

**Page Denied**

of the Diet. It had been under debate for 107 days, and Kishi commanded a clear majority. The Socialists, knowing they would be outvoted, boycotted the session and even barred the Speaker's way into the chamber until police arrived. But last week it was Kishi who was under attack in the press and in intellectual circles as the "destroyer of democracy in Japan."

**Right Is Wrong.** Fact is that since the war, Japan's intellectuals have been gripped in a sort of reverse McCarthyism; no Japanese artist, poet, professor or painter dares to be labeled a "rightist." Most are socialists, and they pride themselves on being "agin' the government." They companionably join Communists in a bewildering array of organizations with names like Youth and Student Struggle Council, Committee for Freedom of Expression, National Conference for Reopening of Japan-China Relations. They provide the intellectual leadership for such huge outfits as *Nikkyoso*, the 600,000-strong teachers union; *Zengakuren*, a nationwide student pressure group; and, most important of all, the ultra-left-wing labor union federation called *Sohyo* (3½ million members), which has backed many of the recent demonstrations.

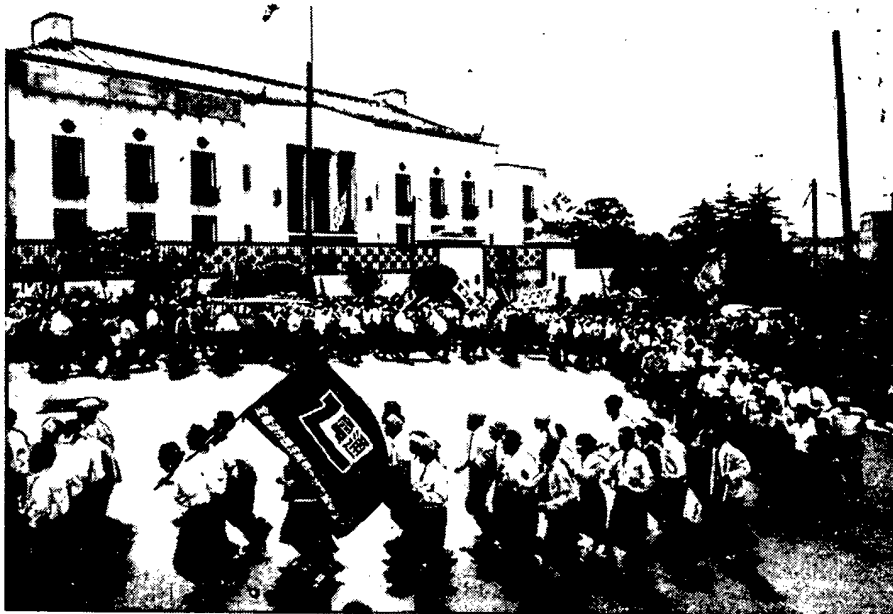
**Who's Anti-American?** In the biggest of last week's Tokyo demonstrations, some 60,000 youngsters shouted, waved banners and threw stones outside the Diet building. The Premier was trapped for eight hours before he could slip out a back way. But most participants seemed to have only the vaguest idea of what they were protesting.\* "The pact opens the path

\* And none, apparently, got hurt. Only reported casualties: 23 policemen.



Mainichi Shimbun  
SOCIALIST ASANUMA  
The intent: agin'.

TIME, JUNE 6, 1960



John Lounois—Black Star

TOKYO DEMONSTRATORS IN FRONT OF U.S. EMBASSY  
The reasons: peculiar.

to fascism," explained one demonstrator vaguely. Girls shouting "Yankee go home" were shocked at the very suggestion that they were anti-American. Americans watching the demonstrations were never molested, and one "angry" crowd politely waited while a flustered marine guard finally got the embassy gates locked before surging forward to hammer at the portals. The crowds were really shouting in support of the Communist-fueled theme that Japan, by permitting U.S. air bases and rocket stations on its soil, was "attracting the lightning" of Russian retaliation in a world conflict.

Orchestrating the demonstrations was Socialist Party Secretary-General Inejiro Asanuma, the burly former union organizer who has been chummy with the Chinese Communists ever since his Peking trip last year. Backed by three loudspeaker trucks and hundreds of followers, he strode up to the U.S. embassy and handed Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II a truculent letter. It declared that President Eisenhower's impending visit to Japan, scheduled for June 19, "will only provoke the Japanese people, already infuriated by the passing of the security pact." MacArthur retorted with a demand that Asanuma retract his widely ballyhooed statements that "the U.S. is the common enemy of China and Japan." "Not the American people," cried Asanuma. "American imperialism!" What was the difference? "Mr. Asanuma was unable to make any clear distinction," observed MacArthur in a public statement after the meeting. As for Asanuma's prediction that Ike's trip would bring disturbances, MacArthur noted that "he presumably is in a position not only to predict but to organize disorders if he so chooses."

Two on TV. Next day Asanuma showed up on TV to cry for the Premier's resignation. At his side sat Nobusuke Kishi, coldly angry. "Why should I dissolve

the Diet and hold elections because of a small minority demonstrating in the streets of Tokyo?" he declared. "There have been three elections since I became Premier, and my government has won a majority in all of them. Therefore, I believe I have a mandate from the people."

The demonstrations had been more anti-Kishi than anti-security pact, and at week's end there were signs that the public was getting tired of the Socialist demonstrators. Independent newspapers, sharply hostile to the government earlier in the week, were critical of Asanuma's antics at the embassy. Snorted *Asahi*: "Asanuma behaved like Nikita Khrushchev." When word arrived from Washington that President Eisenhower was still determined to go through with the visit to Tokyo so long as Japan's invitation still stood, the Premier sent reassurances that "the greater part of the Japanese people will welcome Eisenhower from the bottom of their hearts."

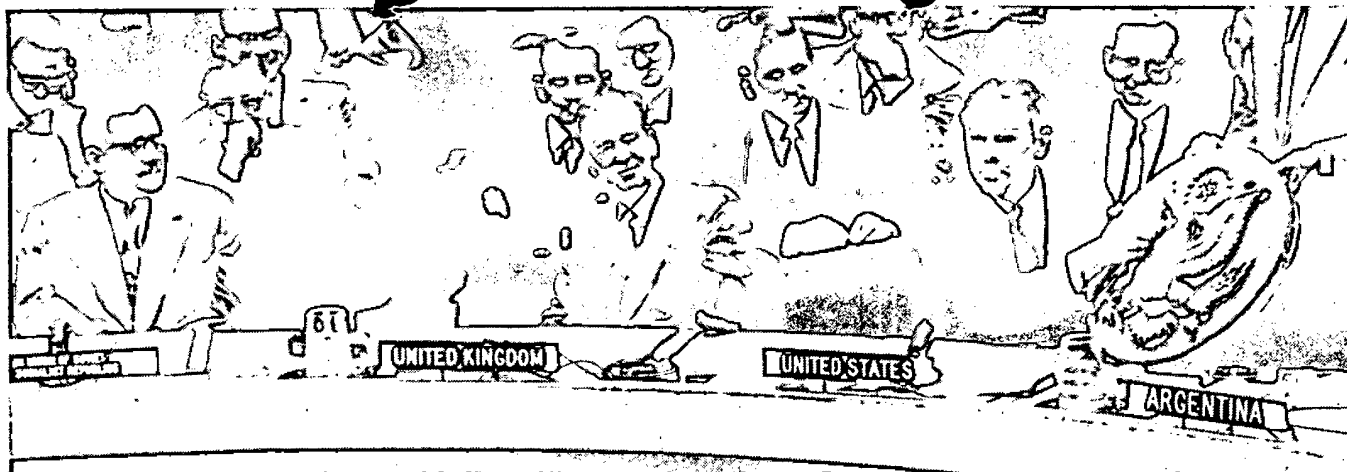
But many true democrats, reminded of the prewar strong-arm groups that made a mockery of prewar parliamentary rule, were deeply alarmed by the trend of events. In the Diet, the opposition benches were still empty—boycotted by Socialist members who were now streaming home to whip their constituents into greater resistance to Kishi. Ugly days had passed and more could come.

## UNITED NATIONS

### Under the Eagle's Beak

"A dangerous provocation. An act of perfidy!" cried the Soviet Union's Foreign Minister over and over, and more than one delegate at the big horseshoe table in the blue and gold Security Council chamber began to yawn. Even those disposed to deplore the U-2 overflight only chided mildly.

"We understand the annoyance felt by



U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL: RUSSIA'S GROMYKO, BRITAIN'S DIXON, U.S.'S LODGE & BUGGED GREAT SEAL\*  
The Russians grinned.

UPI

the Soviet Union," said Ecuador's Dr. José Correa.

How could a light, unarmed, single-engined, nonmilitary, one-man plane be aggressive? asked U.S. Delegate Henry Cabot Lodge, blandly.

"These activities are, alas, a current practice," sighed France's Armand Bernard to the Council. "What country does not find itself implicated? Is the Soviet Union, which today expresses indignation, beyond reproach on this score?" Spying, he added, might be deplorable, but there was no international law against it. Although defeat clearly lay ahead, deadpan Andrei Gromyko stolidly forced a vote on his resolution to declare the flights a "threat to world peace," and, with only Poland in support of him, the Council voted him down by 7 to 2.

**On the Brink.** Undaunted, Gromyko lashed out at President Eisenhower's television speech to the nation (see NATIONAL AFFAIRS). "A policy of dangerous provocations which indeed places mankind on the brink of war!" Gromyko cried.

The U.S.'s Henry Cabot Lodge was ready with his own rebuttal of the day's harsh words. Reaching down for a case beside his chair, he remarked: "Well, it so happens that I have here today a concrete example of Soviet espionage so that you can see for yourself." Out came a large carved wooden plaque representing the Great Seal of the United States. In 1945 a group of Russians had presented it to the U.S. Ambassador in Moscow, Averell Harriman, who hung it over the desk in his study. Opening it like a book, Lodge disclosed that its hinged insides harbored a tiny metallic cylinder with a slender metallic antenna. Lodge explained that it was a "clandestine listening device" used by the Russians to listen in on ambassadorial conversations.

**Whose Play?** Gromyko managed a game smile, then recovered to retort: "I should like to ask from what play all this has been taken, and when that play is going to be performed." Replied Lodge: "It is not out of any play. . . . I produced that to show the thoroughness of Soviet espionage." It was all faintly funny, and Basile Vitsaxis, the Greek delegate to the

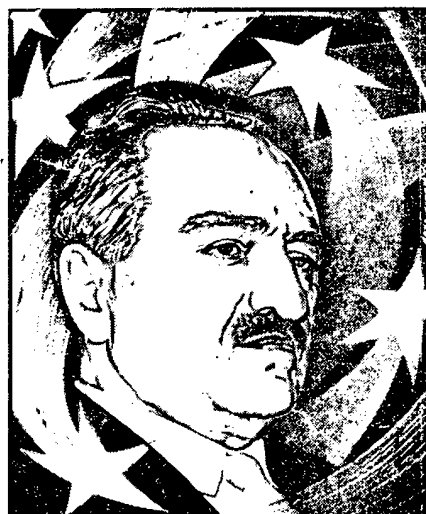
U.N., rushed up to whisper into Lodge's ear. "Thanks," he said, "for not mentioning the Trojan horse."

If the question of overflights had come up before the U.N. Security Council in any routine context, probably all eleven members would have voted against them. But when the question was posed of indicting the U.S. alone, the U.S.'s friends rallied around. They were not going to stand for Russia, chief disturber of the world's peace, hypocritically trying to embarrass the U.S. "We blundered and they know it; they think we're clumsy and a bit silly, like a great big hairy-chested fellow with a high voice; but they like us," remarked one member of the U.S. delegation.

## RUSSIA

### Still the Survivor?

Among the tiny handful of men who teeter perilously at the top of the Soviet ladder, none has shown such a talent for survival as swarthy, saturnine First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, 64. But last week Western foreign offices and intelligence agencies hummed with speculation that Mikoyan had at last lost his footing.



ANASTAS MIKOYAN  
Watching the weather.

Artyzbasheff

To support their suspicions, the Kremlinologists had to fall back, as always, on indirect and fragmentary evidence. At the great May Day parade in Red Square, Mikoyan, for the first time since 1957, was not among the first five Soviet leaders to appear on the reviewing stand. On May 3 the Central Committee magazine *Party Life* ran an article on "Forty Years of Soviet Azerbaijan." Mikoyan, chief architect of the Bolshevik revolution in Azerbaijan, was not mentioned. Since May 7 Mikoyan has not been seen in Moscow.

A slick, self-confident Armenian, Mikoyan has shown less public reverence for Khrushchev than any other second-rank Russian leader. On one occasion during Khrushchev's 1955 visit with Marshal Tito, his Yugoslav hosts watched in open-mouthed disbelief as the bull-like Nikita and the wiry Anastas whiled away a few idle minutes scuffling about in a mock wrestling match. For all his flipness toward the boss, Mikoyan has always voted with Khrushchev in Kremlin disputes, has been one of the strongest advocates inside Russia's ruling Presidium of Khrushchev's policy of easier relations with the West. In fact, Mikoyan has been its most conspicuous salesman in the West. He served as Khrushchev's advance man in the U.S., peddled the soft line in Cuba and Iraq.

If Mikoyan was slated for the stage-

\* The concealed device was a sophisticated unpowered, metallic reflector for electronic beams focused from outside, was discovered in a routine check of Ambassador George Kennan's office in 1952. Picking up Kennan's voice by accident on their electronic gear, the U.S. security agents searched for hours before they traced the signal to the tiny metal cup concealed in the beak of the eagle on the crest. No one could say how many months—or years—it had been in operation. But old Moscow hands recalled that the seal had frequently been sent out to Russian workmen for repair or cleaning. They also recalled wryly that Secretary of State George Marshall slept within a few feet of the thing in 1947, when he used Kennan's study as a bedroom during the Foreign Ministers' Conference. More than 100 such gadgets have been discovered in U.S. foreign missions in a decade, reported the security men, admitting: "Their equipment is just as good as ours. They are up with the state of the art."