gaikoku Kotsu Chosa Shiryo (Foreign Transportation Study Materials), Vol. VIII, No. 10, 9 pp.

"Heinrich Hassman's 'Oil in the Soviet Union' -Book Review," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 30, 1 pp.

"The Present Economic Situation of the Soviet Bloc," Soren Geppo (Soviet Monthly), No. 208, 23 pp.

"Problems Regarding the Production of Consumer Goods in the Soviet Union," Kaigai Keizai Jijo (Overseas Economic News), No. 161, 4 pp.

"The Production Norms and Wages in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe-Performance Pay in the Construction Industry," ILO Jiho (ILO Report), Vol. VI, No. 1, 20 pp.

"Recent Shifts in Soviet Economy," Kaigai Keizai Jijo (Overseas Economic News), No. 158, 3 pp.

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"Soviet Iron and Steel Industry: Actual Conditions and Problems," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 31 and 32, 22 pp.

8. Agriculture

Abe Yaji, "Soviet Policy Toward Kulaks," Ritsumeikan Keizaigaku (Ritsumeikan University Economics), Vol. III, No. 1, 22 pp.

Ashcroft, E., "Food Shortage Plagues the Soviet Union," Toyo Keizai Shimpo (Oriental Economist), No. 2647, 2 pp.

Azumai Kimpei, "Vasilii Golovnin's Treatise on Japanese Agriculture," Nogyo Sogo Kenkyu (Agricultural Research), Vol. VIII, No. 4, 18 pp.

Kalinichenko, L.A., Mishima Cho (trans.), "The Michurin Theory as a Basis for All Biological Sciences," Ringyo Keizai (Forestry Economics), Vol. VII, Nos. 9, 10, and 12, 18 pp.

Luiskin[?], N., Kurata Tei (trans.), "New Problems in the Development of Kolkhoz Production," Nogyo to Keizai (Agriculture and Economy), Vol. XX, No. 11, 13 pp.

9. Current Affairs

Hasegawa Uichi, "Who is Ignorant?" Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 31, 4 pp.

* Hayashi Saburo, "Present Condition of the Soviet Far Eastern Forces," Kokkai (National Diet), Vol. VII, No. 10, 3 pp.

Irimura Shoichi, "Exposing the Religious Policy of the Soviet Union," Tairiku (The Continent), No. 33, 7 pp.

* Maruyama Naomitsu, "A Glimpse of the Soviet Union in 1955," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 7 pp.

Mizutsu Mitsuru, "The Relative Importance of the Soviet Far East," Tairiku (The Continent), No. 33, 13 pp.

Nishimura Naomi, "Presenting the Real Situation in the Soviet Union to the Japanese People," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 30,2 pp.

Nishimura Naomi and Others, "The Real Situation in the Soviet Union and Communist China: Round-table Conference," Seikai Orai (Politics), Vol. XX, No. 10, 13 pp.

* Ogoshi Kenji, "Soviet Anti-Religious Propaganda," Tairiku (The Continent), No. 34, 2 pp.

XYZ, "The Soviet Report," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 30-32, 10 pp.

"Eyes on the Soviet Union," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Union), No. 30-32, 29 pp.

"Important Developments in and Involving the Soviet Union," Soren Geppo (Soviet Monthly), No. 207-209, 431 pp.

"Louis B. Ely's 'The Red Army Today'—Book Review," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 1 pp.

"The New Soviet Sea," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 31, 1 pp.

"Soviet Chronology," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 30-32, 9 pp.

"Soviet Experiments with Atomic Weapons are a New Contribution to a Lasting Peace," Koan Joho (Public Peace Report), No. 14, 7 pp.

"Soviet Materials," Tairiku (The Continent), No. 33-34, 8 pp.

"A Summary of Soviet Domestic and Foreign Developments in 1954," Soren Geppo (Soviet Monthly), No. 209, 37 pp.

"The Wish of the Soviet People," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 30, 4 pp.

10. Travel Accounts and Recollections

* Ando Yoshiro, "Mr. Hirota in Moscow," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 3 pp.

Endo Shokichi and Sonoda Naoshi, "Beyond the Door: Interview," Domei Jiho (Domei Report), No. 141, 8 pp.

Fukushima Yoichi, "Moscow-Peking-Pyongyang," Kaizo (Reconstruction), Vol. XXXV, No. 11, 9 pp.

Imai Jiro, "Fishing in the Vicinity of Moscow," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 31, 3 pp.

Iwatake Teruhiko, "The Soviet Union As I Saw It," Daiyamondo (Diamond), Vol. XLII, No. 45, 4 pp.

Iwatake Teruhiko, "Conditions in the Soviet Union as I Saw Them," Shin Nihon Keizai (Economy of New Japan), Vol. XVIII, No. 12, 9 pp.

* Kuroda Otokichi, "Forty Years in Russian Affairs—No. 20—Petrograd the Year Before the Great Revolution," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 5 pp.

* Kuroda Otokichi, "Forty Years in Russian Affairs—No. 19—Down the Volga," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 31, 5 pp.

Matsuura Shutaro, "Soviet Experiences," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 5 pp.

Morishita Setsu, "The Boss of a Dark Soviet Street," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 30, 5 pp.

Nomura Jiichiro, "Recollections of Moscow," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies) No. 31, 4 pp.

* Ogoshi Kenji, "A Story About Stalin," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 3 pp.

* Ono, Shun'ichi, "The Dacha of Professor Pavlov," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 30, 4 pp.

Sakurauchi Yoshio, "Women and Youth in the Soviet Union and Communist China," Seishonen Mondai (Youth Problems), Vol. I, No. 4, 5 pp.

Samoilov, "World's Largest Fish," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 31, 2 pp.

Shimizu Ikutaro, "The Soviet Union and China as I Saw Them," Fujin Koron (Women's Review), Vol. XXXIX, No. 10, 4 pp.

Tanaka Toshio, "Country of Mystery—The Soviet Union," Chuo Koron (Central Review), Vol. LXIX, No. 11, 6 pp.

Tsukada Taku, "Bachinki—Russian Shoes," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 2 pp.

Ushiba Nobuhiko, "Life of the Soviet Masses," Bungei Shunju (Literary Annals), Vol. XXXII, No. 18, 7 pp.

Utsunomiya Tokuma, "My Impressions of the Soviet Union," Keizai Jidai (Economic Age), Vol. XIX, No. 10, 5 pp.

* Yamaguchi Suteji, "Tennis in Kuibyshev," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 30, 3 pp.

Yanadori Miyoshi, "A Strange Country, Russia," Soren Kenkyu (Soviet Studies), No. 32, 3 pp.

Yanagida Kenjuro, "Regarding New Morals—Impressions of a Trip to Communist China and the Soviet Union," Heiwa (Peace), No. 30, 8 pp.

APPENDIX E

SELECTED LIST OF NON-CLASSIFIED JAPANESE GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE RUSSIAN FIELD, 1946—1950

(Selection generally limited to the U.S.S.R. Does not include texts of treaties and agreements concerning the Soviet Union; speeches and statements by Soviet officials; reprints of U.S. source materials on Russia; nor documents recognizable as translations from Western languages. Only a few translations from the Russian have been included.)

1. The Soviet Economy

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Second Section

Price System in the Soviet Union (Sovuieto Rempo ni Okeru Kakaku to Kakaku Keisei), Choni Shiryo 46, 1946. 108 pp.

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Third Section

Decision on Kolkhoz Farms' Seed Supply Through Home Seed Production (Jikasan Shushi ni Yoru Koruhozu-yo Shushi no Kakuho ni Kansuru Kettei), Chosan Shiryo No. 44, 1947.

Soviet Economic Development and Reconstruction Plan (Soren Kokumin Keizai Fukko Kaihatsu Keikaku), Chosan Shiryo No. 6, 1947. (Followed by numerous similar reports for later periods.)

1947 Second Quarter Results of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (Daiyonji Gokanen Keikaku 1947 Daini Shihanki Jisseki), Chosan Shiryo No. 24, 1947. (Followed by numerous similar reports for later periods.)

Monetary Reform and Abolition of the Ration Ticket System in the Soviet Union (Soren no Tsuka Kaikaku to Kippu Seido Haishi), Chosan Shiryo No. 53, 1947.

The 1948 Soviet State Budget and the Results of the 1946 Soviet State Budget (1948-nendo Sorempo Kokka Yosan Narabini 1946-nendo Soren Kokka Yosan Jikko), Chosan Shiryo No. 66, 1948. Mimeo.

Soviet Currency and the 1947 Monetary Reform (Sovuieto Keizai Seido ni Okeru Kahei to 1947-nendo Tsuka Kaikaku), Chosan Shiryo No. 67, 1948. Mimeo.

Decision of Union Council of Ministers Concerning Improvement of Organization and Wages on Kolkhoz Farms (Koruhozu ni Okeru Soshiki to Rochin no Kaizen ni Kansuru Rempo Daijin Kaigi Kettei), Chosan Shiryo No. 78, 1948. 8 pp.

Ural and Eastern Region Steel Industry Conference (Uraru Oyobi Tobu Chiho Seitetsu-gyo Kankei-sha Kaigi), Chosan Shiryo No. 97, 1948.

Achievements of the Soviet National Plan of 1948 (Sorempo no 1948-nendo Kokka Keikaku Suiko Jokyo), Chosan Shiryo No. 104, 1949. 29 pp. Mimeo.

The Lysenko Theory (Ruisenko Gakusetsu), Chosan Shiryo No. 109, 1949. Mimeo.

Voznesensky's Theory of Value (Vuozunensensuki no Kachi Riron), Chosan Shiryo No. 112, 1949.

"The Soviet Union and International Economics" Research Material No. 1 The Varga Controversy and the Trend of Postwar Capitalist Economy ("Sorempo to Kokusai Keizai" Kenkyu Shiryo Daiichi-hen Vuoruga Ronso to Sengo Shihonshugi Keizai no Doko), Chosan Shiryo No. 128, 1949.

Soviet Industrial Policies (Sorempo no Kogyo Seisaku), Chosan 4701, 1947. 98 pp.

Economic Structure of the Soviet Union (Sorempo no Keizai Kiko to sono Un'ei), Chosan 4707, 1947. 67 pp.

Statistical Data on the Soviet National Economy (Sorempo Kokumin Keizai Tokei-shu), Chosan 4711, 1948. 138 pp.

Soviet Foreign Trade (Sorempo no Gaikoku Boeki), Chosan 4801, 1948. 61 pp.

Estimated Maximum Production of Soviet Basic Industries (Soren Kiso Sangyo Seisandaka Suitei — Saidaigen Suitei), 1948. Mimeo.

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Fourth Section

Soviet Trade with the West (Soren no Tai-Seiho Boeki), ERP Kankei Shiryo-shu 2, 1950. 12 pp. Mimeo.

Economic Stabilization Board

Wartime Economy Measures in Soviet Industry (Soren Kogyo ni Okeru Senjika no Setsuyaku Taisei), 1947. 16 pp. Mimeo.

Recent Situation in the Vital Industries of Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union (Saikin ni Okeru Nichi-Bei-So Sankoku no Juyo Sangyo Gaikyo), Keichonai Shiryo No. 2, 1947. 19 pp.

Who Will Win the Reconstruction Race—The Meaning of Soviet Economic Recovery (Izure ga Saiken Kyoso ni Uchikatsu ka—Soren Keizai no Fukko No Imi), Keichogai Shiryo 23-36, 1948. 27 pp.

Significance of the Soviet Monetary Reform (Soren no Tsuka Kaikaku no Igi), Keichogai Shiryo No. 15, 1948. 16 pp.

Industrial Management in the Soviet Union (Sorempo ni Okeru Kogyo Kanri), Kaigai Shiryo No. 23, 1948. 38 pp.

Soviet Monetary Reform (Sovuieto no Tsuka Kaikaku), Keichogai Shiryo No. 31, 1947. 25 pp.

Postwar Soviet Finances (Sengo no Soren Zaisei), Keichogai Shiryo No. 39, 1948. 54 pp.

Volume of Chinese-Soviet Trade in 1950 (1950-nen ni Okeru Chu-So Boeki no Ryo-teki Sokutei), Keichogai Shiryo No. 45, 1950. 38 pp.

Soviet State Planning Committee — Gosplan (Sorempo Kokka Keikaku Iinkai-Rempo Gosupuran), 1948. 31 pp. Mimeo.

Agriculture and Forestry Ministry

1922 Land Law of the U.S.S.R. — A.A. Luzhanitsin [?] (1922-nen Roshiya Shakaishugi Rempo Sovueto Kyowakoku Tochi-ho — A.A. Rujiyanitsuin), 1949. 92 pp.

Soviet Agriculture (Sovuieto no Nogyo to sono Seisaku), Chosa Shiryo No. 94, 1950. 153 pp.

Construction Ministry

Basic Soviet Policy on City Planning (Toshi Keikaku ni Taisuru Sovuieto Seifu no Kihon Hoshin)

Transportation Ministry

Railroad Management in England and the Soviet Union (Ei-So ni Okeru Tetsudo Kanri Soshiki), 1948. 19 pp.

Japanese National Railways

Analysis of Transportation Costs on Soviet Railroads (Soren Tetsudo ni Okeru Yuso Genka no Keisan to sono Bunseki), Dokuritsu Saisansei Sanko Shiryo 1, 1950. 440 pp.

National Diet Library, Legislative Reference Bureau

Taxes in the Soviet Union (Sovuieto Rempo no Sozei), Kokuchoritsu Shiryo B-40, 1949. 48 pp. Mimeo.

2. Foreign Affairs

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Second Section

Soviet Policy Toward Australia (Soren no Tai-Osutorariya Seisaku), 1946. Mimeo.

Record of Soviet Foreign Policy (Soren Gaiko Seisaku-shi), Soren Sekai Seisaku Kenkyu Sanko Shiryo, 1946. Mimeo. (431 pp. in six parts.)

Soviet World Policy (Soren no Sekai Seisaku), Choni 4612, 1946. 91 pp. Mimeo.

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Third Section

Soviet Views Regarding the Moscow Foreign Ministers' Conference (Mosukuwa Gaisho Kaigi ni Taisuru Soren-gawa no Kenkai), Chosan Shiryo No. 4, 1947. Trans.

Settlement of Problems Concerning the US — Soviet Weapons Loan Negotiations (Bei-So Bunki Taiyo Kessai Kosho Mondai), Chosan Shiryo No. 5, 1947.

The Record of the Stalin — Stassen Conference (Sutarin — Sutassen Kaidan Roku), Chosan Shiryo No. 15, 1947. Trans.

Recent Soviet Comments Concerning Japan (Soren Saikin no Tai-Nichi Rompyo), Chosan Shiryo No. 17, 1947. Mimeo.

Recent Developments in the India Situation and the Soviet Stand (Indo Mondai Saikin no Tenkai to Soren no Taido), Chosan Shiryo No. 20, 1947.

The Sinkiang Incident and Soviet Moves (Shinkyo Jiken to Soren no Ugoki), Chosan Shiryo No. 26, 1947.

Ia. Pevzner — "Japan, Two Years After the Surrender"(Ya. Peuzuneru Fukko Ninen-go no Nihon), Chosan Shiryo No. 39, 1947. Mimeo.

Concerning Preparations for the Japan Peace Treaty — Khabarovsk Broadcast (Tai-Nichi Kowa no Jumbi ni Tsuite — Habarofusuku Hoso), Chosan Shiryo No. 54, 1948.

Soviet Release of Wartime Diplomatic Documents (So-gawa Happyo no Senji Gaiko Shiryo), Chosan Shiryo No. 96, 1948.

The Danube Conference and the Soviet Union (Donau Kaigi to Soren),

Chosan Shiryo No. 105, 1949. Mimeo.

List of Postwar Treaties Between the Soviet Union and the Satellite Countries (Sengo ni Okeru Soren Oyobi Eisei Shokoku no Kankei Joyaku-hyo), Chosan 4755, 1947. 24 pp. Mimeo.

Soviet Foreign Economic Policies (Soren no Taigai Keizai Seisaku), 1947. 34 pp.

Postwar Soviet Diplomacy - 1947 Report, Part 2 (Sengo no Soren Gaiko — 1947 - nendo Shitsumu Hokoku Daini-bu), Chosan 4714, 1948. 308 pp.

The Soviet Union and Poland — The Psychology of the Eastern Alliance (Soren to Porando — Toho Domei no Shinri), 1948. 12 pp. Mimeo.

Soviet Diplomacy (Soren no Gaiko), 1949. 97 pp.

The Paris Foreign Ministers Conference from the Standpoint of Soviet Diplomatic Tactics (Soren no Gaiko Senjutsu kara Mita Pari Gaisho Kaigi), 1949. 3 pp. Mimeo.

Foreign Ministry, Treaty Bureau

Legal Significance of the Seating of the Soviet Delegate as Chairman of the Security Council (Soren Daihyo o Anzen Hosho Rijikai ni Gicho to shite Shusseki suru koto no Horitsu-teki Igi), 1950, 10 pp. Mimeo.

Foreign Ministry, Information Department

Confrontation of Two Democracies - the Soviet Union and UNESCO (Soren to Yunesuko — Futatsu no Demokurashi no Tairitsu), 1949. 6 pp. Mimeo.

Details of Stalin — Truman Meetings Following World War II (Dainiji Taisen-go Sutarin, Toruman Kaiken Mondai no Keii), Joho-bu Memo No. 2, 1949.

Chinese-Soviet Commercial Treaty and Its Prospects (Chu-So Kyokuchi Tsusho Joyaku no Tembo), Joho-bu Memo No. 14, 1949.

Changes in Soviet Policies for Control of East Germany (Soren no Todoku Kanri Seisaku no Suii), Joho-bu Memo No. 87, 1949. Mimeo.

Chronology of Soviet Diplomacy by Areas — 1949 (1949-nen no Soren Gaiko Chiiki-betsu Nempyo), Joho-bu Memo 111, 1950. Mimeo.

Recent Moves Concerning Direct Negotiations Between [the Countries of] Western Europe and the Soviet Union (Seio Tai-Soren Chokusetsu Kosho Mondai ni Kansuru Saikin no Ugoki), Joho-bu Memo No. 133, 1950.

Economic Stabilization Board

Why Does the Soviet Union Fight the Marshall Plan (Soren wa Naze Mashiyaru-an ni Kosen suru ka), Keichogai Shiryo No. 25, 1947. 3 pp.

Soviet Methods of Control in North Korea and Their Significance — Soviet Far Eastern Policy and the Future of Japan (Soren no Hokusen Kanri Hoshiki to sono Igi — Soren no Kyokuto Seisaku to Nihon no Shorai), Keichogai Shiryo No. 26, 1948. 15 pp.

Three Chinese-Soviet Agreements Concerning Sinkiang Province (Shinkyo-sho ni Kansuru Mittsu no Chu-So Kyotei), Keichogai Shiryo No. 50, 1950. 38 pp.

National Diet Library, Legislative Reference Bureau

Postwar Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union (Sengo Soren no Taigai Seisaku), Kokuchoritsu Shiryo B - 23, 1949. 217 pp.

3. Education and Cultural Affairs

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Second Section

Soviet Education (Soren no Kyoiku), Choni 4626, 1946. 40 pp. Mimeo.

Public Nursery System—Compiled by Soviet People's Committee on Education (Takuji-sho—Sorempo Kyoiku Jimmin Iinbu-hen), 1950. 421 pp. Trans.

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Third Section

Pan-Slavism and the Neo-Slav Movement (Han-Surabu Shugi to Shin-Surabu Undo), Chosan 4708, 1946. 52 pp.

1946 Stalin Prize Awards (1946 Sutarin Sho no Juyo), Chosan Shiryo No. 23, 1947.

Fadeev's Article Concerning Soviet Literature (Sovuieto Bungaku no Arikata ni Kansuru Fuedeefu no Rombun) Chosan Shiryo No. 35, 1947.

1947 Stalin Prize and Soviet Arts (1947-nendo Sutarin Sho to Soren Geijutsu no Arikata), Chosan Shiryo No. 71, 1948. 34 pp. Mimeo.

Broadcasting in the Soviet Union (Soren ni Okeru Hoso Jigyo), Chosan Shiryo No. 57, 1948. Mimeo.

Concerning the 1947 Stalin Prizes for Science, Invention and Improvement of Production Methods (1947-nendo Kagaku Oyobi Hatsumei, Seisan Shudan Kairyo Bumon Sutarin Sho ni Tsuite), Chosan Shiryo No. 76, 1948. 35 pp.

Criticism of the Soviet Music World by the Party Central Committee and Soviet Music (Soren Gakudan ni Taisuru To Chuo Iinkai no Hihan to Sovuieto Ongaku), Chosan Shiryo No. 77, 1948. 33 pp. Mimeo.

Advanced Science of the Stalin Period (Sutarin Jidai no Senshin-teki Kagaku), Chosan Shiryo No. 85, 1948.

Education Ministry

Outline of the Soviet Educational System (Soren Kyoiku Seido no Gaikyo), Chosa Shiryo No. 11, 1947.

Improved Treatment of School Employees in the Soviet Union (Soren ni Okeru Gakko Kyoshokuin no Taigu Kaizen), Chosa Shiryo No. 15, 1947. Mimeo.

Social and Cultural Expenditures in the 1947 Soviet Budget (1947-nendo Sorempo Kokka Yosan-an-chu no Shakai Bunka Jigyo-hi), Chosa Shiryo No. 16, 1947. Mimeo.

Restoration of Cultural Facilities in War-damaged Areas in the Soviet Union (Sorempo Sensai Chiku no Bunka Setsubi no Fukko), Chosa Shiryo No. 34, 1947.

Soviet Education and American Education (Soren no Kyoiku to Amerika no Kyoiku), Chosa Shiryo No. 82, 1947.

History of Women's Higher Education in the Soviet Union (Sovueto ni Okeru Joshi Koto Kyoiku no Rekishi), Chosa Shiryo No. 95, 1947. 8 pp. Mimeo.

Youth Guidance in the Soviet Union (Sorempo ni Okeru Seishonen no Hodo),

Chosa Shiryo 101, 1948. 9 pp. Mimeo.

Concerning School Activities During the 1947-48 Academic Year and Educational Problems of the 1948-49 Academic Year in the R. S. F. S. R. (Roshia Kyowakoku no 1947-48 Gakunendo no Gakko Katsudo to 1948-49 Gakunendo no Gakko no Tomen no Kadai ni Tsuite), Chosa Shiryo No. 125, 1948. 14 pp.

Teacher Training in the Soviet Union (Sovueto no Shihan Kyoiku), Chosa Shiryo No. 130, 1949. 8 pp.

Schools for Non-Russians, 1931-1940 (1931-nen kara 1940-nen made no Hi-Roshia-jin Gakko), Chosa Shiryo No. 135, 1948. 14 pp. Mimeo.

History of Russian Education - Part I (Roshia Kyoiku-shi - Daiichi-bu), Chosa Shiryo No. 137, 1949.

Soviet High Schools (Sovuietto no Chugakko), Chosa Shiryo No. 139, 1949. 15 pp.

Legislation Pertaining to Soviet Higher Technical Schools (Sobietto no Koto Semmon Gakko-ho Tsukei), Chosa Shiryo No. 155, 1949. 15 pp.

School Inspection in the Soviet Union (Sovueto no Shigaku ni Tsuite), Chosa Shiryo No. 160, 1949. 40 pp.

National Diet Library, Legislative Reference Bureau

Cultural Policies, Centered on Education, of the United States, England and the Soviet Union (Kyoiku o Chushin to suru Shogaikoku no Bunka Seisaku — Bei Ei So), Kokuchoritsu Shiryo B - 68, 1950. 225 pp.

4. The Soviet System

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Second Section

Basic Character of the Soviet Union (Soren no Kihon-teki Seikaku), Choni 4611, 1946. 144 pp. Mimeo.

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Third Section

Soviet Constitution and Chinese Constitution — Yamanouchi Ichiro* (Soren Kempo to Chugoku Kempo), Nikka Gakugei Kondankai Reikai Happyo, 1946. 14 pp. Mimeo.

National Character of the Russian People (Roshia-jin no Minzoku-sei), Chosan 4703, 1947. 32 pp.

Organization of Soviet Supreme State Organs and All-Union Communist Party Central Organs (Sorempo Saiko Kokka Kikan Oyobi Rempo Kyosanto Chuo Kikan no Kosei), Chosan 4706, 1947. 51 pp.

Concerning the Abolition of the Death Sentence and Partial Revision of the Soviet Criminal Code (Soren ni Okeru Shikei Haishi to Ichibu Keiho no Kaisei ni Tsuite), Chosan Shiryo No. 18, 1947.

Treaty Conclusion and Ratification Procedures in the Soviet Union (Sorempo ni Okeru Joyaku no Teiketsu Oyobi Hijun Tetsuzuki), Chosan Shiryo No. 32, 1947.

Election Rules for R. S. F. S. R. Soviets (Roshiya Kyowakoku Sovuieto Senkyo Kitei), Chosan Shiryo No. 52, 1947.

E. Varga's "New-style Democracy" — No. 3, 1947 "World Economy and International Politics" (I. Vuaruga "Atarashii Kata no Minshushugi" "Sekai Keizai Sekai Seiji" 1947-nen Dai-3-go), Chosan Shiryo Gogai, 1948. 31 pp. Mimeo.

Varga's "Thirty Years of Socialism and Capitalism" (Vuoruga "30-nenkan ni Okeru Shakaishugi to Shihonshugi"), Chosan Shiryo No. 72, 1948.
People's Courts Election Law in the R.S.F.S.R. (Roshiya Kyowakoku Jimmin Saiban-sho Senkyo-ho no Seido), Chosan Shiryo No. 101, 1948. 28 pp. Mimeo.
Soviet Elections and Election Laws (Soren ni Okeru Senkyo to Senkyo-ho), Chosan 4751, 1947. 25 pp. Mimeo.

Foreign Ministry, Treaty Bureau
Soviet Constitution (Sorempo Kempo), 1946. 34 pp. Mimeo.

Education Ministry
The Systems of Honors and Awards in England, France, the Soviet Union and China (Ei-Futsu-So-Ka Yonkoku no Eiten Seido Gaiyo), Chosa Shiryo 48, 1947. Mimeo.
Thirty Years of Soviet Rule (Sovueto Seiken 30-nen no Jisso), Shiryo Tokushu 6, 1948. 10 pp. Mimeo.
Revision (1947) of the Soviet Constitution (Sorempo Kempo no Kaisei "1947"), Chosa Shiryo 12, 1948. Mimeo.

Finance Ministry
Soviet Financial Laws (Sovueto Zaimu-ho), 1948. 184 pp.

Welfare Ministry
Introduction to Soviet Social Insurance - 1949 (Sorempo Kokka Shakai Hoken no Tebiki - 1949-nempan), Chosa Shiryo No. 21, 1950. 63 pp.

Attorney-General's Office
Collection of Soviet Labor Legislation (Sovuieto Rempo no Rodo Hoki-shu), Homu Shiryo No. 305, 1950. 170 pp.

House of Councillors, Welfare Committee
Research Materials Concerning the Social Security System (Shakai Hosho Seido ni Kansuru Chosa Shiryo), Vol. 1 - 3, 1950. (Includes Social Security in the Soviet Union and Outline of the Medical System in the Soviet Union.)

5. Current Affairs

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Second Section
Recent Political Situation in the Soviet Union (Saikin no Soren Kokunai Seiji Josei), Choni 4613, 1946. 47 pp. Mimeo.

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Third Section
Impressions of Stalin (Sutarin no Insho), Chosan Shiryo No. 1, 1947.
Visit to Italy of Soviet Women's Representatives (Soren Fujin Daihyo no Ho-I), Chosan Shiryo No. 8, 1947.
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Soviet Editorial Comments Concerning the Tokyo Trials (Tokyo Saiban ni

Taisuru So-gawa no Rompyo), Chosan Shiryo No. 30, 1947.
25th Anniversary of the Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Republic and Its Present State (Buriyato-Mongoru Jichi Kyowakoku Soritsu 25-shunen to sono Gensei), Chosan Shiryo No. 87, 1948.

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Soviet Trends (Soren Doko), September 1945 to April 1946. Mimeo.
Postwar Domestic Situation in the Soviet Union (Sengo ni Okeru Soren no Kokunai Josei), 1946. 18 pp. Mimeo.

Foreign Ministry, Information Department
Resignation of Molotov (Morotofu Jinin), Joho-bu Memo No. 15, 1949. Mimeo.
Important Soviet Personnel Changes (Soren Saiko Jinji Ido), Joho-bu Memo No. 18, 1949. Mimeo.

6. Military Affairs

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Second Section
War Potential of the Soviet Union (Soren no Senryoku), Choni Shiryo 53, 1948. 8 pp.

Foreign Ministry, Research Bureau, Third Section
Technical Stage of Atomic Bomb [Development] in the United States and the Soviet Union (Bei-So ni Okeru Genshi Bakudan no Gijutsuteki Dankai), Chosan Shiryo No. 42, 1947.
Soviet Preparations for World War III (Soren no Daisanji Taisen Jumbi), Chosan Shiryo No. 45, 1947.
Soviet Domestic Policy Regarding the Atom Bomb (Genshi Bakudan no Soren ni Okeru Kokunai Toriatsukai-buri ni Tsuite), Chosan Shiryo No. 46, 1947. 15 pp. Mimeo.
The Soviet Union's Total War Theory (Soren no Soryokusen Riron), Chosan Shiryo No. 81, 1948.
The Strange Pravda Article Concerning the Soviet Air Force by Supreme Air Commander Vershinin (Soren Kugun ni Kansuru Vuerushinin Kugun Soshireikan no Purauda-shi Kikyo-bun), Chosan Shiryo No. 91, 1948. 20 pp.
Soviet Military Preparedness (Sovuieto no Gunji Jumbi Taisei), Chosan Shiryo No. 92, 1948. 13 pp.
The Soviet Aircraft Industry and the Air Force (Soren no Hikoki Kogyo to Kugun), Chosan Shiryo No. 120, 1949.
Present State of the Soviet Navy (Soren Kaigun no Gensei), Chosan Shiryo No. 130, 1950. 12 pp.

APPENDIX F

PROGRAMS OF MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES
ON RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE

1. Conference and Public Lectures
of the Russian Literature
Association of Japan, Sendai,
May 29-30, 1954

Supporting Organizations:

Kahoku Shimpo Newspaper Company
Sendai Central Broadcasting Station
Tohoku University, Western Literature Association
Committee on Education, Miyagi Prefecture
Sendai Municipal Committee on Education

Cooperating Organizations:

Miyagi Prefectural Government
Sendai Municipality
Japan-Soviet Friendship Association
Soviet Study Group of Tohoku University
Local schools, banks and business firms

PROGRAM

First Day

1. Welcoming Address: OKAZAKI Eisho (Mayor of Sendai)
Acknowledges his indebtedness to Russian literature, especially Turgenev, who, he says, has greatly influenced his thinking during the formative years.

2. Opening Address: KANAKURA Ensho (Dean, Faculty of Letters, Tohoku University)

3. "The Literature of Soviet Nationalities" WAKURI Seiichi (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
Unlike Japan's prewar policy which virtually brought about the extinction of the Korean culture and language or the present situation in Japan where no sincere effort to revive Ainu culture has been made, the Soviet Union has respected the languages and literature of its constituent peoples, encouraged education in native tongues, and fostered the growth of national intelligentsias and literatures. Soviet literature, "national in form and socialist in content," is a multi-

lingual national literature composed of the literatures of many nationalities. Imperial Russia was truly a prison for minority racial groups in contrast, the Soviet Union is built on the principle of harmony and equal rights for the various national elements. Here is the brilliant victory of Soviet racial policy.

4. "Soviet Educational Administration" *SATO Isamu (Tokyo U. of For. Stud.)

5. "The Right and Left Hands of Tolstoy" *HARA Hisaichiro (Trans. of Russ. Lit.)
   The struggle between good and evil within the soul of Tolstoy and the eventual victory of the good.

6. "Women in the Poems of Nekrasov" *TANI Kohei (Waseda U.)

7. "Gorky and Children's Literature" *TOGO Masanobu (Tokyo U. of For. Stud.)
   An analysis of Gorky's role as an exponent of juvenile literature.

8. "Chekhov: The Man and His Art" *NAKAMURA Hakuyo (Trans. of Russ. Lit.)

9. "Impressions of the Soviet Literary World" YONEKAWA Masao (Waseda U., Vice-Pres., Russ. Lit. Assoc. of Japan)
   One of the main purposes of Yonekawa's recent trip to the Soviet Union, we are told, was to meet Soviet writers, to obtain the latest news and to gain a true picture of the state of affairs in the Soviet literary world. He met only a few writers because his trip took place during the summer when most of the Soviet authors were on vacation. Not with one of the few writers he did see (Vasilevskaia, Tikhonov, Kozhevnikov, Ermilov, etc.) was he able to have a heart-to-heart talk. A special meeting for Yonekawa was called, however, by the Soviet Writers' Union and was attended by eight prominent Soviet authors and critics. The discussion touched upon new trends in Soviet literary thinking and two tendencies, "cosmopolitanism" and "Neo-Rappism," considered harmful by the Soviets though claimed by them have already been overcome. The conversation then touched on criticism and self-criticism and Dostoevsky. In his concluding ambiguous remarks Yonekawa expressed some doubt as to the necessity for political controls in Soviet literature, "a position somewhat modified by the Beria Incident."

Record Concert of Russian Folk Music — Commentary by NINOMIYA Shu (Music Critic)

Newly-arrived Soviet Cultural Films

Second Day

1. Opening Address: KOBAYASHI Atsuo (Tohoku U.)

2. Commemorative Address: "Fifty Years of the Russian Language [in Japan]" YASUGI Sadatoshi (Prof. Emeritus, Tokyo U. of For. Stud. and Pres. of Russian Lit. Assoc. of Japan)

Reminiscences of his introduction to the Russian language through the famous writer Prof. Futabatei Shimei of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and comments on the poor status of Russian language studies at the turn of the century when Yasugi graduated from Tokyo Imperial University, the lack of teaching materials in the Russian field, etc. He decries the ignorance of Russian affairs among the Japanese intellectuals of the time and compares this with Japan's present knowledge of the Soviet Union which, "it would perhaps be difficult to say is really very deep." Student days in Russia were very trying due to the inadequate financial aid from the Ministry of Education and the extravagance of the Russian middle class of that time. Although Russian studies in Japan have progressed in the past fifty years and some attention has been devoted also to non-military subjects including old and new culture, "the path through the Russian language is a thorny one, and it is necessary that scholars be energetic and courageous."

3. "Anna Karenina" — *ISHIYAMA Shozo (Tokyo U. of Foreign Studies)

An analysis of "Anna Karenina" as reflecting the actual personal conflict within Tolstoy himself.

4. "Development of Soviet Thought" — *KANEKO Yukihiko (Hitotsubashi U.)

5. "Pushkin and the Decembrists" — *KURODA Tatsuo (Waseda U.)

A report on recent Soviet research into the role and relative position of Pushkin as a writer, particularly his relations with the Decembrists.

6. "Outlook of Soviet Literature" — *INOUE Mitsuru (Trans. of Russ. Lit.)

Soviet literature faithfully upholds the fine tradition of classical Russian literature. This is particularly true of its emphasis on the common people and the search for truth. The essential difference between classical Russian literature and Soviet literature is that "critical realism" has developed into "socialist realism." Although the classical Russian writer criticized the injustices and failings of his time and cried out for a bright and just tomorrow, he did not indicate how a new and better life could be created. The modern Soviet writer explains the reasons for the dark life under the Tsars, he exhorts the reader to build a new society based on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism, and shows how this struggle must be carried on. Soviet life is developing more healthfully and culturally than the so-called "American way of life." Although there may be some shortcomings in the Soviet Union these are being overcome much more rapidly than in other countries.

7. "Turgenev's Time and Literature" — *JINZAI Kiyoshi (Writer and Trans. of Russian and French Literatures)

An analysis of the works of Turgenev with the following conclusion: "In present-day Japan, where a colonial trend prevails, we must demand a critical literature based on the critical views of political

exiles like Turgenev. In this sense a re-evaluation of Turgenev's works seems desirable."

8."The Soviet Theater and the Moscow Art Theater" * NOZAKI Yoshio (Waseda U.)

The Moscow Art Theater is the world's leading theater and there is not one theatrical group anywhere deserving the name which has not come under its strong influence. An Art Theater without Western playwrights can be imagined, but it is impossible to conceive of an Art Theater without Gogol, Chekhov, Ostrovsky, Tolstoy and Gorky. As evidenced in the Free Theater and Tsukiji Theater, the Japanese theater also owes much to the ideals and practices of the Moscow Art Theater, and the present trend in Japan is toward more study of the Stanislavsky system.

9. "Merits and Shortcomings of Dostoevsky" * YOKEMURA Yoshitaro (Waseda U.)

Contrary to an assumption on the part of some Japanese, Dostoevsky is "dealt with fairly" in the Soviet Union, as evidenced by the treatment he receives in the standard Soviet textbooks. Soviet readers praise Dostoevsky's realistic description of life in pre-revolutionary Russia under Tsarist oppression and for his strong sympathy for the suffering people. However, that Dostoevsky in his later years gradually left the camp of the liberation movement, that he denied the existence of free will and that he preached docility are considered mistakes deserving criticism. In the Soviet Union which is now in the transition period from socialism to communism, the workers, the kolkhoz farmers and intellectuals have all assumed their role in material and cultural undertakings and are working hard to create greater happiness. It is then only natural that Dostoevsky who rejected action and preached submission should be criticized. At the same time, the Soviet reader already has acquired the ability to differentiate between the merits and shortcomings of Dostoevsky.

Record Concert of Contemporary Soviet Music
Commentary by NINOMIYA Shu (Music Critic)

Soviet Films

Chairmen: * TANI Kohei
* TOGO Masanobu
* ONI Haruto (Tohoku U.)

2. Conference on Soviet Science, Tohoku University, Sendai, May 1954

1. Message: MIYAGI Otogoro(Prof. Emeritus, Tohoku U.)

I have been aware, through personal experience, of excellent ex-

amples of Soviet scientific work. It has been the custom of this University to send out quarterly scientific reports to the various great universities of the world for the express purpose of exchanging information. To date, however, there has been no reply from behind the "iron curtain." If the sciences of such a secretive country can be made known at this research meeting, it would be a most felicitous occasion from the standpoint of the internationalization of science.

2. Opening Address: HATTORI Eitaro (Dean, Faculty of Economics, Tohoku U.)

3. Welcoming Address: *YASUGI Sadatoshi (Pres., Russ. Literature Assoc. of Japan)

4. "A. S. Makarenko and Labor Education" ITO Mitsui (Second Higher School)
An analysis of the works of Makarenko and his role in Soviet educational policy.

5. "The Significance of Research in Economic Theory" HATTORI Fumio (Lecturer, Faculty of Economics, Tohoku U.)
Soviet "economics" is in a higher stage of development than capitalist economics as it is a solution to the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. Soviet "economics" is significant in two ways: First, it is the economics of the leading socialist nation, and second, but more basic, it is a theory which criticizes capitalism.

6. "Trends in Soviet Psychology" MURAKAMI Taku (Lecturer, Faculty of Education, Tohoku U.)
An analysis of the current trend in Soviet psychological studies, including comments on Harvard's Ivan D. London's criticisms of Soviet psychology and psychiatry. The lagging development of psychology is not limited to the Soviet Union but steps have been taken there to correct the situation by self-criticism.

7. "Study of the Phonetics of Ainu Vocabulary Adopted from the Russian Language" *ONI Haruto (Lecturer, Faculty of Letters, Tohoku U.
A study of the phonetic derivations of the Sakhalin Ainu language from the language of the Russian immigrants to the Maritime Province and Kamchatka during the past two or three hundred years.

8. "Study of Soviet Engineering in the Field of Transportation" TASHIRO Mikio (Graduate Student, Faculty of Engineering, Tohoku U.)
Technical problems of railway and highway construction in the extremely cold areas of the Soviet Union.

9. "Developments in Soviet Coal Mining" KUROIWA Tadaharu (Research Assistant, Faculty of Engineering, Tohoku U.)
Analysis of Soviet coal production and mining techniques

10. "Observations on Soviet Civil Engineering" — HARADA Senzo (Professor, Faculty of Engineering, Tohoku U.)

The truth of any matter can be grasped only after studying opposing opinions. In order to further the technological advancement of Japan it is vital that not only Western science be studied, but also that Soviet scientific techniques be investigated. The mere conducting of research on Soviet matters, however, is often considered in Japan as suggestive of dangerous ideas. Fortunately this trend is gradually disappearing. Civil engineering students should be taught technical Russian, and familarized with Soviet civil engineering manuals and research materials, but this must be done so as not to bring any ill effect on the students' future. There have been repeated inquiries as to how Soviet civil engineering compares with, say, American techniques, and whether there is anything to be gained from studying Soviet achievements, In order to answer such questions and to gain a wider view of matters a Soviet Civil Engineering Research Institute should be established. It is to be hoped that such an institute could be eventually expanded into a Soviet Research Institute which would encompass the natural and social sciences as well as the humanities.

11. "Changes in Soviet Plant Nursing" — TSUKUBA Tsuneji (Graduate Student, Faculty of Agriculture Tohoku U.)

Resume of the controversy over the theories of Vavilov and Michurin-Lysenko and the rumors that the latter has deviated from the dialectic principles of Michurin.

12. "Research on Soviet Plant Fertilization" — MURAKAMI Kanichi (Assistant Professor, Faculty of Agriculture, Tohoku U.)

A study of the theory, experiments and techniques of Lysenko.

13. "Detailed Analysis of Dermatology and Venereology in the Soviet Union" — NOGUCHI Jun'ichi (Graduate Student, Faculty of Medicine, Tohoku U.)

Review of recent work in dermatology and venereology, with emphasis on social aspects of treatment. There is nothing particularly significant in Soviet treatment methods which seem to be lagging behind Western Europe, although certain Soviet techniques might be fruitfully studied by the Japanese.

14. "Status of the Study of Conditioned Reflexes" — KATO Masataka (Research Assistant, Faculty of Medicine, Tohoku U.)

15. "Soviet Medicine" — TAKEZAKI Ryusho, (Head, Takezaki Hospital and Faculty of Medicine, Tohoku U.)

Fascinated by dialectic materialism, there has been a recent interest in the nature of medicine in a socialist society. Soviet medicine is

closely related to political and social developments and emphasis placed on preventive medicine and various new theories. The most prominent among these is Pavlovian medicine which at present is still in the stage of a basic theory with little clinical application. As a new approach in medicine, however, this theory deserves observation.

16. "Current Problems in Geology" — TAKAYANAGI Yokichi (Research Assistant, Faculty of Science, Tohoku U.

A discussion of recent trends in Soviet geology with particular reference to undersea geological formations.

17. "Soviet Physics" — KIYONO Setsuo (Assistant Professor, Faculty of Science, Tohoku U.)

18. "Soviet Mathematics" — ARISAKA Chumei (Assistant Professor, Faculty of Science, Tohoku U.)

Analysis of significant Soviet contributions to the field of higher mathematics.

19. "Soviet Astronomy" — HITOTSUYANAGI Juichi (Prof., Faculty of Science, Tohoku U.)

Even in the realm of astronomy, the most active research is being conducted by the two great powers, Soviet Russia and the United States. This is true both qualitatively and quantitatively. Apparently there has been an exchange of information between astronomers of these two nations. Since 1953 Soviet publications in the field of astronomy have become available to Japanese scholars. This is expected to stimulate Japanese research in astronomy. The outstanding feature of Soviet astronomy has been the study of cosmogony which has not been sufficiently studied in the West.

20. "The Path of Soviet Science" — YASUGI Ryuichi (Lecturer, Tokyo U. of Education and Faculty of Science, Tohoku University)

The state of science left by Imperial Russia was low compared to that of Western Europe and America. Following the Revolution, the government's support and protection of scientific research has immeasurably advanced the level of Soviet science, and has produced pioneering work, particularly in the field of biology as shown by the research of such men as Lysenko. Soviet biology is based on dialectic materialism. Because of the dogmatic nature of this theory has Soviet biology, which is based on it, fallen into errors? Or is it a premise which will provide a correct methodology for the natural sciences and is Soviet biology, therefore, progressing along the shortest route to the truth? Which is the case? The correctness of the basic premise on which Soviet science is based cannot be evaluated and only the future will tell. Nevertheless, the Soviet

experience is worth observing because of its importance for the methodology in the natural sciences.

21. Closing Address: WATANABE Manjiro (Dean, Faculty of Science, Tohoku U.)

Chairmen: HATTORI Fumio
TAKAYANAGI Yokichi
HARADA Senzo

Other activities sponsored jointly by the Russian Literature Association of Japan and the Conference on Soviet Science: round-table conferences, radio discussions and social get-togethers featuring Russian cuisine.

3. Meeting Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Chekhov's Death

Sponsored by the Russian Literature Association of Japan at Hibiya Hall, Tokyo on June 29, 1954 5:30 p.m.

PROGRAM

Chairman of the Executive Committee for the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Chekhov's Death
*YONEKAWA Masao

1. Welcoming Address: *YASUGI Sadatoshi
President, Russian Literature Association of Japan

2. Speeches by Representatives of Supporting Organizations:

KAWABATA Yasunari [novelist], AONO Suekichi [literary critic], ISHIKAWA Tatsuzo [novelist], NAKAMURA Mitsuo [Professor, Meiji University], SENDA Koreya [actor], MIZUTANI Yaeko [actress], TAKIZAWA Osamu [actor] and other speakers representing literary, theatrical and art groups.

3. Lectures:

"Chekhov and Japanese Literature"	HIROTSU Kazuo (novelist and literary critic)
"Chekhov's Writings"	*NAKAMURA Hakuyo
"Chekhov's Life and Work"	*YUASA Yoshiko

4. Play: "Swan Song" by Chekhov — Leading roles played by SUSUKIDA Kenji and NONOMURA Kiyoshi

5. Motion Picture: Ostrovsky's "Guilty Innocents" — Soviet film of a Moscow Art Theater production

Supporting Organizations:

Bungeika Kyokai (Association of Artists and Writers); Bunkajin Kaigi (Literati Conference); Nihon Pen Kurabu (Japan Pen Club); Shin Nihon Bungakkai (New Japan Literature Society); Jimmin Bungaku (People's Literature); Heiwa Iinkai (Committee for Peace); Minshushugi Kagakusha Kyokai (Association of Democratic Scientists); Sovueto Kenkyusha Kyokai (Association of Soviet Researchers); Sekai Bungaku Kenkyukai (Research Society for the Study of World Literature); Bungaku Gakko (School of Literature); Nisso Toshokan

(Japan-Soviet Library); Nisso Shinzen Kyokai (Japan-Soviet Friendship Association); Nisso Honyaku Shuppan Konwakai (Association of Japan-Soviet Translators and Publishers); Nihon Engeki Kyokai (Japan Dramatic Association); Sodai Engeki Hakubutsukan (Waseda University Dramatic Arts Museum); Sodai Sogo Sekai Engeki Kenkyukai (Waseda University World Theatrical Research Society); Haiyuza ("Haiyu-za" Theatrical Troupe); Mingei ("Mingei" Theatrical Troupe); Bungaku-za ("Bungaku-za" Theatrical Troupe); Shinkyo Gekidan ("Shinkyo" Theatrical Troupe); Budo-no-kai ("Budo" Troupe); Shin Engeki Kenkyujo (New Theater Research Institute); Shichiyo-kai ("Shichiyo"Troupe); Izumi-za ("Izumi-za" Theatrical Troupe); Gekidan Chugei ("Chugei" Theatrical Troupe); Zenshin-za ("Zenshin-za" Theatrical Troupe); Gekidan Gendai-ha (Modern Theatrical Troupe); Butai Geijutsu Kenkyujo (Stagecraft Research Institute); Gekidan Hono-za (Theatrical Troupe) Kokumin Bunka Kenkyujo (National Culture Research Institute); Ningyo Gekidan Puku ("Puku" Puppet Troupe); Gekidan Taiyo-za ("Taiyo-za" Troupe) Gakudan Kachisha (Katiusha Orchestra, composed of repatriates from the Soviet Union); Tokyo Engeki Kyodo Kumiai (Tokyo Theatrical Cooperative); Nihon Butai Geijutsuka Kumiai (Japan Stage Workers' Union); Eiga Engeki Rodo Kumiai Sorengo (Federation of Motion Picture and Theater Workers' Unions); Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai-Sohyo (General Council of Japan Labor Unions); Ningyo Gekidan Ningyo-za ("Ningyo-za" Puppet Troupe); Butai Geijutsu Gakuin (Stagecraft Institute).

4. Meetings Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Chekhov's Death

Held at Waseda University, Tokyo, June 22, 1954 2 and 6 p.m.

PROGRAM

Chairman: Professor *KURODA Tatsuo

1. Lectures:

"The Soviet and Chinese Theater-Recent Observations"	Professor *YONEKAWA Masao
"Chekhov and Stanislavsky"	Assistant Professor KURAHASHI Ken
"Chekhov and the Moscow Art Theater"	Lecturer *NOZAKI Yoshio

2. Scenes from Chekhov's Plays — Waseda University Theatrical Group

3. Motion Picture: — Soviet documentary film on the Moscow Art Theater.

5. Conference of the Russian Literature Association of Japan

Held at the Osaka University of Foreign Studies,
Osaka, October 1955

First Day	MARUYAMA Tadao and KOMATSU Katsusuke, Chairmen
Welcoming Addresses:	*YASUGI Sadatoshi, President of the Russian Literature Association of Japan
	HIRASAWA Toshio, President, Osaka University of Foreign Studies
Presentation of Research Papers:	
Russian Literature, and the Period of the Japanese Poet Takuboku	OTANI Fukashi
Biographical Research on Tolstoi	*IWAKAMI Jun'ichi
On Garin-Mikhailovsky	EDAKI Ryutaro
Some Problems in Foreign Literature Research	SASAKI Akira
On Declension	SASAKI Hideo
Some Observations on the Character Portrayal in the Works of Fadeev	MIURA Mototoshi
On the Phonetic Value of the Russian "y"	HISHIYAMA Shinobu
Topic unreported	*ISHIYAMA Shozo
Second Day	OTANI Fukashi, Chairman
The Relationship between Pushkin and Chekhov	MATSUKAWA Hideo
Recent Changes in the Study of Ancient Russian Literature	*WAKURI Seiichi
The Spirit of Enlightenment in Russia in the Second Half of the 18th Century	*MATSUMURA Shiro
Public Lectures held at the Asahi Newspapers Auditorium:	KOMATSU Katsusuke, Chairman
Welcoming Address:	*YASUGI Sadatoshi
Lectures:	
Beginnings of Russian Language Studies in Japan	*YASUGI Sadatoshi
On Maxim Gorky	*KURODA Tatsuo
The Work of the Russian Philologist Trubetskoy	O.V. PLETNER
Dostoevsky in the Soviet Union	*YONEKAWA Masao
Banquet at the Osaka University of Foreign Studies	*IWASAKI Heiichiro, Speaker

Luncheon Sponsored by the Nauka Publishing Company.

APPENDIX G

LIST OF INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN THE RUSSIAN FIELD

1. Institutions with Training and/or Research in the Russian Field

A. Tokyo Area

1. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku), Nishigahara, Kita-ku, Tokyo
2. Waseda University (Waseda Daigaku), Totsuka-machi, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo
3. Hitotsubashi University (Hitotsubashi Daigaku), Kunitachi-machi, Kitatama-gun, Tokyo
4. Tokyo University (Tokyo Daigaku), Motofuji-cho, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo
5. Keio University (Keio Gijuku Daigaku), Shiba Mita, Minato-ku, Tokyo
6. Takushoku (Colonial) University (Takushoku Daigaku), Myogatani-machi, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo
7. Yokohama National University (Yokohama Kokuritsu Daigaku), Ooka-machi, Minami-ku, Yokohama
8. Hosei University (Hosei Daigaku), Fujimi-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
9. Tokyo Municipal University (Tokyo Toritsu Daigaku), Fusuma-cho, Meguro-ku, Tokyo
10. Meiji University (Meiji Daigaku), Kanda Surugadai, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
11. Tokyo College of Economics (Tokyo Keizai Daigaku), Kokubunji-machi, Kitatama-gun, Tokyo
12. Tokyo Women's (Christian) College (Tokyo Joshi Daigaku), Iogi, Suginami-ku, Tokyo
13. Greek Orthodox Nikolai Institute (Nikorai Gakuin), 1, 4-chome, Kanda Surugadai, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
14. Japan-Soviet Institute (Nisso Gakuin), 511, 3-chome, Sendagaya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo
15. Foreign Ministry Training Institute (Gaimusho Kenshujo), 56, Otsuka-machi, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo

B. Central and Western Japan

16. Osaka University of Foreign Studies (Osaka Gaikokugo Daigaku), Uehon-machi, Tennoji-ku, Osaka
17. Kobe University for Foreign Studies (Kobe-shi Gaikokugo Daigaku), Tokui-machi, Nada-ku, Kobe
18. Tenri University (Tenri Daigaku), Tambaichi-machi, Yamabe-gun, Nara Prefecture
19. Kyoto University (Kyoto Daigaku), Yoshidahon-machi, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto
20. Nagoya University (Nagoya Daigaku), Minami-Sotobori-cho, Naka-ku, Nagoya, Aichi Prefecture

21. Kobe University (Kobe Daigaku), Rokkodai-machi, Nada-ku, Kobe
22. Aichi University (Aichi Daigaku), Machihata-machi, Toyohashi, Aichi Prefecture
23. Hiroshima University (Hiroshima University), Higashi-Senda-machi, Hiroshima, Hiroshima Prefecture
24. Kanazawa University (Kanazawa University), Ote-machi, Kanazawa, Ishikawa Prefecture
25. Ritsumeikan University (Ritsumeikan University), Kawara-machi, Kamikyo-ku, Kyoto

C. Northern and Northeastern Japan

26. Hokkaido University, Institute of Slavic Studies (Hokkaido Daigaku, Suravu Kenkyujo) Sapporo, Hokkaido
27. Tohoku (Northeastern) University (Tohoku Daigaku) Katahira-cho, Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture

D. Southern Japan

28. Kyushu University (Kyushu Daigaku), Hakozaki, Fukuoka, Fukuoka Prefecture

2. Government Agencies and Private Organizations Engaged in the Study of Russia and Communism

1. Foreign Ministry (Gaimusho), Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
2. Prime Minister's Office, Research Section (Sorifu Chosa-shitsu), Sannen-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
3. Prime Minister's Office, Economic Planning Board (Keizai Kikakucho), formerly Research section of Economic Advisory Board (Keizai Shingi-cho) and Economic Stabilization Board (Keizai Antei Hombu), Sannen-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
4. Ministry of Justice, Safety Investigation Agency (Homusho Koan Chosa-cho), Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
5. Ministry of Education (Mombusho), Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
6. Ministry of Finance (Okurasho), Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
7. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Norinsho), Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
8. Defense Agency (Boei-cho), Fukagawa Etchujima-machi, Koto-ku, Tokyo
9. National Diet Library, Legislative Reference Service, Miyakezaka Bunshitsu, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
10. Soviet Researchers' Association (Sovueto Kenkyusha Kyokai), 511, 3-chome, Sendagaya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo
11. Continental Problems Research Institute (Tairiku Mondai Kenkyujo), 102, Wakamatsu-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo
12. Association for the Study of the Soviet Union (Soren Mondai Kenkyukai), Sekai Keizai-kan, 8, 2-chome, Ote-machi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

13. Soviet Press Agency (Sovueto Puresu Tsushinsha), 2, 2-chome, Shiba Shimbashi, Minato-ku, Tokyo
14. World Flux Research Institute (Sekai Dotai Kenkyujo), c/o T. Shigemori, 612, 4-chome, Koenji, Suginami-ku, Tokyo
15. Hozumi Research Institute (Hozumi Kenkyujo), 760, 4-chome, Sendagaya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo
16. Industrial Research Institute (Sangyo Keizai Kenkyujo), 15, 1-chome, Edobashi Nihombashi, Chuo-ku, Tokyo
17. Committee on the U.S.S.R. of the Japan Institute of Foreign Affairs (Nihon Gaisei Gakkai Soren Iinkai) Suzuya House, 12, Iikurakata-machi, Azabu, Minato-ku, Tokyo (C.P.O. Box 301)
18. Soviet Study Group, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Sovueto Kenkyukai, Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku), Nishigahara, Kita-ku, Tokyo
19. Russian Literature Society, Waseda University (Waseda Daigaku Roshia Bungakkai), Totsuka-machi, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo
20. Russian Literature Association of Japan (Nihon Roshia Bungakkai), c/o Waseda University Russian Literature Department, Totsuka-machi, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo
21. Society for the Study of Eastern Europe, Chuo University (Chuo Daigaku, To-O Kenkyukai), Kanda Surugadai, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
22. Marxism-Leninism Research Institute (Marukusu-Renin Kenkyujo), Nihon Kyosanto Hombu, 714, 4-chome, Sendagaya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo
23. Research Institute for World Democracy (Sekai Minshu Kenkyujo), Hokkaido Shimbun Bldg., 5, 7-chome, Nishi Ginza, Chuo-ku, Tokyo
24. Japan Political and Economic Research Institute (Nihon Seiji Keizai Kenkyujo), 25, 2-chome, Nagata-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
25. Far Eastern Affairs Research Association (Kyokuto Jijo Kenkyukai), 5, 2-chome, Ginza, Chuo-ku, Tokyo
26. Democratic Workers Association (Minshu Rodosha Kyokai), 16, 6-chome, Kagurazaka, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo
27. Social Movement Press Agency (Shakai Undo Tsushinsha), 25, 2-chome, Kanda Awaji-machi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
28. Social Movement Research Assocation (Shakai Undo Kenkyukai), 1, 2-chome, Kudan, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
29. Daily Labor Press Agency (Nikkan Rodo Tsushinsha), Churoi Kaikan, Shiba Koen, Minato-ku, Tokyo

3. Libraries with Holdings in the Russian Field

A. Tokyo Area

1. Hitotsubashi University*
2. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
3. Waseda University
4. Tokyo University
5. National Diet Library, Former Akasaka Detached Palace, 1, 1-chome Akasaka Minato-ku, Tokyo
6. Foreign Ministry Library
7. Japan-Soviet Library (Nisso Toshokan), 511, 3-chome, Sendagaya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo
8. Library of the Greek Orthodox Church, 1, 4-chome, Kanda Surugadai, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

B. Western Japan

9. Tenri University
10. Osaka University of Foreign Studies
11. Kyoto University
12. Kobe University for Foreign Studies

C. Northern Japan

13. Hakodate Municipal Library (Shiritsu Hakodate Toshokan) Hakodate, Hokkaido
14. Hokkaido University, Institute of Slavic Studies

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* For Japanese names and addresses, see previous two sections.

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