

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: 9-23-46

TO :JA-Mr. Borton

FROM :JA-H. Kullgren

SUBJECT: Political Party Fortnightly Report
16-31 July '46

Political activity during latter half of July concerned matters of internal party policy reflected in dispute over the budget and wording of Constitution.

A number of small groups and independents merged to form the Shinsei-kai, New Party Club, whose function is to create body large enough to secure rights denied organizations of less than 25 members.

Restrictions were placed on Communists for overstepping their speaking rights in the Diet.

Rumors continue that Premier will resign, that Liberal Party is split, that purged Hatoyama and Tsurumi will return to political life, that Dr. Ashida will head a new party and that Progressives are planning alliance with either Ashida Liberals or with Right-Wing Social-Democrats.

JA:HKullgren/sg



UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

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No. 554

Tokyo, August 16, 1946

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
SEP 9 - 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUBJECT: Transmission of Political Party Fortnightly Report
16-31 July 1946.

XK 740.20119 Control (Japan)

The United States Political Adviser has the honor to enclose a memorandum prepared by the Government Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, on the subject "Political Party Fortnightly Report 16-31 July 1946". The report is adequately summarized on the first page.

894.00/8-1646 CS/HH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 5 - 1946
DIVISION OF FOREIGN
REPORTING SERVICES

Enclosure: *as described*

One copy of report
as described.

Original and hectograph to the Department

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 554, dated August 16, 1946, for the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the Subject: "Political Party Fortnightly Report 16-31 July 1946."

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section
Public Administration Division
Political Parties Branch

31 July 1946

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF, GOVERNMENT SECTION

SUBJECT: POLITICAL PARTY FORTNIGHTLY REPORT 16-31 JULY 1946

SUMMARY:

The most important political activity during the latter half of July concerned matters of internal party policy. In discussions on the floor of the Diet, the contents of the Government's proposed budget were analyzed and arguments were made about the wording of the Government's draft Constitution, but, for the most part, these reflected rifts within the parties rather than ideological differences.

One new party emerged. This, the SHINSEI-KAI, New Party Club, is an amalgamation of former small groups, together with some members previously independent. Its chief function is to create a body large enough to secure speaking rights and other privileges denied organizations of less than 25 members. There is no common body of principles and no recognized leadership.

The use by Communists of much more Diet speaking time than their numerical representatives seemed to warrant caused the majority parties to clamp certain restrictions upon them.

Rumors persist that Prime Minister YOSHIDA will resign, that the Liberal Party is badly split, that HATCYAMA Ichiro and TSURUMI Yusuke, previously purged, will return to active political life, that former Welfare Minister ASHIDA Hitoshi will head a new political movement, and that the Progressives are preparing an alliance either with the ASHIDA Liberals or with the Right Wing branch of the Social Democrats.

CONSTITUTION PROGRESS:

Discussion within committee of the wording of the Government's draft Constitution has centered about textual changes more important in Japanese than in English. The desire to clarify the principle of popular sovereignty (so as to make certain that all Japanese realize that sovereignty stems from the people rather than from the Emperor) explains the reasons for the changes.

Coupled with the question of the locus of sovereignty is that of the Emperor's position. Liberals and Progressives at first contended that he should be "head" of the state, an argument also supported by the new political party of the Shinsei Kai, while the original draft described him as "symbol" of the state. The Social Democrats, some of whom favored retention of the Emperor while others demanded his removal, agreed to the Liberal-Progressive ideas only to discover that the coalition had changed its mind and was supporting the symbol concept. Thus, it appeared, the Social Democrats were in a less advanced position than their supposedly conservative rivals.

The reasons for these changes, as well as for the sudden acceptance by the Progressives of plans calling for the immediate abolition of the peerage, have been much discussed in political circles. Some observers, especially those always anxious to discern the hidden hand of Occupation pressure, have suggested that foreign influences had directed the shift of policy, but no evidence has been produced to justify such beliefs.

LIBERAL PARTY SPLIT:

The elimination from public life of HATOYAMA Ichiro and KONO Ichiro has left the Liberal Party seriously divided. Nominally under the leadership of Prime Minister YOSHIDA Shigeru, it is an open secret that YOSHIDA has few friends within the party and that his position is merely that of a figure head; the party is really dominated by HIRATSUKA Tsunejiro, (Hokkaido), the Minister of Transport, OKUBO Tomajiro, (Tokyo), a central executive committeeman, and ONO Takashi, (Yamagata), the party's secretary-general. This group is the political heir of the HATOYAMA-KONO machine and is said to be supported by the same financial interests that supported HATOYAMA.

Ex-Welfare Minister ASHIDA Hitoshi (Kyoto), a bureaucrat with small personal appeal, is said to be in rebellion against this clique and is planning a secession that may form an alliance with the Progressive Party. ASHIDA, however, lacks the confidence of Baron SHIDEHARA Kojiro, president of the Progressives, and his inability to mix well with various kinds of people causes him to be unpopular among the younger element that dislikes his "high-collar" characteristics.

A group of "freshmen" Diet members, headed by KURIYAMA Chojiro (Tokyo), demands a wholesale housecleaning, not only of the HATOYAMA-KONO clique but also of the ASHIDA bureaucratic influences. Nevertheless, KURIYAMA intimates, a temporary alignment with the ASHIDA group may be undertaken in order to defeat the HATOYAMA-KONO interests. Such an alignment, however, will have no permanent character.

Perhaps for the purpose of checkmating this disruption movement, rumors have been frequent that HATOYAMA may soon be allowed to return to public life. These rumors are credited to Prime Minister YOSHIDA, as well as to

HIRATSUKA

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HIRATSUKA and OKUBO but investigation discloses that none of these supposed sources were responsible. OKUBO declares that he and his close associates, YOSHIDA and HIRATSUKA, have gone no further than to say that HATOYAMA will return in the event that SCAP gives its approval to such a course.

HATOYAMA'S political guidance is, however, evident within the party. Although no longer a party official, his advice is sought on important issues, as is that of KONO Ichiro, but merely as the suggestion of a private citizen.

The Liberals, it is said, are seriously considering following the example of their rivals, the Social Democrats, who, following the removal from public life of KONO Mitsu allowed him to resign from a party directorship but employed him in a clerical capacity as their budget expert.

YOSHIDA MAY RESIGN:

Crises within the Liberal Party, coupled with inability to solve the food problem or to rescue Japan from its current economic crisis have so worried Prime Minister YOSHIDA Shigeru that, according to reports, he seriously considered tendering his resignation.

The success of OKUBO Tomejiro and other experienced politicians in quelling an incipient rebellion by dissatisfied younger members restored YOSHIDA'S confidence to some extent and the renewed promise that he will be chosen president of the Liberal Party lessened his desire to quite active politics for private life; but rumors continue to persist that he will resign following the passage of the Government's draft Constitution. His plan is said to be to withdraw without calling for a new election, thus allowing the Diet to function for the passage of other needed legislation.

A variant of the rumor declares that while YOSHIDA will not resign immediately he will replace certain members of his Cabinet. Those slated for removal, according to cloak-room gossip, are WADA Hiroo, Minister of Agriculture, and ISHIBASHI Tanzan, Finance Minister. The former, while unexpectedly successful in responding to Diet interpellations, represents a progressive (some say radical) tendency to which more conservative Liberals object; the latter is said to have found the current financial tangle too difficult to unravel.

These rumors, it should be emphasized, have no firm foundation; indeed, in view of the great difficulties experienced in forming a Cabinet, it is highly doubtful whether any leader wishes again to face such problems. The fact, however, remains that the persistent rumors of rifts within the Cabinet seriously handicap the prestige and hence the functioning of the administration.

In the event that YOSHIDA resigns, following the passage of the draft Constitution, a new political crisis may be anticipated. Jealousies within the Liberal Party will probably split the group so widely that no compromise can be made. The present alliance between Liberals and Progressives may be replaced by a new coalition along more democratic lines.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY:

INUKAI Ken, de facto leader of the Progressives reports that overtures are being made to him by NISHIO Suyehiro and other Right Wing Social Democrats

for a

for a political alliance looking toward control of the Diet by those groups in conjunction with the Co-operative Democrats. Such an alliance, comprising 102 Progressives, 95 Social Democrats and 45 Co-operatives, would command 9 votes more than a majority. It assures, however, that all the Social Democrats could be relied upon to support the projected coalition. While this is probably too optimistic a hope, it is also true that an INUKAI-NISHIO alliance would attract sufficient Independent and small party support to off-set any defection of the Left Wingers.

The obstacles to such a project are three-fold.

1. INUKAI insists upon the selection of SHIDEHARA as prime minister. While NISHIO and certain other Right Wingers, notably HIRANO Rikizo would, according to INUKAI, accept SHIDEHARA, others would insist upon the selection of KATOYAMA Tetsu as the premier. This, however, would be unacceptable to INUKAI.
2. The Social Democrats demand, as a prerequisite to any coalition, the wholehearted acceptance of a completely Socialistic program. This runs counter to the well-known conservatism of the Progressives, and would probably be opposed by many of the Co-operatives, although the latter are in accord to some of the Social Democratic principles.
3. Allocation of Cabinet seats would be difficult. Social Democrats insist upon the right to name all Cabinet members dealing with economic and social matters; the Co-operatives demand the Finance Ministry, as well as the Agriculture portfolio (ear-marked for HIRANO), and either the Home Ministry or the Minister of Commerce. Thus, if all demands were granted, the Progressive Party would be reduced to third-rate importance in a Government to which they would be contributing the largest number of Diet seats.

For these reasons, it is believed, the YOSHIDA government is not likely to be seriously attacked by the Social Democratic-Progressive-Co-operative forces; the Progressives, now sharing half the portfolios with the Liberals and enjoying Liberal support in local elections, are not willing to cast aside their present equality for a smaller degree of political control.

INUKAI himself believes that unrest within the Liberal Party may result in the serious splitting of that party and the desertion to the Progressives, or at least to a Liberal-Progressive bloc, of at least 100 of the Liberal Party's present delegation of 143 seats. In this event, he believes, the seceding Liberals will accept the INUKAI leadership, without the necessity of granting a large number of Cabinet seats to these allies.

It is noteworthy that in recent local elections, notably in Aomori and in Karazawa prefectures, the Liberal-Progressive coalition won substantial successes, defeating the Social Democratic candidates by large majorities. The Communist vote in each case sharply declined from the totals reached in the 10 April Diet elections.

SHINSEI KAI:

Formation of the New Party, Shinsei Kai, reported in the fortnightly summary of 15 July, has now been completed, and the party now controls 40 Diet seats.

Led by Dr. SASAMORI Junzo, ISHIZAKI Seusatsu, IKEGAMI Takusuko, and

MATSUBARA

MATSUBARA Kazuhiko, this Shinsei Kai has as yet no platform other than one calling for stabilization of national livelihood, observance of the Potsdam Proclamation and democratization of the nation. Its composition, however, indicates that it is largely under the influence of the educator group formerly aligned with the Shinko Club. Color is lent to this view by the fact that SASAMORI, IKEGAMI and MATSUBARA all represent the school teacher influences.

The fourth leader, ISHIZAKI, is a somewhat remarkable political adventurer. Formerly a student of Dr. Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University and later a student at the University of Alabama, ISHIZAKI was for many years publisher of a Japanese-American newspaper in Los Angeles. At the outbreak of the war, he was removed to a relocation camp, and, after being assigned to North Dakota, New Mexico and Texas, returned to Japan in January 1946. He ran for office on the platform of understanding American psychology and of having such a perfect knowledge of English that he would be an excellent intermediary with SCAP and, although opponents protested that he was too pro-American to be a good Japanese, he ran fourth in a field of nine elected Diet members. He was the only independent elected in the Fukuoka district.

The emergence of these four leaders as chiefs of the Shinsei Kai indicates an important change within the new party even in its formative stages. Most of the early organizers, including HIKIDA Toshio, the originator, and NOSOSAKO Kanemitsu, generally regarded as one of the moving spirits of the Shinko Club, disappeared almost immediately from posts of leadership. NOSOSAKO, indeed, refused to enter the Shinsei Kai, preferring to remain independent. The capture of the Shinsei Kai by the educational group may indicate a further tightening of the grip upon the party by the political machine supposedly set up by bureaucrats of the Education Ministry.

COMMUNIST INTERPELLATIONS:

Tactics of the major parties in allowing, if not indeed encouraging, Communists to interpellate in the Diet resulted, as the planners had foreseen, in an abuse of the privilege.

All six Communist members took the rostrum to discuss the issues that arose but they unduly extended the time of their speaking. Since Communists comprise less than 1.3% of the Diet membership, the major parties estimated that of the 15 hours that the House is normally in session each week the Communists would be entitled to not more than 12 minutes time, inclusive of the time required for ministerial responses. Instead the Communists spoke at such length that their addresses required an hour or more for delivery, exclusive of the time needed for responses.

The major parties also complained that the Communist interpellations were less in the nature of direct questions than of propaganda orations.

Because of these objections the Diet's Liaison Committee, composed of members of all the major parties declined to permit further Communist addresses until such time as the other parties had received what they believed to be their fair allotment of time. Such denial is possible under the present Diet rules because schedules are prepared in advance whereby the Speaker recognizes those slated to speak but will not recognize demands for the floor from those not listed for the purpose.

Further

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Further leftist developments include a joint election campaign for the mayoralty post of Hachinoe, Aomori-ken, where the Communists and Social Democrats united to support a Social Democratic candidate. He was defeated by a vote of 10,200 to 17,333 for the Liberal-Progressive candidate.

In Yamanashi-ken, agreement was reached for collaboration between Communists and Social Democrats; but a similar effort failed of accomplishment in Kawasaki City, Kanagawa ken, where a Communist, running independently against a Liberal and a Progressive, polled but 3400 votes against 33,322 for the victorious Liberal.

P. K. ROEST
Chief, Political Parties Branch

Prepared by HARRY EMERSON WILDES

Noted: CLK

9-23-46

JA-Mr. Borton

JA-H. Kullgren

Political Party Fortnightly Report
16-31 July '46

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JA:HKullgren/sg



UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

APO 500
Tokyo, August 21, 1946

RESTRICTED

No: 564

SUBJECT: Forwarding Political Parties Semi-Monthly Report
1-15 August 1946.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF FOREIGN
REPORTING SERVICES
SEP 4 - 1946
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The United States Political Adviser has the honor to forward
a copy of the "Political Parties Semi-Monthly Report 1-15 August
1946, prepared by the Government Section, General Headquarters,
Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. The report is adequately
summarized in the first few paragraphs.

894.00/8-2146

CS/HH

XR 740.00119 Central (Japan)

Enclosure: *Att N*
"Political Parties Semi-
Monthly Report 1-15 August
1946"

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
SEP 5 - 1946
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Enclosure No. 1 to despatch no. 564 dated August 21, 1946 from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Forwarding Political Parties Semi-Monthly Report 1-15 August 1946.

(COPY)

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section
Political Affairs Division

16 August 1946

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF, GOVERNMENT SECTION

SUBJECT: POLITICAL PARTIES SEMI-MONTHLY REPORT 1-15 AUGUST 1946

SUMMARY:

During the first half of August intensified activity was shown by the major political groups. The attempts to merge the Liberal and Progressive Parties reached a stalemate in Tokyo. An incipient rebellion in the Liberal Party quieted down and the Liberal leaders agreed to accept Premier YOSHIDA as President, in which the Party's Diet members unanimously acquiesced. Inauguration was to take place at a Party Convention on 18 August.

Major party news was created by the Cooperative Democratic Party coming to an agreement with the Shinsei-kai (a Diet bargaining group composed of Minor Party members and Independents) to form a new party, the Kyodo-Shinseito (Cooperative New Political Party). With over 80 members committed to the merger, this new party may come to hold a strategic centrist position and eventually control the balance of power in the Diet. Its weakness is lack of ideological cohesion and of strong leadership.

The Socialists stiffened in their attitude and formed a club to bring their right- and left-wing factions closer together. They received open support from the National Federation of Labor which held its first 3-day congress and elected MATSUOKA Komakichi, right-wing socialist labor leader, as president.

The Communists were still sulking about the setback received by their exclusion from the Socialist-sponsored Democratic Front Movement, which was not making much headway however. They were further irritated by the announcement of a new movement launched by ex-Communist SANO Gaku, having "Socialism under the Tenno System" as its slogan.

An "Asahi" poll caused much speculation about the seemingly growing prestige of the Socialists as against the Progressives and the Communists; but its reliability was questionable.

THE CABINET:

A movement to replace bureaucratic Ministers by party members was reported as a symptom of the developing struggle between Japan's

officialdom

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(Tokyo's Despatch No. 564, Enclosure No. 1)

officialdom and her new political leaders. In the forthcoming local elections the battle will be on full-blast and the parties would strengthen their position in advance by an effort to oust bureaucrats like OMURA (Home Ministry), WADA (Agriculture and Forestry), KIMURA (Justice) and TANAKA (Education). Especially the Home Ministry, with its nationwide control of local officials, is under attack; as it is considered the main obstacle to the democratizing of local government.

Meanwhile, the Premier, YOSHIDA, has assumed the responsible leadership of his Liberal Party, by accepting nomination as its president.

By the reinstatement of YAMAMOTO Sanehiko, Leader of the Cooperative-Democratic Party whom the Japanese Government had previously ordered purged, the Cabinet made a bid for the support of that party's 45 Diet members, and is now reported to be watching "With keen interest" its proposed merger with the Shinseikai. Rumors of a Cabinet post for YAMAMOTO or for his loyal aide, WIKAWA, Member of the House of Peers, are not without ground.

Considerable speculation resulted from a statement by the Premier on 8 August, in reply to a Cooperative Democratic interpellation, that the peace conference for Japan will be held earlier than expected. "Informed" circles sent up a trial balloon by suggesting next April, which lifted hopes for a speedy return to public life in the minds of many political purgees.

NO CONSERVATIVE MERGER:

The efforts of several Progressive and Liberal leaders to bring about a merger between the two conservative parties came to a standstill for the time being. Each party will retain its identity, but will cooperate with the other wherever and whenever their interests harmonize. This Tokyo decision was not made without some out-of-town irregularities; in Akita prefecture the local Liberal and Progressive branches went right ahead with their merger into an "Akita Democratic Party" which was supporting the Farmers' Association movement. A similar move was reported from Yamanashi prefecture. It is an indication of the looseness with which as yet even the major parties are organized. At least two of them were trying hard to solidify their ranks, however.

THE LIBERAL PARTY:

An incipient rebellion in the Liberal Party died down with the decision of the party leaders, on 6 August, to install Prime Minister YOSHIDA as president of the Party, at a Convention to be held 18 August. The decision was unanimously approved by the Party's members in the Diet on 7 August. Friction between the older and younger Liberals, however, prevented the simultaneous appointment of a vice-president, who would be the real leader of the Party.

An important victory for the "new guard" was the decision on 12 August to elect high party leaders by a member's vote instead of having them appointed by the President. This move was inaugurated by KAGETSU Sumimasa who was warmly supported by the younger members.

THE

-3-

(Tokyo's Despatch No. 564, Enclosure No. 1)

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS:

In the Social Democratic Party the movement towards consolidation of its forces gained added momentum by the founding of a "Brier Society" (Ibara-kai) for friendly intercourse between the right-wing and left-wing factions of the Party. Meanwhile, their recently purged right-winger, KONO Mitsu, was gaining rather wide Diet support in seeking re-examination of his case by the Cabinet's Board of Review. It is understood that the Government still hopes for Socialist support for its economic measures, most of which have met with severe Socialist criticism recently. The Party seems to have stiffened in its attitude, its leaders feeling they must win the people's respect by a firm and consistent policy as the leading opposition party, which may be called upon at any time to take over the responsibility for government.

Two Independent Diet members joined the Social-Democratic Party, bringing its Diet strength to 97 members. They are FUJITA Eiichi from Chiba, and TAKEYA Centaro from Miyagi prefecture.

The Socialists received public support from their unions this month. At a 3-day conference of the National Federation of Labor (855,000 members) not only elected the right-wing Socialist labor-leader MATSUOKA as its president, but with a clear majority voted for support of the Social-Democratic Party. Left-wing leader KATO was overwhelmingly defeated both for the presidency and the secretary generalship which went to HARA Toraichi, a Matsuoka man.

THE CENTRIST COALITION:

The Co-operative-Democratic Party provided the major political news of this half-month by its negotiations with the Shinsei-kai, the Diet's catch-all bargaining group of Minor Party and Independent Members, which led to a definite agreement to merge. The new party will be called Kyodo-Shinseito (Cooperative New Political Party) and can count on at least 80 members to start with; making it a major party on a par with the Socialists and the Progressives. The negotiations received impetus from the clearance of YAMAMOTO Sanehiko, Cooperative president, from purge-charges by the Japanese Government. YAMAMOTO will head the new party and is said to have been approached on the subject of a Cabinet post in exchange for the new party's support of the government.

Bitter opposition to the merger came from the KITA brothers, who insist that their one-time Cooperative Party is losing its character by abandoning its insistence on a "cooperative" economy for all of Japan. Political interest is overruling their protests, however, and while advocating the cooperative principle, the party is ready to recognize other economic forms as valid and useful in Japan's reconstruction. In so doing it is likely to lose about 5 members of its "old guard", but gaining at least 40 middle-of-the-road readers from the Shinsei-kai who needed leadership.

Although at present very weak in principles, and none to strong in leadership, the new party may become an important political factor in Japan by its central position - between the Liberals and the Social Democrats. If capably led, it may on critical issues hold the balance of power and therefore the real decision.

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(Tokyo's Despatch No. 564, Enclosure No. 1)

One of the party's Executive Committee members is MATSUMOTO Takizo, an energetic and intelligent ex-professor of English literature who ran as an Independent from Hiroshima and has a deep sense of responsibility. Another newcomer to politics is WIKAWA Tadao, experienced co-operative financial expert, and like MATSUMOTO imbued with many American views. If the co-operatives from which the mother-party drew its strength get democratized and stay behind it, the new centrist party will have very solid roots among the people. It is a development worth watching.

THE COMMUNISTS:

Still smarting under last month's blow by which they were frozen out of the "Democratic Front" movement, the Communists received a further rebuff in an open rejection of their influence by the Socialist-sponsored National Federation of Labor Unions. Their only consolation was that the "Democratic Front" was not getting anywhere under Socialist sponsorship either. It simply lacked reality and vital leadership.

In Hokkaido the Party received a setback by the resignation of Ko MIZUTANI, chief secretary of the National Coal Mine Workers Union, after the Dai-Yubari branch of the union had objected to the slogan "Strive for the Establishment of a People's Republic" as too political. Quickly the Communists tried to forestall similar resignations by denouncing Mizutami's action as "petit bourgeois" and stating that union members may belong to any party they choose.

An unexpected blast came from the ex-Communist SANO Gaku who attached the Communists as totalitarians who merely pretend to play the parliamentary game. This stab accompanied the publicity given to SANO'S ideas in connection with his proposed new party. The Communists bitterly denounced SANO'S movement as a "handy agent for the conservative forces", calling SANO a "notorious treacherous political gangster" who would seek to doom Japan to "semi-colonial" status.

THE FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC VANGUARDS:

Under this name SANO Gaku, one-time Communist who had recanted under official pressure, launched his movement for the establishment of a political party which will have "Socialism under the Tenno System" as its aim. Initial membership is claimed to be 1,800 and nationwide, composed largely of "reformed" leftists. They stand for "abolition of privileged classes, elimination of the feudal system; democratization of the Diet, the provincial political system and of the country's economy."

They differ from other leftists in rejecting "class prejudices", denouncing the Social Democratic Party as "corrupt" and the Communist Party as "too extremely to the left"; while they stress the "principles of Occidental Socialism" but base themselves on "the Oriental concept of the world". Under a democratized Tenno system they seek ultimately "a union of socialist states among Japan, China and Korea".

WOMEN

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(Tokyo's Despatch No. 564, Enclosure No. 1)

WOMEN IN THE DIET:

A petition demanding abolition of concubinage, has been presented to the House of Representatives' Petitions Committee. It pointed out that 175,000 Japanese women are living a "shady life" and that "such a feudalistic slave system is a disgrace to Japan and must be eliminated".

Women members of the House of Representatives are planning to sponsor a women's federation for the establishment of a peaceful Japan. This federation would plan peace enterprises, such as citation of women pioneers in the peace movement, holding of peace expositions, erection of peace towers and establishment of peace museums. It would also study women's education, welfare and labor.

THE "ASAHI" POLL:

The results of the July "Asahi" poll on political opinion were published early August, showing the following startling figures on party support:

Progressives	12,355	10.1%
Liberals	28,810	23.6%
Social Democrats	49,843	40.8%
Communists	5,903	4.8%
Cooperative Democrats	6,348	5.2%
Other parties	1,114	0.9%
Support no party	<u>17,894</u>	<u>14.6%</u>
	122,267	100%

Much excited comment was raised by the strong position of the Socialists in this list. Over-sanguine conclusions on this basis are not to be drawn, however. "Asahi" reaches cities and big towns, but not the vast masses of country people. It is the latter that provides the Conservative votes.

P. K. ROEST
Chief, Political Affairs Division

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

22

Stoddard

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: *9/3/46*

TO ^{*N/B*} : *Alice Curran*
FROM : ^{*IEP*} *F.P. Lattin, Jr.*
SUBJECT: *Returning Stoddard file*

file

*Thanks very much for
letting me see this file.
J.P.L.*

SEP 4 11 31 AM '46
OFFICE OF
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
STATE DEPARTMENT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

ATC -

Am working with
Bowles on revision of
~~the~~ press release.
You work with him on
letter.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A-B - Miss Curran

AUG 23 11 38 AM '46

DATE: August 22, 1946

FROM : ADO - Mr. Bowles

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY STATE DEPARTMENT A-8

SUBJECT: Press Release on Selection of a Tutor for the Crown Prince of Japan

The attached draft is submitted for your approval. It relates to the appointment of a tutor which was announced through a Department press release early in March.

John Home: What do you think of this? Gordon should release it.

894.00/8-2246

CS/JEC

894.00/8-2246

GR

DC/R
Anal. 15
Rev.
Dist. 11/1/46

ADO:GTB^{AB}owles:mbv

8/22/46

Area Division

PRESS RELEASE

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This announcement is a sequel to the information received here late in March that the Japanese Emperor had requested Dr. Stoddard to recommend a suitable American woman as the crown prince's tutor.

Mrs. Vining comes of Quaker background, having been graduated from Germantown Friends School and Bryn Mawr College. Both as a teacher and a writer she is admirably suited to this responsibility. Under the name of Elizabeth Janet Gray, she is the author of a number of books for children and young people, including "Adam of the Road", "Sandy", and "Young Walter Scott", and was at one time teacher of English composition at Ogontz School for Girls at Rydal, Pennsylvania. In addition to these
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Library Science

FW 994.001/8-2246

- 2 -

Library Science at the University of North Carolina during the summers of 1929 and 1930.

Mrs. Vining's husband, former Associate Director of the Extension Division, University of North Carolina, was killed in an automobile accident in 1933.

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Home - Urbana 7-1400
Univ. of Ill. - Springfield - Monument 3-900

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27 August 1946

Dear Dr. Stoddard:

Mr. Benton is out of town
but I am attaching copies of the Press
Release on Mrs. Vining for your use.

Sincerely,

Alice Curran
Assistant to Mr. Benton

Dr. George Stoddard
President
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

attachments

ATCurran/ego-A-B 27 August 1946

Mrs Vining = (after Aug 26)
6347 Wayne Ave
Phila. 44, Pa.

FW 894.001/8-2246

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II

DEPT.

DR. GEORGE STODDARD
PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA, ILLINOIS

SORRY TO HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO REACH YOU BY ~~TELEPHONE~~ TELEPHONE
COPY OF PRESS RELEASE BEING AIRMAILED YOU TODAY

ALICE CURRAN
Special Assistant to
William Benton
Assistant Secretary of State

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DC/R
Anal <i>15</i>
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A-B-ACurrans/egc 27 August 1946

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

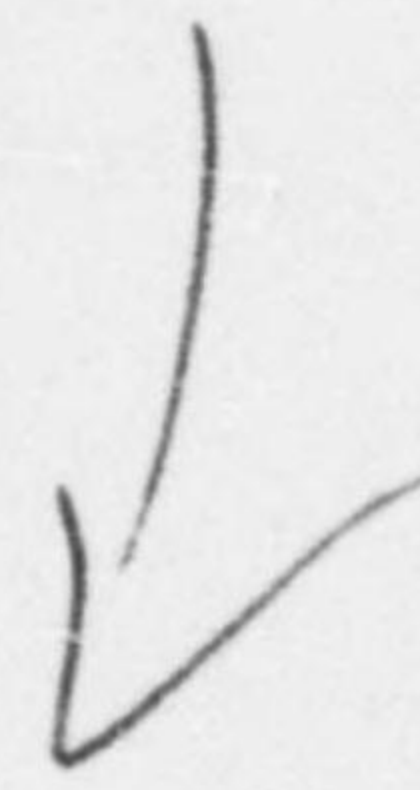
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

AUGUST 26, 1946
No. 599

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER FOR JAPAN

Unrestricted

No. 567

Tokyo, 22 August 1946

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
SEP 9 - 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUBJECT: Minor Parties Represented in the 90th Diet.

1/

The United States Political Adviser has the honor to enclose a study on the subject "Minor Parties Represented in the 90th Diet" which was prepared for General Headquarters by Miss Beate Sirota of the Government Section.

The first part of the survey discusses briefly the results of the elections; the post election alignment of parties; and party objectives.

The second section is a compilation of data on the parties arranged under the following ten headings:

- President
- Membership
- Objective of Party
- Number of candidates who ran for election
- Number of candidates elected
- Name of Diet Representative
- Number of votes received by the Party
- Diet Member's affiliation in the Diet
- Diet Representative's background, and
- Diet Representative's opinion on the Constitution, the food problem, and other important problems.

The survey reveals that the majority of the minor party Diet Representatives approve of the Government draft of a Constitution en toto; several others approve of the Government draft with minor changes; one prefers the Progressive Party draft; and two have no opinion.

Interrogations on the food problem brought forth a variety of opinions for the solution or relief of the food situation. The only point on which there was a common comment by the majority of the Representatives was that of the supplying of sufficient fertilizer to the farmers.

In general the "Minority Parties" are said to be "conservative." This characterization would be of more value if its significance were explained. The Japanese people themselves may be said generally to be "conservative"

in their

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Tokyo's Despatch No. 567, 22 August 1946

in their politics as well as their society.

There is considerable biographic intelligence in the report.

Enclosure: *Att N*

Study on "Minor Parties
Represented in 90th Diet"

Original and Hectograph to Department

800

GAbbey:cbk

mmz

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 567 dated August 2, 1946 from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Minor Parties represented in 90th Diet"

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section
Public Administration Division
Political Parties Branch

6 August 1946

MINOR PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE 90TH DIET

Results of 10 April 1946 Election

In the election of the House of Representatives, held on 10 April 1946, a total of 268 parties, striving for the 466 seats in the House, sponsored 2803 candidates.*

The five major parties, the SHIMPO-TO (Progressive Party), the JIYUTO (Liberal Party), the SHAKAI-TO (Social Democratic Party), the KYOSANTO (Communist Party) and the KYODO MINSHUTO (Co-operative Democratic Party) put up 1424 candidates. The 263 minor parties ran 575 candidates.

Only 30 parties succeeded in electing their candidates to the House of Representatives. With the five major parties seating 352 members, and with the independents numbering 79, the final election results gave 25 minor parties a total representation of 35 members, elected from among 105 candidates sponsored by those parties.

The breakdown of the number of candidates elected by each minor party is as follows:

<u>Number of Candidates Elected</u>	<u>Number of Parties</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	20	20
2	1	2
3	3	9
4	1	4
	<u>Total</u>	<u>35</u>

Post Election Alignment of Minor Parties

Soon after the election, two parties, the Japan Truth Rising Party (Nippon Koseito) and the Japan Party (Nippon-to) were dissolved by the Home Ministry for failure to file the required registration report. The remaining 23 parties' representatives, having no bargaining power, either joined one of the major parties, or aligned themselves with the independents in such bargaining groups as the Daido Club, the Shinko Club, the New Japan Democratic Party Preparatory Committee, the Independent Club, or the Shinseikai. (All of these groups have now been dissolved except for the latter two.)

17 Minor Party Representatives Join Major Parties

Half of the minor party representatives have been absorbed into major parties, as shown in the following three tables:

* Home Ministry Report figures.

<u>Minor Party</u>	<u>Number of Representatives</u>	<u>Major Party</u>
Hyuga Democratic Party (Hyuga Minshu-to)	4	Co-operative Democratic Party
* Co-operative Democratic Party (Kyodo Minshu-to)	2	Co-operative Democratic Party
People's Rights Fellowship Association (Minken Doshi-kai)	1	Co-operative Democratic Party
Japan Agricultural Party Central Federation (Nippon Nohonto Chuo Rammei)	2	Co-operative Democratic Party
Oita Prefecture Agricultural Party (Oita-ken Nohon-to)	1	Co-operative Democratic Party
New Born People's Party (Shinsei Komin-to)	1	Co-operative Democratic Party
Total	<u>11</u>	

NOTE:

Most of the parties which had elected these representatives have also been assimilated into the Co-operative Democratic Party (only 1 was dissolved and 1 remained independent). Thus, the Hyuga Democratic Party, with a membership of 200-300 and the New Born People's Party, with a membership of 3000, have become branches of the Co-operative Democratic Party in their respective prefectures. The Oita Prefecture Agricultural Party, with a membership of 70 is also slated to become a branch of the Party. The Japan Agricultural Party Central Federation, with a membership of 70,500, and backed by rich and influential House of Peers Member MIYATO Mitsuo (who was removed by the purge), has become an integral part of the Party rather than a mere branch. The small Co-operative Democratic Party, with 20 members is dissolved, and the People's Rights Fellowship Association, with a membership of 1000, essentially a cultural organization, remains an independent party.

<u>Minor Party</u>	<u>Number of Representatives</u>	<u>Major Party</u>
Hokkaido Political League (Hokkaido Seiji Domei)	3	Progressive Party
New Japan Young Men's Party (Shin Nippon Seinen-to)	1	Progressive Party
Total	<u>4</u>	

* Co-operative Democratic Party (Kyodo Minshu-to) is a minor party bearing the same name as the large recently formed Co-operative Democratic Party in the Diet.

NOTE:

The Hokkaido Political League with a membership of 60, and including several wealthy Diet Representatives, is becoming a branch of the Progressive Party in Hokkaido, while the New Japan Young Men's Party, with a membership of 14, is believed to be dissolving.

<u>Minor Party</u>	<u>Number of Representatives</u>	<u>Major Party</u>
Japan Truth Rising Party (Nippon Kosei-to)	1	Liberal Party
Japan Party (Nippon-to)	<u>1</u>	Liberal Party
Total	<u>2</u>	

16 Minor Party Representatives Join Bargaining Groups

Only 15 minor parties are still represented in the Diet. All of their representatives but one, the candidate of the Japan Democratic Party (Nippon Minshu-to), joined the two bargaining groups in the Diet, as shown below:

<u>Minor Party</u>	<u>Number of Representatives</u>	<u>Bargaining Group</u>
Starvation Prevention League (Gashi Boei Domei)	1	Independent Club
Democratic Party (Minpon-to)	1	Independent Club
Miyagi Local Party (Miyagi Chiho-to)	3	Independent Club
Japan People's Party (Nippon Minto)	1	Independent Club
New Japan Construction League (Shin Nippon Kensetsu Domei)	1	Independent Club
All Japan Professionals Fellowship Association (Zen Nippon Shokuiki Doshikai)	1	Independent Club
Total	<u>8</u>	

<u>Minor Party</u>	<u>Number of Representatives</u>	<u>Bargaining Group</u>
Middle Way Association (Chudo-kai)	1	Shinsei-kai (New Political Association)
Educational Democratic Party (Kyoiku Minshu-to)	1	Shinsei-kai
Japan Peace Party (Nippon Heiwa-to)	1	Shinsei-kai
Japan Righteousness Party (Nippon Seiron-to)	1	Shinsei-kai
Saitama Prefectural Administration Progress Association (Saitama Kensei Shinko-kai)	1	Shinsei-kai
Young Men's Democratic League (Seinen Minshushugi Domei)	1	Shinsei-kai
New Japan Women's Party (Shin Nippon Fujin-to)	1	Shinsei-kai
Northeastern Japan People's Party (Tohoku Nippon Kokumin-to)	1	Shinsei-kai
Total	<u>8</u>	

Objectives of the Parties

The objectives of these minor parties are for the most part rather vague. The official statements such as "establishment of a new Japan through democracy under the Tenno System" or "convey the people's will to the government" do not give much of an idea of the real aims of the party in question. Actually, many of these parties, with their small membership, had no particular aim in view when they were formed except that of electing candidates. Mrs. ANDO Hatsu, elected Diet representative of the Japan Peace Party (Nippon Heiwa-to), frankly admitted that her party was forced to put her husband up for election, but as he was too "busy", the party (consisting of 30 members) decided to run her as his substitute. A few of these parties, backed by moneyed interests, are dedicated to furthering these interests; while a few others are sincerely interested in helping the Japanese people rehabilitate themselves.

The following grouping is suggested on the basis of present information available.

Parties Representing Moneyed Interests or Pressure Groups

Saitama Prefectural Administration Progress Association
Northeastern Japan People's Party
New Japan Women's Party
Miyagi Local Party
All Japan Professionals Fellowship Association

Parties Representing Idealistic Principles

Educational Democratic Party
Japan Democratic Party
Japan Righteousness Party
Middle Way Association
New Japan Construction League
Starvation Prevention League
Young Men's Democratic League

Parties Whose Aims are Unclear or Based on Personal Ambition

Democratic Party
Japan Peace Party
Japan People's Party

Representatives Elected by Minor Parties

The Diet members elected by the minor parties are, for the most part, politically confused, unable to decide which major party or which group in the Diet to join. They tend to join a certain group because their friends have asked them to do so. There are, of course, some exceptions, such as the Japan Agricultural Party Central Federation (Nippon Nohonto Chuo Rammei), which is well organized, and whose representatives joined the Co-operative Democratic Party because of a definite agreement on policy. Nevertheless, even in this case, one of their representatives, Mr. NAKANO Shiro, went off on his own, joining the Independent Club. Mr. ISHIWARA of the People's Rights Fellowship Association (Minken Doshikai), felt no compunction about belonging to two parties at the same time when he joined the Co-operative Democratic Party after election. He explained that the People's Rights Fellowship Association, which backed him as its candidate, was really a "cultural association" and thus it was perfectly legitimate for him to belong to both. There seems to be no such thing as party loyalty because the parties themselves are quite insignificant, being badly organized and usually quite small. As Mr. KONISHI Toramatsu, a notorious gambler, representing the All Japan Professionals Fellowship Association, said: "I know little about my party, as I was put up for election by my friends. The other three candidates failed, and I was elected. I think my party will soon die a natural death."

The Political immaturity of these minor party representatives was particularly evident in interviews held with them, when they were asked to express their views on vital problems facing Japan today. Their ideas on the solution of the food problem consist of asking SCAP for aid, "increasing" food and fertilizer production, and "improving distribution." Asked how this is to be done, they can give few suggestions. These suggestions range from "forcing rich people through moral compunction" to give up hoarded food, to, "changing the food habits of the Japanese people," and making a new kind of bread.

As to the Constitution, most representatives agree with the government draft chiefly because it "preserves the Tenno System."

Conclusion

The minor parties' representatives are in general a conservative group; some of them are "fronts" for influential interests, others are political opportunists, and still others are sincere but confused proponents of some plan for rehabilitating Japan. They have been, and will continue to be, quite easily influenced by whatever conservative group which seeks their support.

Passed: PER
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Sources: Japanese Home Ministry Reports, and interviews with
Diet Representatives conducted by PPB, PAD G/S

Attached: Annex -- Data on 23 minor parties represented
in the Diet.

A N N E X

Data on 23 minor parties represented in the Diet.

(1)

CHUDO-KAI (Middle Way Association)

Tokyo

President

YONEYAMA Hachiya -- born 27 December 1894 -- graduate of the Department of Economics of Tokyo Imperial University -- clerk of a company. Belonged to the Nippon MINSEI ANTEI KYORYOKU-KAI (Co-operative Society for Stabilizing Japanese National Administration).

Membership

500

Objective of the Party

Contribute in carrying out the Potsdam Declaration and the reconstruction of Japan as a middle-of-the-road party.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

YONEYAMA Fumiko (woman)

Number of votes received by the Party

49,726

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHINSEI-KAI (New Political Association)

Diet Representative's Background

YONEYAMA Fumiko - born 25 April 1902. Graduated from Tokyo Normal School for Women, was teacher of a primary school. Wife of YONEYAMA Hachiya, head of the party.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem, and other important Problemsa. Constitution

Mrs. YONEYAMA approves of the Draft Constitution. She is for a modified tenno system such as it appears in the Constitution.

b. The Food Problem

Mrs. YONEYAMA feels that Japan must not depend on American imports. They must try to compel farmers and zaibatsu morally to give up their hoarded food. If fertilizer, farm equipment and cotton clothing are rationed out to the farmers, they will give up their rice.

(1)

CHUDO-KAI (Middle Way Association)

c. Women's Problems

When the Civil Code Amendment comes up in the Diet, she feels that the 39 Women Diet members will have to get together and raise their voices. When women's problems come up and the men in the Diet are against them, the women will have to band together regardless of party affiliation. As an example of men's interference, she pointed to the Liberal Party. There the men are hindering the efforts of the 6 Liberal Party women to amend the Civil Code.

Mrs. YONEYAMA feels that women should be able to get positions in such government offices as the Welfare Ministry. She said that the Women Diet members had tried to introduce such an idea, but that the men in various political parties are hindering their work. The women in the Diet must watch that the Diet men do not go "astray" such as being influenced by the government.

(2)

KYOIKU MINSHU-TO (Educational Democratic Party)

Akita-ken

President

TOYOGUCHI Eitaro

Membership

9

Objective of the Party

Democracy by Education

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

MARUYAMA Shuichiro

Number of votes received by the Party

70,912

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHINSEI-KAI (New Political Association)

Diet Representative's Background

MARUYAMA Shuichiro, born March 9, 1890, teacher, former councillor of Akita Branch of IRAA, chief of various cultural associations, managing director of Akita Cultural News

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other important Problemsa. Constitution

Mr. HARUYAMA favors the present draft of the Constitution.

b. Food Problem

All the food that has been hoarded should be collected and distributed fairly. Imports will be necessary. SCAP's aid will have to be asked.

(3)

NIPPON HEIWA-TO (Japan Peace Party)

Tokyo

President

ONO Notoji

Membership of the Party

30

Objective of the Party

Peace for Japan

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

ANDO Hatsu (woman)

Number of Votes received by the Party

134,921

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHINSEI-KAI (New Political Association)

Diet Representative's Background

ANDO Hatsu, born January 20, 1920, ex-school teacher

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other important Problemsa. Constitution

Mrs. ANDO approves the Government draft of the Constitution but prefers the Progressive Party's draft.

b. Food Problem

All the Japanese must cooperate more to solve this problem.

c. Women's Problems

The educational and social standard of women must be raised.

The family system must be changed.
In the public schools, the difference between the rich and poor children must be levelled.

(4)

NIPPON SEIRON-TO (Japan Righteousness Party)

Tokyo-to

President

ISHIDA Ichimatsu -- born November 18, 1902 -- humorist-actor

Membership

1,000

Objective of the Party

Establishment of a cultural, peaceful, ideal state through conscientious cooperation under the Tenno system.

Number of Candidates Who Ran For Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

ISHIDA Ichimatsu

Number of Votes received by the Party

34,940

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHINSEI-KAI (New Political Association)

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem, and other important Problemsa. Constitution

Mr. ISHIDA believes the Government draft of the Constitution to be better than the drafts published by the Progressives, the Liberals and the Social Democrats. Yet the position of the Emperor is not defined clearly enough. The Emperor should be given the power to veto the designation of a prime-minister by the Diet.

b. Food Problem

The Japanese must become convinced that they can live without rice. There are many substitutes available such as potatoes. Rich people must be forced through moral compunction to give up hoarded food. More fertilizer must be produced and food production in general increased. SCAP will have to be asked for help.

(5)

SAITANA KENSEI SHINKO-KAI (Saitama Prefectural Administration
Progress Association) Saitama-ken

President

ISODA Masunori -- born January 15, 1899 -- occupation:
agriculture

Membership

2,000

Objective of the Party

Establish democracy by following a middle-of-the-road policy.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Who Were Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

ISODA Masunori

Number of Votes received by the Party

71,074

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHINSEI-KAI (New Political Association)

Diet Representative's Background

Mr. ISODA was village head from 1934 till 1946 and
Prefectural Assembly member in 1938

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food
Problem and other important Problems

a. Constitution

Mr. ISODA agrees with the government draft of the
Constitution

b. Food Problem

It is necessary to produce more fertilizer

c. Lumber and Coal Control

Mr. ISODA is against control of lumber. He wants free
production. Would like to see the control law abolished.
Regulations concerning coal must also be done away with.

d. Communism

The destructive element is very strong in Communism.
Although allegedly there is no international Communism
any more, Soviet influence still exists.

(6)

SHINEN MINSHUSHUGI DOMEI (Young Men's Democratic League)

Yamaguchi Prefecture

President

HIKIDA Toshie, born May 27, 1902 -- president of the Boka Jutaku Company (Fire-Proof Buildings Company) and president of Shinwa Doboku Company (Engineering Works Company)

Membership

100

Objective of the Party

To preserve the Emperor System and to establish Japanese democracy.
To combine the young men of Japan in establishing a new Japan.
Carry out the Potsdam Declaration and gain international prestige.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

HIKIDA Toshio

Number of Votes Received by the Party

39,577

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHINSEI-KAI (New Political Association)

Diet Representative's Background

Committee member of the Marriage Mediation Committee of Yamaguchi Prefecture; Commissioner of the District Welfare Commission of Yamaguchi Prefecture; Prefectural Commissioner of Yamaguchi Prefecture for the Protection of Youth

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other important Problemsa. Constitution

He agrees in general with the draft constitution, but would like to see the peerage abolished.

b. Food Problem

The prices of food must be raised and the Rationing system must be reformed. Rationing should **not** be carried out according to prefecture, but rather on a nation-wide basis. Fertilizer production must be taken over by the government.

(6)

SEINEN MINSHUSHUGI DOMEI (Young Men's Democratic League)

c. War Sufferers and Repatriates

Mr. HIKIDA is forming a league among Diet members for helping war sufferers. They will try to solve the housing problem and other problems of war sufferers in cooperation with the government.

(7)

SHIN NIPPON FUJINTO (New Japan Women's Party)

Tokyo-to

President

MIYATO Yoshiko, born March 22, 1919, wife of former president of Shin Rippon-to (New Japan Party)

Membership

1,000

Objective of the Party

World peace.

Establishment of a liberal government based upon democracy under the Emperor System.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

8

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

YOSHIDA Sei (woman)

Number of Votes received by the Party

123,938

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHINSEI-KAI (New Political Association)

Diet Representative's Background

YOSHIDA Sei, dentist, champion shot-putter.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem, and other important Problemsa. Constitution

YOSHIDA Sei approves of the Government Draft of the Constitution.

b. Food Problem

Fertilizer production and irrigation must be improved. Distribution must be smoothed out and fishing must be improved. But this will not be sufficient. SCAP will have to be asked for food imports.

c. Women's Problems

Mrs. YOSHIDA wants to have the Civil Code as well as the Family Law revised. She wants to elevate the morality of Japanese women, who are becoming very loose.

(8)

TOHOKU NIPPON KOKUMIN-TO (Northeastern Japan People's Party)

Akita-ken

President

SUZUKI Yagoro, born October 11, 1920, director of Imperial Company for Increase of Agricultural Production, chairman of Hokuyo Fishery Laborers Association

Membership

3,000-4,000

Objective of the Party

Support of the Tenno System.
Denial of the Communist Party.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

SUZUKI Yagoro

Number of votes received by the Party

31,567

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHINSEI-KAI (New Political Association)

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem, and other Important Problemsa. Constitution

The draft Constitution is acceptable to Mr. SUZUKI. As long as the Tenno System is preserved, he is in favor of the draft.

b. Food Problem

Because of the fumbling of the bureaucrats the present food shortage persists. A fundamental policy must be formed for helping the farmers. Industry must be given reparations. Mr. SUZUKI feels that although the food crisis is serious, it is not as great as Communist propaganda would make it appear.

c. Bureaucracy

Japanese bureaucracy must be reformed and made efficient as the present bureaucratic system is the same as before the war.

(9)

GASHI RORI DOMEI (Starvation Prevention League) Tokyo-to

President

MATSUPANI Tenkoko, born January 22, 1919, graduate of Law Department of Wasada University

Membership

3,000

Objective of the Party

An association to ensure the stability of the livelihood of the masses.

Number of Candidates Who Ran For Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representatives

MATSUTANI Tenkoko (woman)

Number of Votes Received by the Party

45,688

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

Independent Club

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other Important Problems

a. Food Problem

First of all the government must get at the foodstuffs available within the country. More fish and pulverized food must be obtained. If that should not be enough, food and fertilizer will have to be imported. The government must have a monopoly on barley and rice. Potatoes, fish, barley and rice should be included in the 3 go ration. The Japanese should change their food habits to include vegetables besides barley and rice.

b. Social problems

Orphanages for orphans within Japan as well as repatriated orphans must be established. Repatriates in camps must be rehabilitated spiritually.

(10)

MINPON-TO (Democratic Party)

Osaka

President

ENOMOTO Saichi

Membership

600

Objective of the Party

Establishment of a new Japan through democracy and under the Tenno System

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

7

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

MIKI Kiyoko (woman)

Number of votes received by the Party

44,056

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

Independent Club

Diet Representative's Background

MIKI Kiyoko, born April 20, 1919 - former manager of a tea parlor and apartment house -- indicted for violation of the Election Law.

(11)

MIYAGI CHINO-TO (Miyagi Local Party)

Miyagi-ken

President

SATO Yayoji

Membership

200-300

Objective of the Party

Preserve the Emperor System.
Reconstruct the political and economic field.
Local autonomy.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

7

Number of Candidates Elected

3

Names of Diet Representatives

TAKEYA Centaro
ASE Shungo
INOUS Tojiro

Number of Votes Received by the Party

204,425

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

Independent Club

Diet Representative's Background

TAKEYA Centaro, born February 14, 1901. Active in police service from 1936 to 1937 and again in 1942. Chief of Inner Affairs Department, Chiba Prefecture in 1943, and of Niigata Prefecture in 1945. Former councillor of the Shizuoka Branch of the IRAA as well as on the Standing Committee of the Chiba Prefectural Branch of the IRAA.

ABE Shungo, born November 23, 1884. Administrative advisor of Shioguma City, chairman of Central Japanese Society of Southern California, chairman of Japanese Society of Los Angeles.

INOUE Tojiro, born January 13, 1906, director of a company. Former secretary of Miyagi Branch of the Minseitō. Member of the Cooperative Conference of the Miyagi Branch of the IRAA.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and Other Important Problemsa. Constitution

TAKEYA Centaro agrees in general with the Government's draft of the Constitution. Yet he feels that it should be specified that the Emperor acts as the representative of the people in such functions as sending ambassadors to foreign lands. Furthermore the Japanese language used in the Constitution is not very good. It should be simple but better Japanese.

(11)

MIYAGI CHIHO-TO (Miyagi Local Party)

b. Food Problem

The price of rice must be raised and must be paid for with money. More goods must be produced, so that the farmers can buy something with their money. Chemical fertilizer production must be increased.

c. Local Government

TAKEYA Centaro believes that the governor should be elected by the people and that local affairs should be decided by the locally elected officials, rather than have the central government designate officials to perform these functions.

d. Woman

Woman have been like slaves up till now. They must be given rights. This will improve society in general.

(12)

NIPPON MINTO (Japan People's Party)

Tokyo

President

HASHIMOTO Tomisaburo, ex-newspaperman, former chief of the Far Eastern Department of Asahi Shimbun.

Membership

1,000

Objective of the Party

Establishment of a cooperative socialist democracy.
Construction of a peaceful state under the Emperor System.
Cooperation in the maintenance of international peace under the principle of co-prosperity of the human race.
Establishment of basis human rights.
Realization of national welfare through freely expressed public opinion, so as to achieve stability and progress of national life.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

10

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

TOGAMO Satoko (woman)

Number of votes received by the Party

196,371

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

Independent Club

Diet Representative's Background

TOGAMO Satoko, born November 29, 1908 - former instructor

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and Other Important Problemsa. Constitution

TOGAMO Satoko agrees with the greater part of the Government's draft of the constitution.

b. Food Problem

All Japanese must cooperate to solve the food problem. But even if the distribution is good, it won't be enough and imports will have to be asked for. Fertilizer must be rationed. Farmers must be induced to give up their rice by giving them the things they need.

c. Women's Problems

Women's position must be improved. Women must get as much pay as man. A law must be enacted to that effect. Women must get health leave and other allowances.

(13)

SHIN NIPPON KENSETSU DOMEI (New Japan Construction League) Mio-bun

President

TANAKA Risao, born December 18, 1905 -- former president of the Board of Directors of the Sendai Fiber Goods Retailers' Controlling Association -- now going into agriculture -- disciple of OZAKI Yukio (veteran parliamentarian).

Membership

200-300

Objective of the Party

Construction of a New Japan which will contribute to the peace and happiness of the peoples of the world.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

TANAKA Hisao

Number of votes received by the Party

35,918

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

Independent Club

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and Other Important Problemsa. Constitution

TANAKA Hisao did not feel qualified to talk about the Constitution but felt that the government draft was good.

b. Food Problem

The official price of rice is too low. That is the reason the farmers will not sell their stocks. His party has formulated a plan for increasing the price of rice and for distributing of rice. The plan proposes that the government buy 50% of a farmer's rice supply at 200 yen per koku. 30% would be bought at 600 yen per koku, 10% at 1000 yen per koku and 10% at 1500 yen per koku.

Mr. TANAKA is explaining this plan to Diet members and is, according to himself, generally getting their approval.

In order to solve the food problem, the fertilizer problem must be solved. To accomplish this, fertilizer companies must be subsidized by the government.

(13)

SHIN NIPPON KENSETSU DOMEI (New Japan Construction League)

The Fishery problem also must be solved. At present there are no nets and there is no oil. The cotton for the nets will have to be obtained from America. Fish could be used both as food and fertilizer.

Another problem is the small land-owner question. During the war, many small landowners rented their land, and now they want it back, but the tenant-farmers refuse to give it up. The big landowners' land should be divided up among the tenants and the small landowners should get their land back.

Mr. TANAKA also felt that there should be fewer ministries as there are too many bureaucrats. He feels that 1/3 of the bureaucrats should be eliminated, and higher salaries given to the individual government employee.

(14)

ZEN NIPPON SHOKUIKI DOSHIKAI (All Japan Professionals Fellowship
Association) Osaka

President

TSUGUTA Torao

Membership

40

Objective of the Party

Support of the Emperor System
Establishment of a Japanese democracy
Improvement and stabilization of national livelihood

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

4

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

KONISHI Toromatsu

Number of votes received by the Party

74,165

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

Independent Club (Mr. KONISHI believes that the party which elected him will die a natural death)

Diet Representative's Background

KONISHI Toramatsu, born September 10, 1903 -- civil works and building contractor -- Director of Torabayashi-gumi Company -- chief of Nokuson Labor Union -- violated Election Law in 1925 and was imprisoned. In 1933 imprisoned for gambling. In 1938 and in 1944 again imprisoned for gambling.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and Other Important Problems

a. Constitution

Mr. KONISHI has no opinion on the Constitution. In his own words he has come up from the laboring classes, is not a politician, and knows little about political matters.

b. Food Problem

SCAP must be asked to alleviate the food shortage.

c. Unemployment

Labor and management must cooperate and produce goods. Then the unemployment problem will be solved.

d. Labor

Mr. KONISHI wants to present the problems of labor to the Diet.

(15)

NIPPON MINSHU-TO (Japan Democratic Party)

Shimo-ken

President

NUMO Toshiaki, born August 30, 1889, author, traveled widely in Europe and America

Membership

300

Objective of the Party

Convey the people's will to the government.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

NUNO Toshiaki

Number of votes received by the Party

77,090

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

Independent

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other Important Problemsa. Constitution

Mr. NUNO approves of the draft constitution, but he would like the word "daijin" (minister) taken out of it, and the word secretary substituted. He believes minister is old, feudal terminology.

b. Food Problem

The food problem can be solved by a decrease in population. But in the meantime rice will have to be gotten from the southern areas.

c. Other Important Problems

The police force must be diminished. Women's rights must be strengthened.

(16)

HYUGA MINSHU-TO (Hyuga Democratic Party) Miyasaki-ken

President

ITO Iwao, born August 24, 1888, director of the New Timber Company and two other companies -- 3 times elected member of the Diet, former secretary of Seiyukai.

Membership

200-300

Objective of the Party

Establishment of Japanese democracy.
Liberation of the farmers.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

7

Number of Candidates Elected

4

Name of Diet Representatives

ITO Iwao, MORI Yukio, KAWANO Yochimitsu, OHASHI Kimi

Number of Votes Received by the Party

203,231

Diet Members' Affiliation in the Diet

KYODO MINSHU-TO (Cooperative Democratic Party) - (the Hyuga Minshuto has become a branch of the Kyodo Minsha-to).

Diet Representatives' Backgrounds

MORI Yukio, born September 24, 1892, lawyer.

KAWANO Yoshimitsu, born January 6, 1897, brewer.

OHASHI Kind, born January 29, 1905, school teacher.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and Other Important Problems.a. Constitution

Mr. ITO agrees with the Government's draft of the Constitution.

b. Food Problem

Food production must be increased, and food must be imported. Rationing and distribution must be improved. Fertilizer production must be increased by government control of production.

c. Land Reform

Land must be freed from the landowners and distributed fairly among the farmers and tenants.

(17)

KYODO MINSHO-TO (Co-operative Democratic Party) Hiroshima Prefecture

President

OHARA Hiro, born March 15, 1893, doctor, former Minseito member and director of the Great Japan Political Association's branch in Hiroshima, advisor of the Hiroshima Branch of the IRAA.

Membership

20

Objective of the Party

Co-operative Movement.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

6

Number of Candidates Elected

2

Name of Diet Representatives

OHARA Hiro
OMIYA Gosaburo

Number of Votes Received by the Party

302,978

Diet Members' Affiliation in the Diet

KYODO MINSHU-TO (Co-operative Democratic Party) -- (the large Kyodo Minshu-to - the Hiroshima Prefecture Co-operative Democratic Party has been dissolved).

Diet Representative's Background

CHIYA Cosaburo, born October 17, 1897, manager of a press company.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other Important Problemsa. Constitution

The draft constitution is acceptable except that the Emperor should have the veto power.

b. Food Problem

Food must be collected from the farmers, but as in spite of this there will still not be enough, it must be imported from abroad.

(18)

HINKEN DOSHI-KAI (People's Rights Fellowship Association) Tokyo-to

President

ISHIWARA Noboru, born October 3, 1913, former director of Nakajima Mining Machinery Company, in 1944 head of General Business and Planning of Koa Tokushu Chuko Shares Company.

Membership

1,000

Objective of the Party

Work for cultural enlightenment so as to establish a democratic peaceful country.

Construct a new Japan on the basis of the fundamental human rights.

Break down the feudalistic system and organize a democratic government from the lower classes.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

8

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representatives

ISHIWARA Noboru

Number of votes received by the Party

113,167

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

KYODO MINSHU-TO (Co-operative Democratic Party) (as the HINKEN DOSHI-KAI is a cultural association rather than a political party, Mr. ISHIWARA feels he can be a member of both).

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other Important Problemsa. Constitution

Mr. ISHIWARA agrees with the Government draft of the Constitution, but would like to see the Emperor with the veto power.

b. Food Problem

Farmers want clothing and utensils in payment for their rice. This must be provided. Help must be asked from SCAP to tide over the food crisis. The government is trying hard to increase fertilizer production but is not succeeding very well.

c. Unemployment

Unemployed should be ordered to work in other countries.

d. Education

Care must be exercised in the education of the young, otherwise they will join the Communist Party.

(19)

NIPPON HOHONTO CHUI REMGEI (Japan Agricultural Party Central
Federation) Kagoshimaken

President

NISHI Torioto, member of the House of Peers

Membership

70,500

Objective of the Party

Establishment of an agricultural state and the principle of self-governing cooperation management.
Against all destructive movements.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

17

Number of Candidates Elected

3

Names of Diet Representatives

UDA, Kunis, HARA Kuni, NAKANO Shiro

Number of votes received by the Party

137,358

Diet Members' Affiliation in the Diet

UDA and HARA joined the KYODO MINSHU-TO (Co-operative Democratic Party) - (The whole NIPPON HOHONTO CHUO REMGEI has joined the KYODO MINSHU-TO)

NAKANO Shiro has joined the Independent Club

Diet Representatives' Background

UDA Kunie, born 1 March 1903, former director of a news agency, publisher of a magazine "Tea Kokusei", June 1945 part-time non-official staff member of OEA Ministry, October 1945, non-official staff member in the Foreign Office.

NAKANO Shiro, born 25 January 1907, president of Japan Tourist Coupon Company; formerly advisor of the Ushigomo-ku sub-division of the IRAA.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other Important Problems

a. Constitution

Mr. UDA agrees with the draft Constitution.

MR. NAKANO also supports the Government draft of the Constitution, but would like to see the veto power invested in the Emperor.

(19)

NIPPON HOHONTO CHUO REMGEI (Japan Agricultural Party Central Federation)

b. Food Problem

According to Mr. UDA there must be an increase in production. The farmers need fertilizer, and the Government must provide them with it. The Japanese eat too much rice. They must get used to eating more fish, vegetables, etc. They will need the help of SCAP in the procurement of fishing vessels, oil and nets. Nevertheless, Mr. UDA is confident that the Japanese people will be able to live through the summer and autumn, as new crops of potatoes etc. are coming out.

Mr. NAKANO feels that the price of rice paid by the Government must be raised.

c. Reconstruction of Japan

Mr. UDA feels that the Japanese people must work towards the reconstruction of Japan. There are great dangers in Communism because it furthers the class struggle which is destructive rather than constructive.

(20)

OITA-KEN NOHONTO (Oita Prefecture Agricultural Party) Oita-ken

President

MIZUNON Fumihiko, former member of IRAA

Membership

70

Objective of the Party

Liberation of the farmers.
Establishment of a system of autonomous cooperative organizations within agricultural, mountainous and fishing villages.
Establishment of a truly cultural society based on the principle of morality under the Tenno System.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

1

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

HIRANO Machiro

Member of votes received by the Party

41,248

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

KYODO MINSHU-TO (Co-operative Democratic Party) -- (OITA-KEN NOHONTO is being dissolved - might become branch of KYODO MINSHU-TO)

Diet Representative's Background

HIRANO Hachiro, born March 2, 1889, chief of the Oita branch of the Kogyo-kai (Agricultural Association), former chief of the Citagun Headquarters of the IRAPS, and councillor of Oita-ken branch of IRAPS.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other Important Problemsa. Constitution

Mr. HIRANO agrees with the Government draft of the Constitution.

b. Food Problem

To solve the food problem, food prices must be raised and the government must give the farmers fertilizer.

(21)

SHINSEI KOMIN-TO (New Born People's Party)

Aichi-ken

President

TAJIMA Yoshihumi

Membership

3,000

Objective of the Party

Establishment of Japanese democracy based on liberalism.
Construction of a peace-loving Japan.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

2

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

KOSHIHARA Haru (woman)

Number of votes received by the Party

79,225

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

KYODO MINSHU-TO (Co-operative Democratic Party) -- (The SHINSEI KOMIN-TO has become a branch of the KYODO MIRSHU-TO)

Diet Representative's Background

KOSHIHARA Haru, born January 24, 1885, principal of Nagoya Girls' High School

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other Important Problemsa. Constitution

Mrs. KOSHIHARA approves of the Government draft of the Constitution.

b. Food Problem

Mrs. KOSHIHARA is in favor of the government plan to have farmers release hoarded goods. She believes the food shortage would be alleviated if edible roots and vegetables were used to a greater extent. In case there is still an insufficient quantity of food SCAP should be asked for help. The staple food of Japan should be changed from rice to bread. Mrs. KOSHIHARA has a plan which she wants to present in the Diet on starting a movement to grind rice with other grain, potatoes and wild roots to make a new kind of bread.

c. Women's Problems

Women's position must be raised. They must have absolutely equal political and economic rights. The Civil Code must be revised to that end.

(22)

HOKKAIDO SEIJI DOMEI (Hokkaido Political League)

Hokkaido

President

CHIZAKI Usaburo, born January 2, 1897, director of a company. Formerly standing director of the Hokkaido Branch of the IRRA as well as an adviser of that organization.

Membership

60

Objective of the Party

Economic and cultural development of Hokkaido

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

12

Number of Candidates Elected

3

Names of Diet Representatives

CHIZAKI Unaburo
SHIIKUMA Saburo
HOMMA Takashi

Number of votes received by the Party

352,751

Diet Members' Affiliation in the Diet

Progressive Party (the three representatives are aiming at establishing the Hokkaido Seiji Domei as a branch of the Progressive Party).

Diet Representatives' Background

SHIIKUMA Saburo, born May 29, 1901, employee of a company.
HOMMA Takeshi, born October 10, 1911, lumber merchant, former member of IRRA

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, Food Problem and other Important Problemsa. Constitution

Mr. HOMMA fully supports the Government's draft constitution, although he feels "sad" about the Emperor's lowered position.

b. Food Problem

Farmers must give up their hoarded rice. But still there will not be enough. Therefore food will have to be imported.

c. Local Government must be strengthened, but the central government must help Hokkaido formulate a far-reaching 10 to 15 year plan for the economic development of that part of the country.

(23)

SHIN NIPPON NEINEN-TO (New Japan Youth Party)

Tokyo-to

President

TANAKA Seigi, writer, former director of the Propaganda Division of the Minseito

Membership

14

Objectives of the Party

To establish a democratic administration.
To fight against Communism.

Number of Candidates Who Ran for Election

4

Number of Candidates Elected

1

Name of Diet Representative

TAKEUCHI Utaki (woman)

Number of votes received by the Party

90,013

Diet Member's Affiliation in the Diet

SHIMPO-TO (Japan Progressive Party) -- (Miss TAKEUCHI believes the SHIN NIPPON SEINEN-TO will dissolve itself because the movement is too weak).

Diet Representative's Background

TAKEUCHI Utako, born December 15, 1915, worked for Miyako Shinbum in 1932 as a typist -- since then has been employee of several companies.

Diet Representative's Opinion on the Constitution, the Food Problem and other Important Problemsa. Constitution

Miss TAKEUCHI approves of the government draft of the Constitution.

b. Food Problem

Production must be increased. There will be a shortage, however, because the farmers do not have enough food. The people must cooperate to overcome this crisis. The Government should ration out fertilizer in the villages.

c. Women's Problems

The power of women must be strengthened. There are certain woman's problems that men cannot understand and the women will have to be the ones to solve them. There must be higher wages and equal pay for equal work as well as shorter hours for women.

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Tokyo, August 22, 1946

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Pen-Portrait of TSUJI Karoku, Emerson Wildes

Political Adviser has the honor to
TSUJI Karoku, by Dr. Harry
Chief, Political Affairs Division,
General Headquarters, Supreme Commander

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No. 568

Tokyo, August 22, 1946 ~~DRF~~

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
SEP 9 - 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DC/R

SUBJECT: Transmitting Pen-Portrait of TSUJI Karoku,
by Dr. Harry Emerson Wildes

1/ The United States Political Adviser has the honor to
transmit pen-portrait of TSUJI Karoku, by Dr. Harry
Emerson Wildes, Assistant Chief, Political Affairs Division,
Government Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander
for the Allied Powers.

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Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 568 dated August 22 1946 from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Transmitting Pen-Portrait of TSUJI Karoku

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section
Political Affairs Division

16 August 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: TSUJI Karoku

TSUJI Karoku, mystery man of Japanese politics, keeps no books and his memory is highly fallible. He can not, four months after the 1946 Diet campaign, remember even the names of those to whom he gave at least half a million yen, much less the amount which each beneficiary received. As to the millions of yen which he admits having contributed in previous campaigns, he has positively no recollection whatever.

Or so he says.

Since 1920, with the exception of the seven war years, TSUJI admits that he advance huge sums to candidates. In most cases he has not been repaid nor has he expected repayment.

"Gratitude," he says, "is all I ask."

That the recipients are grateful is evidenced by the fact that many key Japanese legislators, especially the Liberal leaders, regard him as their elder brother, for whom they say they will do anything whatever.

What he wants, however, is sometimes difficult to trace. A former contractor, he seeks no government contracts and has not for years accepted any. Perhaps, as a confirmed speculator, he profits by advance information as when, in 1920, he cleared 10,000,000 by purchasing Hokkaido timber cheap and by selling it to the Japanese Government at a tremendous profit, but more recently he has not been engaged in business activity. More probably, as heir to the reactionary ultra-nationalistic Black Dragon interests once commanded by TOYAMA Mitsuru and UCHIDA Rychei, he rules the black markets and the seamier Tokyo realms of vice and crime, but this he indignantly denies.

Most Japanese have no conception of how this little fellow makes a living. Long-time associates profess themselves as puzzled by him. ONO Tomomitsu, for example, who, as secretary-general of TSUJI's favored Liberal Party might surely be expected to have some notion of his benefactor, declares that he has been an intimate for thirty years but when ONO was asked the nature of TSUJI's business, he could merely shake his head and say, "A most peculiar man." OKUBO Tomejiro, another associate for a generation and long-time Tokyo police official, had no idea of the source of TSUJI's wealth.

Both men, however, denied the accusation of a first-term Diet member, not linked with the TSUJI clique, "TSUJI is Japan's Al Capons."

TSUJI does not, however, deny the charge; he laughs wholeheartedly.

He then proceeds to explain how he, in conjunction with the late Prime Minister HARA Takashi, built up a Japanese Tammany Hall system.

"But ours was on a national scale," says TSUJI proudly.

TSUJI was born in Gifu prefecture in 1877, but he does not look his 69 years. A small man, even by Japanese standards, his hair is still thick and black, his heavy mustache shows no grayness and, although he walks with a cane, his carriage is erect and his step is vigorous. He smiles easily but always with a tenseness born of violent intolerance; the close set eyes and the somewhat small, retreating forehead, the gleaming white teeth, marred only by the upper left gold molars, the set of his jaw and the firmness of his gesture make him a man to be remembered as a force.

TSUJI's father was a farmer, "a quite large landowner" who, following the burning of his house and buildings after an earthquake, lost a considerable share of his fortune by manufacturing and exporting bamboo umbrellas. There was enough left, however, to send the boy through middle school and to set him up in business as an advance agent in Manchuria and North China for Japanese manufacturers.

He acted, also, as representative of the American firm of Samuel, Samuel and Company, a firm specializing in the manufacture of chemicals, especially salt, and which held contracts for the introduction of machine industry into China. TSUJI's function in this activity is something that he prefers to leave in doubt but, apparently, he had more concern with political than with industrial or economic matters.

His interest in China, it should be pointed out, coincides exactly, both in point of time and of locale, with the movements of TOYAMA Mitsuru and the ultra-nationalistic Genyosha which was engaged in espionage operations. This parallel is the first of a long succession of incidents in which TSUJI's work coincided with that of the reactionary gang leader who called himself "Japan's Robin Hood."

From China, TSUJI went to Formosa, where, just prior to the annexation of that island to Japan, TOYAMA was also active. Here he spent several years in mysterious activities which, he says, were of a patriotic nature.

Returning to Tokyo in 1901, when he was 24 years old, TSUJI set up business for himself in what he says was "an advisory capacity," specializing in the guidance of young men and in assisting them by loans and by advice. The lending does not appear to have been commercial nor is it clear where he acquired the funds which he freely granted to approved applicants. This technique followed exactly the model set by TOYAMA, first in the Genyosha and later in the Black Dragon Society.

Among those aided by TSUJI was the Chinese revolutionary SUN Yat-Sen, then a refuge in Tokyo. The protection of Dr. SUN has always been one of the services for which TOYAMA took credit but, according to TSUJI, Dr. SUN dealt less with TOYAMA than with TSUJI himself, and lived in TSUJI's residence.

TSUJI has two houses in Tokyop; one, near the Communications Ministry, a huge Japanese building now devoted to the uses of the Jiyu Club, an inner circle of the Liberal Party, with a great reception room, twenty mats large, two sides of which open upon a garden; the other, somewhat smaller, in Akasuku-ku where he housed his clerks and secretaries. The Jiyu Club building is chiefly used for the holding of conferences by Liberal Party executives, but is virtually unknown, except by reputation, to the party's rank and file. Admission to the use of this building is regarded as a passport to leadership within the party.

In addition, TSUJI owns two besso at Zusshi, one of which has been taken over by the Occupation Forces; the other, now containing the furniture of both houses, is used as a week-end retreat.

Immediately prior to the war, TSUJI re-entered business by opening a chemical and oil research laboratory, Nippon Karku Sangyo Kabushiki Kaisha, a joint-stock company in which he holds all the shares and which is capitalized at 500,000 yen. TSUJI is vague about the purpose of this company, of which little is publically known, except to say that it possessed, at one time, a staff of 10 experts and of 14 office workers and that he sank 630,000 yen of his own funds in the venture. This money, he says, was obtained as the result of speculation in lumber and in mining, especially in the Hokkaido and in Saghalien, the same regions, incidentally, where much of the TOYAMA fortune was also derived. The 10,000,000 yen lumber deal is a case in point.

This coup occurred during the premiership of HARA Takachi, boss of Japan's Tammany Hall, and beneficiary of one of the most corrupt political machines in Japanese history. That machine centered in Tokyo politics, where TOYAMA and TSUJI, controlling the soshi and ronin bands then terrorizing the public, delivered the city vote to HARA candidates. Following the assassination of HARA, TSUJI threw his support to TOKONAMI Takejiro, the Home Minister who had tolerated the existence of the gangster bands. The political alliance gave TSUJI a strong foothold within the councils of the Seiyuhonto and of the Seiyukai Party.

These were the factions to which HATOYAMA Ichiro belonged and HATOYAMA, purged Liberal leader, has probably been the most outstanding TSUJI beneficiary. HATOYAMA not only received money directly from TSUJI, over a quarter century period dating from 1920, but, as TSUJI declares, has consistently asked TSUJI to finance favored candidates. The usual procedure followed was for HATOYAMA to provide the expected beneficiary with a personal visiting card upon which a note of introduction was written, together with a sum suggested as sufficient for the candidate's needs. In virtually every case, TSUJI says, the request was honored without further investigation. Sums thus given, during the 1946 Diet campaign, were larger than on previous occasions and the HATOYAMA use of personal cards of recommendation reached a peak of frequency.

TSUJI does not deny that the visiting card technique was invented after the passage of the present "corrupt practices" regulations as a means for evading the spirit as well as the letter of the law.

The polite and fluent TSUJI, always ready with protestations of his complete candor, is always careful not to volunteer information nor is he always as detailed in explanation as might be wished.

He gives the definite impression that he has something to conceal. Thus, for instance, when discussing the fact that he was arrested, under the HIRANUMA Cabinet, in 1938, he professes that he was jailed because he opposed naval estimates but does not explain why a civilian, without political office, should have been bothered by the police. The fact is that TSUJI was jailed, for a 64 day period, because he had been caught making false entries in his financial statements and thereby ran foul of the income tax laws.

HIRANUMA, it should be remembered, represented a militarist group intent on expelling from power all influences centering about political parties. TSUJI, as the financier of the dominant party, was an obvious target for attack.

At present, TSUJI, bearing 70, insists that he engages in no business, other than private investigation on government matters, and that he exercises no power whatsoever. In fact, during the course of a four hour interview, he reiterated several times that his power was entirely absent.

Nevertheless, TSUJI offered to perform any service whatsoever that the interviewer might desire, and to provide any materials of which the interviewer might feel a need.

HARRY EMERSON WILDES

JA - Mr. Borton - Mr. Allison

Sept. 30, 1946

JA - R. Fearey

Pen-Portrait of TSUJI Karoku

The attached report by Dr. Wildes of the Government Section of Headquarters details the history and current behind the scenes - activities of an unsavory and mysterious individual by the name of Tsuji Karoku.

Wealthy financial backer of Hatoyama Ichiro and Hatoyama designated candidates in the 1946 Diet campaign, and, indeed, ever since 1920, Tsuji's career has been such as to earn him the title of "Japan's Al Capone". An associate of former Black Dragon head Toyama Mitsuru since the turn of the century in shady undertakings on the continent and in Japan, including the management of the notorious Hara political machine after the last war, his sources of income have always been obscure, but are believed by Dr. Wildes currently to be derived from the black market and seamier realms of Toyko vice and crime.

Four months after the 1946 campaign Tsuji is unable to recall the names of the candidates -- of whom he asks "only gratitude" -- whom he assisted to the amount of half a million yen. The recipients, however, are known to include a member of key legislators, especially in the Liberal Party leadership, who are reported to afford him the gratitude he requires and to be willing to do anything he asks. One of Tsuji's two Tokyo houses has been turned over to the Jiya Club, an inner circle of Liberal Party executives, admission to which is regarded as a passport to leadership with the Party.

Dr. Wildes offers no estimate of the degree of influence exercised by Tsuji over Liberal Party counsels. It is typical of others of his ilk, however, for Tsuji's type is by no means a rarity in Japanese politics, he is probably content to leave the management of Party affairs to the Party leaders, as long as they continue to represent the general point of view to which he subscribes and can be counted upon to remember him in various ways while in office.

JA:RFearey/sg

JA - Mr. Borton - Mr. Allison

Sept. 30, 1946

JA - R. Fearey

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JA:RFearey/sg



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SEP 30 1946

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Moscow, September 12, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 388

ER JA FLEE 000 ILH CIC

Subject: Comments on Study prepared by SCAP
entitled, "Communist Party", July 24, 1946.

The Chargé d'Affaires ad interim has the honor to refer to Despatch No. 529 from the Political Adviser at Tokyo, dated August 1, 1946, enclosing a paper prepared by SCAP entitled, "Communist Party", and dated July 24, 1946.

The Embassy has read with interest this excellent paper and offers the following comments.

The shift in Japanese Communist policy from the Shiga to the Nosaka line is illustrative of the wide change in Communist tactics which has occurred during the past decade. It was perhaps quite natural that Tokuda and Shiga, who had apparently been imprisoned from 1928 until 1945, should have upon their release from prison laid down a line of aggressive revolutionary action. Such tactics were at the time of their imprisonment the orthodox Communist international line. It was therefore not surprising that upon their emergence they should attempt to take up where they had left off.

Communist tactical policy had, however, in the meantime changed in the direction of gradualism. Nosaka, who had spent the past fourteen years in Moscow and Yen-an, was thoroughly conversant with the current policy. Upon his return to Japan he doubtless conferred with Shiga and Tokuda, informed them that their tactics were outmoded and laid down the new line.

As indicated in the SCAP paper, long range Communist aims in Japan (as elsewhere) are avowedly the creation of a communist society. For present purposes, however, the question of whether Communism can ultimately be attained in Japan, is more or less academic. The live issues are (1) the attempt by the Communist to capture power and (2) the degree of subservience of the Japanese Communist Party to Moscow.

There would seem to be little doubt that the Japanese Communist Party is out to capture authority. Its relationship with Yen-an and Moscow is more difficult to determine. The composition of the Japanese Communist Party Politburo, with its three leading personalities having undergone long Moscow indoctrination, suggests that the ties with the USSR are strong. If Japanese Communist publications consistently assume the same attitude in foreign affairs as Soviet mouthpieces, that fact would further suggest subservience to Soviet authority. So long as the Japanese Communist Party is able to obtain sizable sums from domestic sources, it is unlikely that evidence will be found of Moscow gold filtering into Japan.

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DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
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The Embassy would suggest that it might be useful in further investigations of the Japanese Communist Party to seek to determine how many of Nosaka's Yen'an "students" are now working with him in Japan. It would also be interesting to learn whether Japanese from the USSR have also been brought into positions of authority in the Japanese Communist Party.

Finally, it might be stated that the growth of a healthy economy and a strong liberal movement in Japan are, of course, developments most likely to cut the ground out from under the Japanese Communist Party. Furthermore, wide dissemination of information about the true state of affairs in the USSR would go far towards dissipating the Soviet-concocted mirage of the USSR as an oasis of democracy and well-being in a world of oppression and misery. If Soviet-controlled Communist parties in the Balkans do not hesitate to depict the United States in dark and ominous colors, there would seem to be no valid reason why our occupation authorities in Japan should not permit independent Japanese liberals, such as Social Democrats, to publish freely the truth about the Soviet Union.

Original and Hectograph to the Department
Copy to Tokyo
JDavies:eb

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DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec 3(E) and 5(D) or (E) NND# 760050

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE INCOMING TELEGRAM

Reply to Tokyo drftd 9-23-46. 402 repeated copy Nanking. To DCR 9-23.EER

file 9-30-46 JA

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Tokyo via War

Dated September 13, 1946

Rec'd 1:37 p.m.

SEP 17 1946
DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 17 1946
8:10 AM
Department of State

894.00/9-1346

402, September 13.

Subject is nationality and treatment of Formosans.

We received WAR 99622 just as we were about to lay before Department various considerations in regard to Formosans here and their activities which are causing much concern to this headquarters.

1. There are some 20,000 Formosans in Japan of whom large numbers have for long constituted unruly element of the population. They have been engaging in blackmarket activities in defiance of Japanese Police and also have fights with Korean and Japanese blackmarket dealers. It is estimated that 80 percent of blackmarket operations which have had such severe adverse effect on price and food distribution controls have been conducted by Formosans and Koreans. Both elements are unruly and belligerent and there is one blackmarket section in Tokyo in which Japanese Police are afraid to enter unaccompanied by military police.

2. Early in July following police action to clear out blackmarket stalls in Chibuya district of Tokyo there occurred shooting fray between several truckloads of Formosans and some Japanese Police resulting in fatalities on both sides (see our despatch 595, September 9). At request of Chinese Mission Formosans arrested in connection with this incident were transferred from Japanese jurisdiction to 8th Army for trial by special commission which is to include Chinese member. Formosans arrested have not been

registered

SEP 30 1946

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Confidential File

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Handwritten notes and stamps:
SEP 14 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SECRET

-2-#402, September 13, from Tokyo via War.

registered with Chinese Mission as Chinese Nationals but all were given strong diplomatic protection by Chinese Mission.

3. Up to time of Chinese announcement of conserving of Chinese nationality on all Formosans in Japan, it has been governmentally approved policy that Formosans and Koreans who refused repatriation be accorded treatment as Japanese. As a practical matter occupation authorities are not equipped to set up mixed commissions to handle all Formosan blackmarket and other criminal cases and as blackmarket dealings are offenses against the occupation they would seem logically to fall under the jurisdiction of American Occupation Courts, especially as projected Chinese Occupation Force has not arrived and there are no Chinese Occupation Courts.

4. I have discussed entire question with Ambassador Chu Shih-Ming, head of the Chinese Mission. I asked him what plans Chinese Government had for repatriation Formosans and pointed out that American and other foreign nationals not engaged in occupational duties had in general been repatriated. I asked him if Chinese Government would support Formosans losing legitimate means of earning livelihood. I asked him also what category of persons falling under general term "Taiwanese" were considered by Chinese Government as entitled to Chinese nationality, that is, whether Chinese nationality is to be afforded to persons of Formosan descent having been born in Japan, to Formosans (of whom there are many) who actively collabroated against Allies during the war, to Formosans with criminal records and to those possessing no legitimate means of support. I mentioned that Formosans driven out of blackmarket activities are charge upon Japanese Government for support and contribute to increase food shortage which we are of necessity alleviating by shipment of food from United States.

5. General Chu said that it was planned eventually to repatriate most of the Formosans; that it had not been

possible

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-3-#402, September 13, from Tokyo via War.

possible to register but a small number of them; that Chinese nationality would not be accorded all of them; that at T. V. Soong's instance Bayne now visiting Tokyo was going to discuss with SCWU officials question of changing exchange rate in order that Formosans to be repatriated might liquidate property holdings et cetera without loss. My impression was that Chinese Govt has no definite plans for repatriation Formosans, no open intention of supporting those who will need support if blackmarket can be eliminated, no clearcut idea as to what Formosans may properly be accorded Chinese nationality, and although some effort is being expended to influence them to cease blackmarket et cetera activities.

6. Strict application of recent directives that United Nations nationals may not be restrained or taken into custody by Japanese Police will, if all Formosans are to be treated as United Nations nationals, have disastrously adverse effect upon police morale which has already suffered greatly because of Formosans and diplomatic protection extended to them by Chinese Mission. What is in effect resulting is that Formosans enjoy a kind of extra territoriality and many claim Chinese nationality merely for sake of obtaining protection of Chinese Mission.

7. Before communicating substance of WAR 99662 to Japanese Govt and to implementing stipulation therein, it is requested that SWNCC review entire question of nationality of Formosans and that Dept may wish to discuss matter with Chinese Govt.

8. While we would not question Chinese Govt unilateral declaration regarding nationality of Formosans so far as it may concern Formosans under exclusive Chinese jurisdiction, we wonder whether Chinese Govt can appropriately expect its declaration to override domestic law in an area not under exclusive Chinese jurisdiction and to extend definitely over all Formosans in Japan. We

would also

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-4-402, September 13, from Tokyo via War.

would also wish to emphasize the practical aspect of the problem, namely, that the occupation forces are not equipped to set up mixed commissions, handle bail or enter into any special arrangements for so large a group of aliens; that to substitute military police for Japanese Police would require the assignment here of large number of additional troops; and the Japanese Police are incapable of maintaining peace and order unless they are given authority necessary to do so.

ATCHESON

Note: Message delayed in transmission due to garble.

SW:JRMc

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PREPARING OFFICE WILL TYPE HERE CLEARLY THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE MESSAGE:

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Charge Department:

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Charge to

Department of State

Washington

Paraphrase before commencing to anyone.
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SEP 26 1946

noon

AMEMBASSY,

NANKING.

793

Following/ from Tokyo repeated your info:

894.00/9-1346

CODE ROOM: Please repeat Tokyo's 402, Sept 13

to Nanking as Dept's 793)

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Department of State

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Washington

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Charge to

SEP 26 1946

noon

Paraphrase before commencing
transmission to anyone.
SECRET

AMEMBASSY,

NANKING.

792

INFO: SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS,

TOKYO.

INFO: WAR DEPARTMENT CHIEF OF STAFF.

FOR POLITICAL ADVISER.

SEP 26 1946
J

XK
740.00 115-PW

In view of situation outlined by Tokyo please promptly enter discussions with Chinese Govt (Tokyo's 402 Sept 13 to Dept) with view obtaining agreements that all Taiwanese in Japan be repatriated excepting only those able to establish that they have legitimate means of livelihood there that latter class be suitably documented by Chinese authorities and that after reasonable period any remaining undocumented Taiwanese be considered as not entitled to exemption from Japanese jurisdiction. Doubtless Japanese police dossiers would be made available to Chinese authorities engaged in screening Formosans for repatriation so that priority would be accorded unruly elements. Dept assumes Chinese will pay repatriation costs.

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894.00 / 9-1346
Continued on next page

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Charge to

- 2 -

As Dept understands shipping at disposal SCAP
(Sent Nanking⁷⁹² repeated Tokyo⁴⁹⁸) being ~~demobilized~~ demobilized it
urges Embassy to press for rapid action.

Clayton
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Code Room: Repeat to Tokyo as No. 498

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DIVISION OF
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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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Office of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 27 1946
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Department of State

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Tokyo via War

Dated September 26, 1946

Rec'd 11:55 a.m., 27th

See Deptel to Nanking no.792
Sept. 26, noon, repeated to
Tokyo as 498 for Dept's views.
(The two messages evidently
crossed.) CA/EEB

SEP 27 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

424, September 26

As problem of Formosans tends to become daily more
aggravated, urgently request Department's comment on our
402, September 10 soonest.

ATCHESON

BB:EG

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894.00/9-2646

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 7 1946
MASON OFFICE

OCT 3 1946

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Handwritten initials and marks

AIR MAIL

American Embassy
London, England.
October 11, 1946.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 28 1946
DIVISION OF INTELLIGENCE
REPORTING SERVICES

UNRESTRICTED

No: 2021.

Subject: Request for Monthly Summation of Non-Military Activities Tokyo.

XR 740.00 119 Control (Japan)

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NOV 24 1946

FACILITIES BRANCH

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

NOV 4 1946
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
memo w/ copy to Col. Smith 11/5/46

It is understood that a monthly summation of non-military activities is prepared by our military authorities in Tokyo. I have the honor to request that, if possible, copies of this summation be supplied from month to month to the Embassy.

Respectfully yours,

For the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim:

Cabot Coville

Cabot Coville
First Secretary of Embassy

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In reply refer to
FC:D

November 5, 1946

UNRESTRICTED

To: Lt. Colonel Charles B. Smith,
Chief, Washington Liaison Branch,
Rm 2E 776 The Pentagon Bldg.,
War Department.

From: J. D. Neal, Chief, Division of Foreign
Activity Correlation.

Subject: Request for Monthly Summation of Non-Military
Activities in Tokyo.

There is enclosed a copy of Unrestricted despatch No. 2021 of October 11, 1946 from the American Embassy at London, England in which is stated that it is understood that a monthly summation of non-military activities is prepared by the U.S. Military authorities in Tokyo. It would be appreciated if this summation could be furnished this Division each time it is published for transmittal to the Embassy.

Enclosure:

Copy of No. 2021, Oct 11, 1946
from London.

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Unrestricted 1946 NOV 1 PM 9 26 Tokyo, October 14, 1946
No. 650

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 4 1946
DIVISION OF FOREIGN
REPORTING SERVICES

SUBJECT: Transmission of List of the Principal Officers
of the Major Political Parties in Japan.

894.00/10-1446

The United States Political Adviser has the honor
to enclose a copy of a list of the principal officers
of the six major political parties in Japan.

A detailed report on the political parties in
Japan will be submitted to the Department in the near
future.

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List of principal officers of
6 major political parties

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DIVISION OF BIOGRAPHIC
INTELLIGENCE

Enclosure No. 1 to Tokyo's Despatch No. 650, October 14, 1946,
 Subject: "Transmission of List of the Principal Officers of the
 Major Political Parties in Japan."

JAPAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
 (Nippon Shakai To)

Chief Secretary	KATAYAMA Tetsu
Standing Central Executive Committee	ASANUMA Inajiro MIZUTANI Chozaburo HARA Hyonosuke KURODA Hisao TAHARA Haruji KATO Kanju NOMIZO Masaru SUZUKI Masaburo NISHIO Suehiro HIRANO Rikizo
Accountant Supervisor	YONEKUBO Mitsusuke
Accountant	MATSUMOTO Haruichiro
Adviser	ABE Isoo KAGAWA Toyohiko YAGI Hidetsugu TOKUGAWA Yoshichika BABA Tsunego MATSUOKA Komakichi

JAPAN LIBERAL PARTY
 (Nippon Jiyu To)

President	YOSHIDA Shigeru
General Affairs Committee	OKUBO Tomejiro HANASHI Shingoro OTSUKA Motonosuke ASHIDA Hitoshi HONDA Ichiro
Chief Manager	ONO Tomomutsu
Manager	TAKEDA Shinosuke TAKAHASHI Eikichi TONODA Takatsugu OZEKI Giichi ARITA Jiro MITZUDA Mikio SUZUKI Senhachi YAMAGUCHI Kikuichiro EZAKI Masumi WATARI Shiro SUGITA Ichiro KIMURA Kohei
Vice-Chairman of M.P. Meeting	HONDA Eisaku SHOJI Ichiro
Chairman of Standing M.P. Meeting	NAKAJIMA Moritoshi
Chief of Political Affairs Investigation Society	KITA Reikichi
Vice-Chief of Political Affairs Investigation Society	YAMAMOTO Katsuichi AOKI Takayoshi TOMEJI Hidetoshi

JAPAN PROGRESSIVE PARTY
(Nippon Shinpo To)

President	SHIDEHARA Kijuro
Adviser	SAITO Takao HITOTSUMATSU Sadakichi KAWAAI Yoshinari
Chairman of General Affairs Committee	INUKAI Ken
General Affairs Committee	INOUE Tomoharu KITAMURA Tokutaro SUGAMATA Kaoru HARA Fujiro YASUTOSHI Shigeru YOSHIOKA Yayoi OKAMOTO Jitsutaro CHIZAKI Usaburo TOMEJI Yoshizo NAGAO Tatsuo TAKIZAWA Hamakichi TSUKUDA Ryoichi
Chief Manager	TANAKA Manitsu
Chairman of Political Affairs Investigation Society	NARUSHIMA Isamu
Chairman of M. P. Meeting	HAYASHI Ren
Accountant Supervisor	HOSHI Hajime
Chairman of Standing M. P. Meeting	AIZAWA Kan

JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY
(Nippon Kyosan to)

Central Committee	TOKUDA Kyuichi SHIGA Yoshio HAKAMADA Satomi MIYAMOTO Kenji KAMIYAMA Shigeo KIN Tenkai NOZAKA Sanzo ITO Ritsu ITO Kenichi HASEGAWA Ko KASUGA Shoichi KASUGA Shojiro KONO Yojiro NISHIZAWA Ryuichi MATSUZAKI Kumaji UCHINO Takechiyo KURAHARA Koreto OKADA Bunkichi
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COOPERATIVE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
(Kyodo Minshu To)

Chief of Central Executive Committee	YAMAMOTO Sanehiko
Chief Secretary	IKAWA Tadao

Standing Central Committee

MIKI Takeo
NARAMOTO Futahe
CHARA Hiroo
MATSUMOTO Hokutaro
MORITA Yukio
YONEKURA Tatsuya
HAYASHI Heima
AKITA Josuke

Chief of Political Investigation Society FUNADA Kyoji

Vice-Chief of Political Investigation
Society

MATSUMOTO Takizo
AZUMA Takashi
AKAZAWA Masamichi

Chairman of M. P. Meeting

ITO Iwao

Vice-Chairman of M. P. Meeting

ASO Shozo
HAYASHI Ichiro

NATIONAL PARTY
(Kokumin To)

Central Committee

NOMOTO Shinakichi
SASAMORI Junzo
OGAWA Ippei
ITO Kyoichi
OKADA Seiichi
HAYAKAWA Takashi
HIKITA Toshio
KUBO Takeo

Accountant Supervisor

OTSU Keiichi
MASUI Keitaro

Chairman of M. P. Meeting

MATSUBARA Kazuhiko

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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There follows summary of major article by A.

SPA

SA

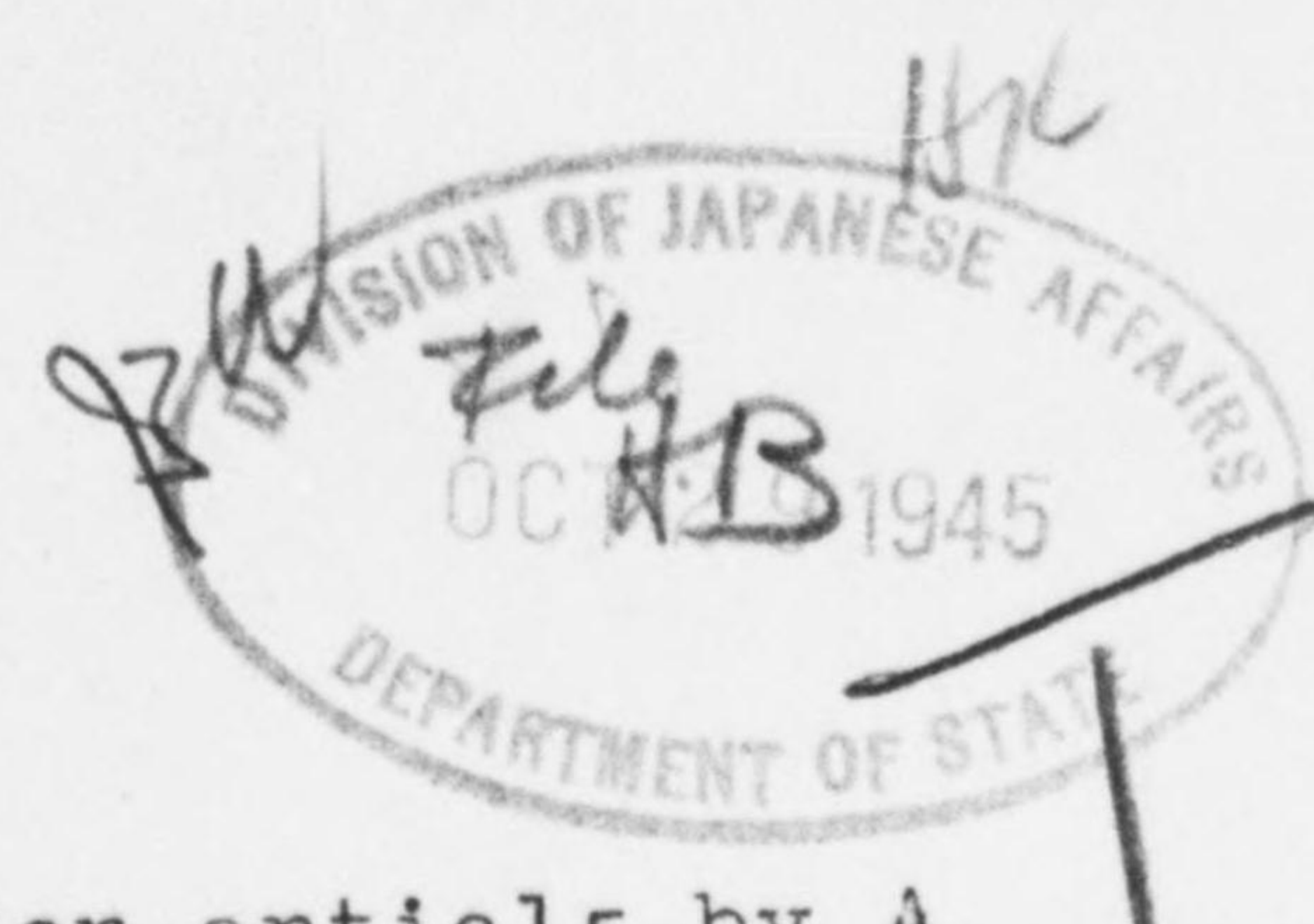
Polesski entitled "Reactionary Constitution of

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Japanese Militarists" published RED STAR October

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Japanese constitution is one of most reactionary in world. It not only fails to limit power of Emperor but serves as juridical cover for his absolutism.

HS (Hunt)

According to constitution Japanese Government is responsible not to Parliament but to Emperor. Parliament is actually only advisory organ with much less power than Privy Council or Genro. Structure of Parliament and voting procedure in it are such that absolute majority has always been assured to representatives of ruling military financial and court cliques.

Only

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-2- #3653, Twenty-fifth, from Moscow via War

Only one third of adult population has right to participate in voting for Lower House. Last election reform occurred in 1925 almost simultaneously with adoption of "law on dangerous thoughts" which became weapon of ruling classes against anti-Fascist democratic tendencies and parties. Arrest and persecution of all figures in workers movement elimination of all freedom of press creation of Fascist type mass propagandist and terrorist organizations supported by government and capitalists organization of vast internal espionage system with secret police and persecution of all non-Shintoist religious believers were methods employed by Japanese ruling cliques to carry out their reactionary policy up to and during war.

After Japans' defeat first concern of government which signed capitulation was to preserve military police regime and to obstruct democratization of political life. Higashi Kunis government refused to release political prisoners abolish secret police and repeal "law on dangerous thoughts". After its resignation post of Premier was assumed by "old fox of

Japanese

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-3- #3653 Twenty-fifth, from Moscow via War

Japanese imperialism close relative of owner of Mitsubishi a man who was known in his time as a 'Liberal' Baron Shidehara" who declared "my Cabinet is fully liberal". In this "liberal" Cabinet most important posts are occupied by men who are responsible for war leaders of various political and economic organs which had task of facilitating Japan's victory.

Nature of new Cabinet's "liberalism" is revealed not only in its composition but in its first steps and in statements made by its leaders. General Simomura declared candidly that as Minister of War he would utilize his previous experience as Japanese representative on Entente Commission for verification of Germany's fulfillment of Versailles Treaty in other lead Japan along post-war Germany's path of preserving its military machine. "Liberal" Shidehara refused to answer question of foreign correspondents whether Japanese Government intends to legalize Communist Party. Although portion of political prisoners have already been freed many others remain in prisons and authorities are redocumenting them as ordinary criminals in order

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-4- #3653 Twenty-fifth, from Moscow via War

order to prevent their liberation. Authorities are interfering in every way with Allied efforts to identify members of disbanded Black Dragon Society. In order to stem growing movement for abolition of monarchy and establishment of Republican system Japanese Government is undertaking definite "Constitutional maneuvers". Commission headed by one of chief war criminals Prince Konoye has been formed to review certain points of constitution. Japanese ruling circles do not wish to fulfill terms of Potsdam Declaration which demanded punishment of war criminals democratization of political life and repeal of existing regime of violence.

Sent Department as 3653; repeated Tokyo for Acheson Acting Political Advisor.

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AMEMBASSY,

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Please inform DEPT action taken (DEPTEL 792, Sept 26, Noon) and Chinese response to your representations.

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Req - agreements with Chinese Gov. that all Taiwanese in Japan be repatriated

Acheson
Acting (AACP)

DEF VP Unit
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