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Рассмотрение японо-советского академического обмена в Научном совете Японии (1955–1964)

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Целью данной статьи является выяснение обстоятельств возобновления научного обмена между Японией и Советским Союзом в 1950-х гг. Первые официальные академические обмены между двумя странами после Второй мировой войны начались в мае 1955 г., когда 15 членов Научного совета Японии (SCJ), представительного академического учреждения в Японии, приняли приглашение Академии наук СССР и посетили Россию с научным обзором. После этого визита в японских академических кругах возрос интерес к изучению России. В октябре 1956 г. была опубликована Совместная японо-советская декларация и восстановлены дипломатические отношения. В этих обстоятельствах план приглашения советских ученых в Японию стал насущным вопросом. Однако только в марте 1964 г. советская научная делегация, куда в том числе входил М.В. Келдыш, наконец посетила Японию. В течение периода моратория, длившегося около 10 лет, Научный совет продолжал обсуждать приглашение ученых из Советского Союза на каждой Генеральной ассамблее, но план приглашения продвигался очень медленно из-за отклонения запросов средств, необходимых для приглашения, и отсутствия соглашения о культурном обмене между двумя странами. В этой статье используются стенографические записи Генеральной ассамблеи Верховного суда (неопубликованные документы), чтобы пролить свет на некоторые предпосылки усилий по возобновлению научного обмена между двумя странами.

Ключевые слова: Научный совет Японии, Академия наук, Советский Союз, научный обмен, А.Н. Несмеянов, М.В. Келдыш, Синъитиро Томонага.

Examination of Japan-Soviet Academic Exchange in the Science Council of Japan (1955–1964)

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This paper aims to clarify the circumstances surrounding the resumption of scientific exchange between Japan and the Soviet Union in the 1950s. The first official academic exchanges between the two countries after the World War II began in May 1955, when 15 members of the Science Council of Japan (SCJ), a representative academic institution in Japan, accepted an invitation from the USSR Academy of Sciences and visited Russia on a scientific inspection tour. Following this visit, interest in Russian studies grew in Japanese academia. In October 1956 the Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration was issued and diplomatic relations were restored. Under these circumstances, the plan to invite Soviet scientists to Japan became a pressing issue. However, it was not until March 1964 that Soviet scientific delegates, including M.V. Keldysh, finally visited Japan. During the moratorium period of about 10 years, the SCJ continued to discuss the invitation of scientists from the Soviet Union at every General Assembly, but the invitation plan progressed very slowly due to the rejection of the budget request required for the invitation and the lack of a cultural exchange agreement between the two countries. This paper uses the stenographic records of the General Assembly of the SCJ (unpublished documents) to shed light on some of the background to the efforts to resume scientific exchange between the two countries.

Keywords: Science Council of Japan, Academy of Sciences, Soviet Union, Scientific exchange, A.N. Nesmeyanov, M.V. Keldysh, Shin-ichiro Tomonaga.

This paper discusses academic exchanges between Japan and the Soviet Union from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s. Scientific relationships between Western European countries, the United States, and the Soviet Union in the early postwar period are often discussed and usually described in the Cold War context as competitive rather than collaborative, particularly in the field of space development and nuclear development (Wang, 1999; Ichikawa, 2018). However, little has been discussed about the scientific relationship between the Soviet Union and Japan, which was also part of the Western Bloc in the postwar period. What interested the leading Japanese scientists about Soviet scientific developments during the postwar period? How did they attempt to launch exchanges with Soviet scientists? What kinds of discussions ensued? These questions remain unanswered.

Immediately after the War, domestic policies such as the reconstruction of the national land and recovery of the national economy were prioritized for Japan, and there were not enough resources to spend on academic exchanges with foreign countries, including the Soviet Union. Literature exchange resumed first, followed by scholar exchanges. Literature exchange began in July 1951, when the Science Council of Japan (SCJ)¹ accepted a request from the

¹ The Science Council of Japan was established in January 1949. According to its website, the purpose of its establishment is “For the purpose of promoting and enhancing the field of science, and having science reflected in and permeated into administration, industries and people’s lives. It represents Japan’s scientists both domestically and internationally.” The Science Council of Japan is made up of approximately 200 scholars representing Japan. At the General Assembly, which is held three times a year, academic and cultural proposals are discussed, and based on the decisions made there, proposals and recommendations are made to the government.

Library of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. At the time, the documents that could be exchanged were limited to government publications, but in April 1953, the abovementioned library requested an even wider exchange of books, and the SCJ was asked to intercede with each Japanese institution (Harada, 1953). In June 1953, the Japan-Soviet Library (Nisso-Toshokan)² was opened by taking over the book collection that the Soviet Mission in Japan had established before the War in Mitsubishi Oki No. 2 Building. In October 1954, the Japan-Soviet Academic Literature Exchange Center (Nisso Gakujiyutsu Bunken Koryu Center) was established, and efforts were made to actively promote literature exchange. When 15 SCJ representatives visited the Soviet Union in May 1955, the Soviet Academy of Sciences donated many Russian academic journals and collective work to Japan (Onozawa, 1959). However, the arrangement was not undertaken, and almost all of them were stored in the bookstock on the basement floor of the SCJ main building. In 1956, the Japan-Soviet Library Center holding scientific and technical literature was established on the initiative of the cerebral physiologist Hideomi Tsuge. Tsuge was the first Japanese scientist to visit the Soviet Union after the War. On his visit to Moscow in December 1953, he met N.M. Sisakyan and T.D. Lysenko in the same room at the headquarters of the Academy of Sciences (Tsuge, 1954, p. 33–41).

The plan to visit the Soviet Union for scientific inspection was first suggested in the SCJ at its 13th General Assembly in October 1952. On this occasion, a theoretical physicist Koji Fushimi raised the agenda of “Recommending the [Japanese] Government to dispatch a scientific inspection team to the Soviet Union and China (Stenographic records of the 13th General Assembly, 1952, p. 487–513)”. This agenda was possibly submitted with the hope of fostering scientific cooperation with countries with whom Japan had not recovered diplomatic relationships, including socialist countries, as part of Japan’s revitalization of international academic connections. Even though some scholars in SCJ expressed concerns about the ideological conflicts with Soviet Union, observing science and technology of the “unknown country (Soviet Union)” in person was approved as meaningful by the majority of SCJ members. In May 1955, Japan dispatched an official SCJ delegation to the Soviet Union. It should be noted that domestic politics in Japan at the time greatly helped to realize inspection visits. Prime Minister Ichiro Hatoyama was eager to restore the diplomatic relationship between Japan and the Soviet Union.

The delegation to the Soviet Union comprised 15 authoritative members of the SCJ who were experts in natural sciences and engineering as well as influential scholars of the humanities and social sciences. Seiji Kaya, head of the delegation and the then president of the SCJ, was a physicist. The 15 delegates stayed in the Soviet Union for approximately three weeks, during which they divided into groups and visited various universities and research institutes affiliated with the Soviet Academy of Sciences, where they met many leading Soviet scientists. The official report on this visit to the Soviet Union was published in 1956. The Japanese delegation had undoubtedly received generous

² The first director, Masao Yonekawa, was a famous scholar of Russian literature.

treatment in the Soviet Union throughout their visit. Thanks to the Soviet coordinators, such as I.E. Glushchenko, who carefully arranged the itinerary of Japanese groups, Japanese delegates could see almost all the places they had requested beforehand. The only exception was nuclear power plant facilities (Stenographic records of the 20th General Assembly, 1955, p. 164–170).

After returning to Japan, discussions continued within the SCJ regarding future scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union. In fact, at the 19th General Assembly held in April 1955 just before the departure of the SCJ delegation, Yoiichi Fukushima, an agronomist who had a strong connection with the Communist Party of Japan, pointed out that the next mission could be to invite a delegation from the Soviet Union to Japan (Stenographic records of the 19th General Assembly, 1955, p. 33–34). One reason for discussing the invitation plan was that a certain number of scholars within the Science Council sympathized with Soviet academia – not only Fukushima, but also Ichiro Yamanouchi, who was known as a specialist in Soviet law. However, a more practical reason was that, since Japanese scholars were received in the Soviet Union and treated graciously, they had to reciprocate; in other words, it was an important protocol for Japan to invite Soviet scholars. In any case, there was no strong opposition within the SCJ to inviting Soviet scholars. In March 1964, Japan finally invited a scientific delegation from the Soviet Union.

A question is raised here. Japan's visit to the Soviet Union occurred in May 1955, the Soviet Union's visit to Japan was in March 1964. Why did it take nearly 10 years after Japan's visit? Did the SCJ address this issue seriously? What was the role of SCJ presidents including Kaya? What reason, if any, prevented the Soviet scholars from visiting Japan? This paper, based on the transcripts of stenographic records of the SCJ General Assembly (unpublished documents), reveals the types of discussions regarding this issue that took place within the SCJ, and describes several discussions in chronological order.

First, the policy of reactivating scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union was confirmed early in the SCJ. At the 20th General Assembly (Day 3) held in October 1955, which was the first assembly after the Japanese delegation's return to Japan, Takeo Kuwabara and Shuji Hasegawa, both members of the 1955 delegation, as well as Ichiro Yamanouchi proposed appropriate measures to activate Russian studies in Japan (Stenographic records of the 20th General Assembly, 1955, p. 430–439). The General Assembly approved a recommendation to the Japanese government to act upon this (Stenographic records of the 20th General Assembly, 1955, p. 458–460).

However, some people within the SCJ, such as economist Jyuitsu Kitaoka, took a cautious stance. At the 21st General Assembly (April 1956), he said he had no particular objections to scientific exchange with the Soviet Union but expressed considerable concerns about pro-Soviet remarks and actions taken by some delegation members after their return from the Soviet Union. He criticized the members, especially those in the executive branch, such as Kaya, who did not pay sufficient attention to the risk that their positive attitudes towards the Soviet Union would be exploited by the communists, as well as the plan to invite

Soviet scholars to Japan (Stenographic records of the 21st General Assembly, 1956, p. 22–25).

Japan's political and diplomatic circumstances, however, prevented early invitation of Soviet scholars. Since Japan had not yet restored formal diplomatic relations with communist countries, members of the Japanese Cabinet believed that restrictions should be placed on travel between Japan and the Soviet Union. A notice to the SCJ as of September 26, 1956, issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, states, «It is true that the past exchange with those [communist] countries and regions had often caused troubles for attendees in their travel and other aspects. Therefore, regarding holding academic conferences, the inclusion of the Soviet Union, the New China, North Korea and others in the list of invitees should be avoided. If it is absolutely necessary to invite those countries <...>, let the Ministry of Foreign Affairs know before sending the invitations to avoid any trouble.» This notice clearly shows the negative, or at least passive, attitude of the Japanese government towards academic exchanges with communist countries. Kaya and other SCJ members argued several times that, from the standpoint of academic freedom, the SCJ could not approve of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' policy of excluding communist blocs. However, Kaya demonstrated a realistic approach saying that he must take the government's circumstances into account while handling matters moderately and would try to find another way to remove obstacles to the exchange with foreign [communist] countries (22nd General Assembly, October 1956) (Stenographic records of the 22nd General Assembly, 1956, p. 44–85).

In addition to negotiating with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it appears that Kaya had directly approached the Minister of Education about inviting Soviet scholars every time they met, according to the stenographic records of the 24th General Assembly. However, Ministers were often replaced within a short period, which is a common issue in Japan, and the discussion sometimes ended up going back to the beginning (Stenographic records of the 24th General Assembly, 1957, p. 35–37). From the 21st General Assembly to the 24th General Assembly, Kaya's report on progress made since the previous general assembly lacked any update on the invitation of Soviet scholars to Japan.

At the end of his presidential term, Kaya urged that “inviting a scientific delegation from the Soviet Union to Japan” remain a subject of discussion in the General Assembly, under the new president (Stenographic records of the 23rd General Assembly, 1957, p. 40–42). From the question-and-answer session with the historian Goro Hani at the 22nd General Assembly, it seems that Kaya himself thought it would be impossible to realize the invitation within his own presidential term; at the same time, he felt somewhat guilty about that (Stenographic records of the 22nd General Assembly, 1956, p. 77–85).

At the 26th General Assembly held in April 1958, the presidency was taken over by Kankuro Kaneshige, a mechanical engineer. However, it is likely that the issues inherited from Kaya had not been adequately followed up by Kaneshige. At the same Assembly, when the Marxist economist Toichi Nawa asked Kaneshige and the former president Kaya about the lack of progress regarding

the plan to invite Soviet scientists, Kaya responded that he had been working hard to realize the plan. However, there was strong opposition from the Japanese government. Again, Kaya's explanation had the same painful tone as before, saying that the SCJ had not fulfilled the obligations to the Soviet Academy of Sciences (Stenographic records of the 26th General Assembly, 1958, p. 60–66). Kaneshige, conversely, said that although considerable difficulties were expected, the SCJ would continue its maximum efforts to realize the invitation (Stenographic records of the 26th General Assembly, 1958, p. 66–67).

At the 27th General Assembly (October 1958), the Soviet Academy of Sciences sent a letter to the president of the SCJ. This letter, dated June 30, 1958, was signed by the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, A.N. Nesmeyanov (Material (No. 3), 1958). Nesmeyanov seems to have lost patience after waiting so long for a substantive action from Japan. In the letter, he wrote that, in regard to sending Soviet scientists to Japan, "The Soviet side would cover all travel expenses of the visitors but would ask the host country [Japan] to bear their accommodation expenses. However, the Soviet side may bear all expenses of a certain number of Soviet scientists," indicating Nesmeyanov's considerable concessions. In response to this offer, the SCJ offered a somewhat vague answer, "Since there is no established mutual exchange system for scholars between the two countries, we are unable to accept your offer immediately, but if the Soviet could bear the full amount of travel and accommodation expenses, we would like to support the Soviet delegates to the best of our abilities" (dated August 5, 1958). At the same assembly, Japanese literature scholar Yasuaki Nagazumi mentioned that both the Japanese government and the Soviet Union recently agreed to launch a liaison for the purpose of concluding the agreement for cultural exchange. Nagazumi argued that the SCJ should discuss matters more enthusiastically and actively work towards inviting Soviet scholars (Stenographic records of the 27th General Assembly, 1958, p. 341–349). However, there was no concrete progress or fruitful discussion at the following 28th, 29th and 30th General Assemblies. At the 30th General Assembly, meteorologist Kiyoo Wadachi assumed the presidency.

Apart from the difficult mission of inviting the delegation from the Soviet Academy of Sciences to Japan, two policies for promoting academic exchange with the Soviet Union were discussed at the 31st General Assembly (April 1960). The first was "Enhancing Russian language education in universities." The stenographic record shows that this proposal considered the spectacular successes recently achieved by the Soviet Union in the field of science and technology (Stenographic records of the 31st General Assembly, 1960, p. 184). The SCJ also approved this policy and made a recommendation (dated May 6, 1960) to the Minister of Education to increase opportunities for Russian education (Material (No. 3), 1960, p. 6). The second policy was "Promoting academic exchange between the Japanese and the Soviet academia and requesting the drawing up of an intergovernmental agreement." This suggestion originated from a request sent by several academic organizations with 621 signatures. The 12 members of the SCJ who agreed with this request proposed it as an

agenda item for the General Assembly (Stenographic records of the 31st General Assembly, 1960, p. 206–229). The SCJ also approved this policy and made a recommendation (dated May 17, 1960) to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to consider it (Material (No. 3), 1960, p. 6).

On May 6, 1961, A.N. Nesmeyanov sent a letter to the President of the SCJ, Wadachi, requesting him to facilitate the scientific exchange between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the SCJ in 1961 (Attached material (No. 5-2), 1961). Nesmeyanov shared his proposal of maintaining regular exchanges of scientists in the future by organizing annual discussions between the two institutions regarding the number of people to be dispatched, the period of the dispatch, and exchange scientists' study areas. Nesmeyanov once again showed a concessionary attitude regarding travel costs, writing, "The Soviet Academy of Sciences ... does not object to the Soviet side bearing all costs to facilitate the exchange in 1961." A reply to this letter was sent on October 20 the same year to Nesmeyanov's successor, M.V. Keldysh (Attached material (No. 5-1), 1961). The letter began by stating that, although the SCJ continued to make efforts to promote academic exchange between Japan and the Soviet Union, a system for the exchange of scholars had not yet been established. The letter also explained that the SCJ was under the Cabinet Office's purview and not an independent institution like the Soviet Academy of Sciences. For that reason, it was not possible for them to smoothly carry out scholarly exchanges based on their own judgment. Therefore, Keldysh was informed that the 1961 exchange of scholars would not be possible.

However, it was also true that favorable movements began to appear to resolve the rigid situation. In the second half of the same letter, it was mentioned that the Japanese government recently suggested a document interchange regarding cultural exchange with the Soviet government and that concrete terms regarding the exchange of scholars were also being negotiated. Wadachi expressed his hope that the plan of scientist exchange would move forward based on the results of this negotiation (Attached material (No. 5-1), 1961).

Shortly before the 36th General Assembly held in April 1962, executive members of the SCJ, including Wadachi, discussed the plan of inviting Soviet scholars by the SCJ at the Soviet embassy with Yu.A. Zhukov, who was chair of the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Zhukov offered a broad range of both academic and cultural exchange agreements with the SCJ. Ironically, the Science Council's plans to invite Soviet scientists took a backseat as the Japanese government prioritized concluding cultural exchange agreements at the civilian level (Stenographic records of the 36th General Assembly, 1962, p. 21–32).

Ever since Yoichi Fukushima had proposed inviting a Soviet delegation to Japan at the 19th General Assembly in April 1955, the SCJ's General Assembly had been discussing this repeatedly, but the plan had not seen any progress for a long time. However, at the 38th General Assembly held in January 1963, there were signs that the plan was finally approaching fruition. A preparatory committee, including the president of the Science Council, would be established in

response to the acquisition of the budget to invite the Soviet Science and Technology Inspection Team to Japan (Stenographic records of the 38th General Assembly, 1963, p. 90–92). At the time, the president of the SCJ was Shin-ichiro Tomonaga, who would later win the 1965 Nobel Prize in Physics.

We will summarize the discussions of the final stage leading up to the realization of the plan for inviting Soviet scientists. Initially, Japan planned to invite a delegation of Soviet scientists from May to June 1963, but owing to circumstances on the Soviet side, this plan became unfeasible (Stenographic records of the 39th General Assembly, 1963, p. 12–14). However, the Soviet embassy conveyed that the Soviet side had arrived at a final agreement regarding the invitation. On September 12, 1963, the president of the SCJ, Tomonaga, officially sent an invitation to president M.V. Keldysh (Attached material (No. 3-1), 1963). Let us briefly examine the contents of this invitation. First, Japan asked to send eight Soviet scientists representing the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences, and the selection was contingent upon Soviet discretion. The period of stay would be 12 days. Although travel expenses could not be covered, Japan suggested providing an accommodation fee of \$20 per night per person. Domestic travel expenses for visiting universities and research facilities in Kyoto, Osaka, and Sendai would also be covered.

At the time, the Science Council's concerns seemed to be focused on appropriate execution of the invitation budget; in other words, whether the invitation would be completed in time for Japan's fiscal year, starting in April and ending in March every year. The Soviet scientific delegation arrived in Tokyo on March 18, 1964, and stayed in Japan for 12 days until March 30. The Soviet scientists participating in the inspection visit were President M.V. Keldysh, N.M. Sisakian, V.A. Kotelnikov, V.A. Kargin, B.M. Wul, N.F. Krasnov, V.A. Fillippov, and S.G. Korneev (Attached material (No. 4), 1964). They visited research institutes across Japan and delivered lectures at the Science Council of Japan in Tokyo. When these events were reported at the 41st General Assembly (April 22, 1964), Nawa Toichi, who had visited the Soviet Union in 1955 as a member of Japan's scientific delegation, said that he felt that the burden of obligation had been lifted off his shoulders since Japan finally reciprocated the 1955 visit (Stenographic records of the 41st General Assembly, 1964, p. 84–88).

It is necessary to clarify the results and impressions that Soviet scientists brought back to their home country from this long-awaited invitation to Japan based on Russian archive documents. I will leave this as a task for the future.

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