

## The Process of Establishment of Student Self-Government Organizations and Their Activities During the Postwar Occupation of Japan

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This study clarifies the circumstances leading up to the establishment of student self-government associations and their early activities, referring to the factors including the history of student self-government in the prewar period, the democratization policy of the postwar Japanese government and the occupying forces, the movement for university democratization, the Japanese Communist Party, and the left wing. Student self-government associations were established in many higher education institutions a few years after the defeat of Japan in World War II, influenced by the democratization policy of Japanese government as well as occupying forces and pro-democracy student movements. Student self-government associations led the postwar student movements such as 1960 "Anpo" protests (Protests against the United States-Japan Security Treaty) and campus strife, and they played an important role in university history by making many universities grant student autonomy and faculty educational reform. However, the background and the process of its establishment remain unexplained.

This study area is overlapped previous studies such as (1) historical report of each university, (2) research on postwar student movement history. Regarding (1), in many cases only organizational change of the association is mentioned or its overview as a part of students' history. Regarding (2), most of the papers were written during the period of campus strife around 1970, and they mainly focus on the history of a group of student self-government organizations such as Zengakuren (All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations), while mention briefly about the formation of student self-government associations. These preceding studies show that student self-government associations were founded by guidance of Japanese government and occupying forces (the so-called "Potsdam self-government association"), or that they operated under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party after the war.

However, actually I think the multiple factors have affected the student self-government organizations founding all across Japan during the several years, they are the influence of self-government activities and student movements in the prewar period, the postwar pro-democracy movements, the policy of occupying forces, and the cooperation of so-called "progressive" faculty and staff. Therefore, this paper reveals the establishment process of student self-government associations and their early activities from various perspectives using many different materials such as materials about each

university, materials related to the postwar occupation of Japan, and the postwar Japanese Communist Party.

This paper consists of six chapters, and the outline of each chapter are as follows. In Chapter 1, as a prehistory of the postwar student self-government organizations, I discuss the formation and reforming of student self-government organizations during the Meiji period to the end of World War II, focusing on the cases of Tokyo Imperial University, Kyoto Imperial University, and Waseda University. Specifically, I discuss the formation of student associations at universities under the old system, and reform movements of the student associations and student autonomy movement by left-wing students during the Taisho and early Showa periods, and reorganization of student associations into patriotism group “Gakko Hokokudan” during the mid-war period. In Chapter 2, as a background of the formation of student self-government organizations I discuss the democratization policies of Japanese government and occupying forces, students' postwar pro-democracy movements, the revival of the Japanese Communist Party and left-wing student organizations and the overview of the formation of student self-government organizations. Chapter 3 describes the rise of the nationwide student movements from 1948 to 1950, the movements of the government and the occupying forces, and the division of student self-government organizations after the split of Japanese Communist Party in 1950. From Chapter 4 and onwards, I will examine the formation, division, and reorganization of student self-government organizations at each university. Chapter 4 discusses the case of Tokyo (Imperial) University, Chapter 5 the case of Kyoto (Imperial) University, and Chapter 6 the case of Waseda University.

The characteristics of early stage of student self-government organizations and student movements I found out through the analysis of this paper are as follows. First, (1) Regarding student self-government organizations, the first impetus for the reorganization and formation of postwar student self-government organizations was the notification issued by the Ministry of Education of Japan in September 1945, “Regarding the establishment of a new student association.” This notification instructed patriotism group of wartime “Gakko Hokokudan” to be reorganized into a student association similar to the prewar student associations, but not the formation of a student self-government organization. Moreover, it has already been revealed that the occupying forces provided direct guidance through the CIE and the military government regarding the establishment of self-government associations at junior high schools under the old system and high schools under the new system, but regarding student self-government organizations they did not give any specific instructions or directives. Therefore, it is incorrect to point out that the student self-government organizations of this period were

founded by guidance of the government or occupying forces, the so-called "Potsdam student self-government association," as it is mentioned in previous studies. Postwar student self-government organizations in most cases were formed and reorganized by students themselves during the process of postwar democratization. Early student self-government organizations were mainly run by students who belonged to left-wing student organizations revived after the war such as the Socialist Study Group and the Japan Communist Party, but they did not receive any instructions from the Communist Party, and their political views were not strong. However, in 1948, the Japan Communist Party began to lead the student movements directly, and in the fall of the same year, Zengakuren was founded, and the movement gradually became more political.

Next, regarding (2) the student movements, the student movements by early student self-government organizations were mainly concerned with internal issues such as reconstruction of the university and the problems concerning university life. From 1948 and onwards, they were involved in political problems such as protest against the University Board of Trustees, the University Act, and the Red Purge, and collaborated with student self-government organizations of other universities and external labor unions to protest. However, they were only campaigning against issues related to the university and the students themselves. These can be divided into 1) movements to protect university autonomy, such as the movement against the University Act, 2) movements against communist oppression, such as anti-Red Purge movement, and (3) peace movements after the Korean War started. These movements were held by the students who had first-hand experience of war and postwar democracy, to resist the war to be repeated and the oppression of ideas accordingly.