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system "in accordance with the new situation".

Liberalization of the Civil Service System It was announced on November 15 that the Cabinet had further decided to undertake a fundamental revision of the civil service system to eliminate nepotism and unfairness and to improve efficiency. The present examination system is to be revised, the Kotokan, Haninkan and Soninkan classifications are to be abolished, and the existing system of promotions and salary increases is to be liberalized.

Federation of Press Workers Unions Preliminary steps for the formation of a Federation of All Japan Press Workers' Unions were taken at a meeting of press unions representatives on October 31. The following day the preparatory commission of the Federation, whose stated purpose is "to democratize newspapers in Japan in accordance with the new situation", sent a message of encouragement to the workers' union of the Yomiuri-Hochi, now on strike against the paper's executive authorities.

Women's Organizations The New Japan Women's Union and the Japan Women's Cooperation Association were formally organized in Tokyo on November 3 and 6 respectively. The stated objectives of the former organization, under the leadership of Fusaye ICHIKAWA, Japan's leading women's suffrage advocate, include realization of female suffrage, political education of women, appointment of women to government posts, and abolition of laws discriminating against women. The second organization, led by Tamayo MIYAGI, wife of the former Justice Minister, replaces the defunct Japan Women's Association, and is expected to embrace all existing town and village women's associations.

Cultural and Intellectual Societies A considerable number of private cultural and intellectual societies have been formed for the announced purpose of promoting liberal, democratic reform in Japan. Among these might be mentioned the Society for the Study of Constitutional Reform, composed of leading writers and scholars, the American Culture Association, composed of business men, engineers, government officials, newspapermen and scholars who have studied or worked in the United States, and the Society of Japanese Intellectuals, composed of leading scientists and university professors. The last named society, it is stated, "deprecates ultra-nationalism, militarism, feudalism, and imperialism, and will endeavor to rebuild Japan on a progressive and peaceful basis by creating a new Japanese culture on democratic and humanitarian principles".

Birth Control Formation of the New Japan Population Policy Committee under the leadership of Dr. Yoshio FURUYA, Chief of the Scientific Section of the Welfare Ministry Institute, was announced on October 30. The Committee has declared that the pre-war population policy furthered militarism, and that Japan must adopt "a sound population policy". On November 15 Baroness Ishimoto (now Mrs. Kanju KATO), leader of the birth control movement in Japan during the early and middle thirties and the first woman to announce her candidacy in the coming general election, announced plans to open a birth control clinic near her house in Tokyo.

V. WAR CRIMINALS

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V. WAR CRIMINALS

The arrest of 39 war criminals suspects, headed by General Hideki TOJO and including the entire "Pearl Harbor" Cabinet, was ordered by General MacArthur on September 11. General Tojo was placed under the care of the U. S. Army Medical Corps after attempting suicide. Others on the list who were immediately arrested or gave themselves up shortly after were: General Masaharu HOMMA, commander in the Philippines at the time of the Bataan death march; General Shigenori KURODA, successor to General Homma as commander-in-chief in the Philippines; Colonel SUZUKI, formerly in command of the Shinagawa War Prisoners Camp; and Colonel Kingoro HASHIMOTO of Panay Incident fame. Among others later ordered apprehended were General Kenji SAWADA, Major HATA and Lt. WAMITSU, arrested October 15 reportedly because of their connection with the execution near Shanghai of three Doolittle flyers, and Genki ABE, Home Minister in the Suzuki Cabinet, arrested on October 22. A spokesman for the Legal Section of General Headquarters stated on October 22 that the total number tried for war crimes committed in the Pacific area might reach 4000.

On November 17 the Japanese Government was ordered to arrest and deliver to the Sugamo Prison Camp the following major Japanese war criminal suspects: Sadao ARAKI, Shigeru HONJO, Kazunobu KANOKOGI, Kuniaki KOISO, Fusanosuke KUHARA, Yoshihisa KUZUU, Yosuke MATSUOKA, Iwane MATSUI, Jinzaburo MAZAKI, Jiro MINAMI and Toshio SHIRATORI. These men, believed to have been among those primarily responsible for the aggressions of 1931, 1937 and 1941, will be held (except Shigeru Honjo who committed suicide on November 20) with others earlier arrested, or who may be apprehended in future, for trial by an international tribunal.

VI. POLITICAL PARTIES

The termination of military control and removal of restrictions on freedom of expression and assembly has presented Japan for the first time in its history with opportunity to evolve a genuine party form of government. During the past two months at least three parties giving promise of future importance, and a large number of smaller groups, have been formed and have been competing for popular support in anticipation of the elections scheduled for next January. Up to the present time, however, the population as a whole, politically inexperienced and preoccupied with problems of livelihood, appears to have taken only casual interest in party activities.

The Social Democratic Party of Japan

The Social Democratic Party of Japan (Nippon Shakai-to), one of the most active of the new political groups and the first to be formally organized, on November 2, originated with the decision of a group of twelve Diet members shortly after surrender to form a united proletarian party. Among the party's

original

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original founders, or soon attracted to its ranks, were wuch well known proletarian leaders of the past as Isoo ABE, Bunji SUZUKI, Toyohiko KAGAWA, Kanju KATO, Motojiro SUGIYAMA, Chosaburo MIZUTANI and Komakichi MATSUOKA, its newly elected head. Although the party embraces many divergent elements it has managed to avoid splitting into separate factions, the usual fate of Japanese prolitarian parties in the past. The party platform, more specific than that of any other political group, calls for democratization of the Constitution; abolition of the Peerage, the Privy Council, and the power of the "elder statesmen"; confiscation of wartime profits; materialization of a socialistic, planned economy; nationalization of the iron and steel, coal, electric power, artificial fertilizer and other basic industries and of all banks, trust companies and insurance companies; establishment of a Labor Ministry; legalization of labor unions; minimum wage legislation; a 48 hour week; people's diplomacy; and a new Japanese national culture. Its agrarian program is rather vague, calling for "complete reform of the agrarian system", mechanization of agriculture, and organization of farmers' and fishermen's cooperatives. Social insurance; equal rights for women, and extension of the period of compulsory education are other features of its program. Although the Socialist platform makes no mention of the Emperor or the Imperial institution, it was reported on November 17 that the party will support the Emperor system as a part of the government but will conform to the people's decision if and when a plebiscite is held on the issue. From the point of view both of personnel and program the Socialist Party seems to offer the most hope for political and economic reforms in Japan, and appears to be attracting to its ranks more persons of genuinely liberal viewpoint than any other group.

The Liberal Party of Japan

The Liberal Party of Japan (Nippon Jiyu-to) was the second of the more prominent parties formally organized, on November 9. Its leader, Ichiro HATOYAMA, is a professional politician and Diet member of long standing, having been executive director of the Seiyukai. Although once chief secretary of the Giichi TANAKA Cabinet, and reportedly one of the organizers of the Nationalistic Veterans' Association, he does not appear to have taken an active part in the prosecution of the war. Party members and supporters consist primarily of professional politicians, with a sprinkling of writers, journalists, diplomats and professors. Of the present Cabinet, Welfare Minister Hitoshi ASHIDA and Wataru NARAHASHI, Chief of the Cabinet Legislative Bureau, are members. The party numbers fifty members of the present Diet among its adherents.

The Liberal Party is strongly pro-Emperor and Imperial
institution

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and violently anti-Communist. Principal points in its platform are preservation of the "national polity"; "national unity and international faith"; revision of the Constitution "aiming at the maintenance of the fundamental national character"; "elimination of economic controls except those voluntary controls which are absolutely indispensable"; authority of the House of Representatives; guarantees of human rights; recognition of the legal status of labor; reform of the bureaucracy; and election of prefectural governors. Japanese of liberal view have expressed disappointment in the party, finding in it little real liberalism -- indeed, it would be better termed Conservative than Liberal --, no freshness of viewpoint, and a lack of virile leadership.

The Progressive Party of Japan

The Progressive Party of Japan (Nippon Shimpo-to), formally organized on November 16, represents an amalgamation of factions of the former Great Japan Political Association (Dai Nippon Seiji-Kai), successor to Japan's wartime totalitarian party, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. Its leaders, such men as Chuji MACHIDA and Takao SAITO, are for the most part professional politicians heading elaborate political machines.

Members of the Great Japan Political Association divided into two main factions following the Association's dissolution shortly after surrender. One group, made up of members of the old MACHIDA and NAKAJIMA factions in the former Minseitō and Seiyūkai parties, reportedly supported General Kazushige UGAKI for leadership of the party, and the other, Prince Konoye. Recently these factions, which had shown indications of developing into separate parties, reunited to form the Progressive Party. Invitations to the formal organization proceedings on November 16 were issued by 153 former Seiji-Kai members of the Diet, who thus became the charter members. Principles advocated by the party include support of the "national polity"; absolute opposition to communism; complete free enterprise; reform of the Constitution to establish democratic government; reform of the judiciary; moral diplomacy; guarantees of the people's livelihood; financial retrenchment; and solidarity of labor and capital. It is doubtful whether any effective leadership for the construction of a new Japan can be expected from this group, which represents reactionary political opinion of the extreme right.

The Communist Party of Japan

The Japanese Communist Party is capably led by Kyuichi TOKUDA and Yoshio SHIGA, released from prison in accordance with General MacArthur's order of October 4 after 18 years confinement. Like the Chinese Communists, the party advocates an interim period of "democracy", expecting true communism only in the distant future, and denies association with Soviet Russia. It is the only party definitely committed to the abolition of the Imperial institution. Other features of its twenty-five point platform, announced on November 10, include confiscation without compensation of all land held by absentee

landlords

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landlords to be turned over without cost to the farmers; rent reduction; management of principal industries by the workers; amalgamation of all banks in one national bank under popular management; government by a People's Republic; full employment through shorter hours; complete freedom of speech, assembly, publication, religion and public demonstration; and popular participation in Constitutional revision.

On October 19 the Communists approached the Social Democratic Party with a proposal for a united Popular Front. The Socialists answered that it was too early for complete collaboration, but that once the parties were well established they would be prepared to cooperate. More recently Communist efforts for the establishment of a popular front have taken the form of a campaign for the formation of chapters of a "People's Emancipation League" (Jinmin Kaiho Renmei) consisting of the Communists, the lower ranks of the Social Democratic Party, and other left-wing, proletarian groups. The League will not stress long-range Communist objectives, such as the abolition of the Emperor system and the establishment of a People's Government, but will seek to promote common policies on specific issues, such as food, unemployment and agrarian reform. While the Communists are now more vociferous than numerous, prolonged economic distress will inevitably increase their influence.

Minor Political Groups

The Japanese Government has established no procedure for the registration of political parties, with the result that new groups are constantly springing up. At latest count there were 33 separate parties expecting to put up candidates in the coming general elections, some representing only a handful of people, some on the "lunatic fringe". The following titles are representative of the wide variety of organizations which have appeared:

Shin Nihon-to (New Japan Party).
Seinen Taishu-to (Young Men's Masses Party).
Nihon Minseito (Japan People's Life Party).
Jiji Kominto (Self Governing Emperor's Subjects Party).
Seinen Jiyuto (Young Men's Liberal Party).
Shin Nippon Kakushin-to (New Japan Reform Party).
Rikken Seinen Shinpo-to (Constitutional Young Men's Progressive Party).
Nihon Jiji Nomin-to (Japan Self Governing Farmers' Party).

VII. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND PROGRAMS

Measures for the reform of Japan's political, social and economic life, and the organization of the new political parties, have been carried out in an environment of mounting economic distress. Shortages of food and other necessities have become increasingly severe, millions are without adequate shelter or employment, and the nation's fiscal and financial position has become increasingly precarious.

Food

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Food. The Japanese people, on short rations throughout the war, were further restricted in July of this year when the basic staple food ration was reduced from 2.3 to 2.1 go (2.4 go equals 1 pound), to tide over until the harvest. At the same time, coincident with the nation's deteriorating military situation, substitutes came to form an increasing part of the daily ration. Fish and vegetables allotments became so meager as to be totally inadequate. When the American forces took over Japan in September they found the people suffering from an insufficient quantity of food, but even more, from cumulative diet deficiencies.

Reestablishment of the former basic ration of 2.3 go has been rendered impossible by the worst rice crop in thirty-six years. Originally estimated, on the basis of the situation as of September 20, at 46.6 million koku, 14.1 million koku less than the average of the previous five years, the crop has turned out to be even smaller, due to typhoons and floods during late September and the first part of October. Estimates provided the Headquarters by the Department of Agriculture and Forestry on November 9 place the crop at 44.0 million koku. Other crops, similarly damaged, are also far below normal. Black market operations at exorbitant prices, beyond the reach of a large proportion of the urban population, remain essential to a reasonably adequate subsistence. It was reported that 900,000 persons swarmed out of Tokyo into Chiba and Saitama Prefectures over the weekend of November 4 to buy vegetables for their own consumption or for sale on the black market. Special trains were provided to accommodate the crowd, which brought back over 40 million pounds of sweet potatoes and other products. The fishing catch, though recently restored to 60 percent of the pre-war normal, has also been prevented by the poorly functioning distribution and rationing system from reaching the principal consuming centers. The Government announced on November 3 that a special allotment of 8 pounds of sweet potatoes will be distributed per person during November in Japan's seven principal cities, but this is regarded purely as a stop-gap measure. "Hunger marches" were held in Tokyo during November, and deaths from malnutrition, usually combined with exposure, are reported occurring daily.

Realizing that mass starvation was inevitable next spring if foodstuffs were not imported on a large scale, the Japanese Government has submitted a series of estimates of food imports requirements. The first such estimate, submitted September 29, called for 6 million metric ton of foodstuffs to maintain an average daily per capita consumption of 2160 calories. When it was indicated that 1800 calories was closer to what could be expected, the Government estimated the nation's requirements at that level at 3.3 million tons. This figure has since been raised to 3.9 million tons as a consequence of the revised crop estimates. Prime Minister Shidehara informed the press on November 7 that discussions with Headquarters on the matter had reached "the details stages", with the principal question at issue the materials Japan is to provide in payment (in accordance

with

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with the Headquarters' directive of October 10 on this subject.) He stated that the Government was doing everything possible to ensure the availability of sufficient quantities of silk and other products, but that Japan would have to depend on Allied vessels to transport whatever imports were permitted. Poor crops in Burma, Siam and Indo-China, he added, further complicate the problem. An ambitious program for the maximization of gold production to increase Japan's foreign purchasing power was announced on November 15, and it was recently revealed that the Emperor had offered to contribute Imperial jewels and art treasures to help pay for needed food imports.

In an effort both to increase domestic food production for the future and provide employment for Japan's demobilized service men, the Cabinet on November 9 approved a five-year land reclamation and soil improvement plan involving 3,650,000 acres, drawn up by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Nearly 50 percent of the development, which, it was announced, should permit overall expansion of the rice, barley and wheat output by 10 million koku annually, will take place in Hokkaido. A Headquarters directive of November 9 instructed the Japanese Government to submit details not only of this plan but of its entire program for meeting the food production problem during the calendar year 1946. Previously, on November 7, the Headquarters had authorized the use of 4,800 tons of special steel for the manufacture of agricultural implements. Imported fertilizer requirements for 1946 are estimated at approximately one million tons.

Shelter. The Japanese Ministry of Welfare reported to the Allied Headquarters on November 3 that 2 million private Japanese residences, comprising 15 percent of the total number of dwellings in Japan, were destroyed by air-raids during the war and another 100,000 were partially wrecked. An additional 500,000 - 600,000 buildings were lost as a result of dismantling, demolition, storm and other causes. Estimating 5 persons to a dwelling, some 11 million people have been driven from their homes. While the greater part of this number have found temporary quarters with relatives and friends, many have not been so fortunate and are to be seen living in makeshift shanties, in partially wrecked and abandoned buildings, and in stations and subways.

On October 3, the Tokyo Metropolitan Office announced plans for the construction of 55,000 simple shelters for war victims. It was stated that a similar program had been drawn up for Yokohama. A week later Welfare Minister Ashida revealed that investigations had shown these plans to be impractical because of the difficulties encountered in sawing and transporting the necessary lumber, but added that there were about 60,000 tons of duralumin in stock which would be used for building purposes. On October 16, a meeting of Home Ministry and prefectural city planning experts was held in Tokyo at which it was agreed that plans of permanent reconstruction should provide for wider city streets, larger park areas, and ferro-concrete fire-proof buildings along the principal city streets.

On

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On October 31, Ichizo KOBAYASHI, former Commerce and Industry Minister and presently a member of the House of Peers, was appointed Minister Without Portfolio in the Shidehara Cabinet to serve as President of a newly created War Damages Rehabilitation Board. It was announced that the Board would undertake immediate investigations into the housing problem, but no noteworthy results have been observed to date. Although there has been building activity in the smaller cities nearer the sources of lumber for some time, very little construction even of a temporary nature has been apparent in the larger cities. It is reported that the Government will offer double rations to construction workers in an effort to attract additional labor into the industry.

Production of Essential Civilian Goods. Conversion of Japanese industry to peacetime production, although handicapped by shortages of all kinds, by uncertainty regarding Allied disarmament, reparation and trade policies, and by a general lassitude on the part of both management and labor, has begun in certain fields. In some industries conversion is still in the planning stage, but in others production of items of civilian use has been resumed. An Allied directive of September 28 freeing specified quantities of Japanese textile (except silk), steel, aluminum wire, leather, and rubber stocks for manufacture into needed civilian goods has helped to speed the conversion process. Nevertheless raw material shortages, particularly coal, severely limit the amount of production which can be carried on. Commerce and Industry Vice-Minister TOYODA announced on October 29 that coal production had fallen to about 12 percent of prewar levels, due to the repatriation of Korean and Chinese miners and refusal of those not yet repatriated to continue work. He estimated the November coal output at 575,000 tons, barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the railways alone. The Miike Mine, for example, which used to produce 13,000 tons a day, is now producing only 980 tons. Even drawing on stocks, reduced from 3.9 million tons at the end of the war to a little over a million tons at the present time, little coal, he stated, would be available during the month for private industry. In an effort to alleviate the situation Welfare Minister Ashida met with labor section chiefs from all over the country on November 4 and drew up preliminary plans to send 60,000 additional workers to the mines by December and another 70,000 by next spring. Double rations have been offered coal miners to speed recruitment.

Materials shortage notwithstanding, plans for the production of steadily increasing quantities of a large variety of articles of daily consumption, most of which have been produced on a much reduced scale or not at all throughout the war, was announced October 7 by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Electric light bulbs, now virtually unobtainable, will be manufactured, it was stated, at a rate of 1 million monthly by the end of this year, 5 million monthly by spring of next year, and 10 million monthly by fall of next year. Clothing, blankets, shoes, kitchen utensils, matches, needles, umbrellas, toothbrushes, electric heaters and stoves, radios, bicycles, and small type motor trucks are other items which, it is reported, will be produced in moderate

amounts

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amounts this year but in steadily increasing quantities next year. Commerce and Industry Minister Sankuro OGASAWARA stated in an interview on November 14 that 2,070 smaller war plants out of 2,400 surveyed in Tokyo had converted to the production of civilian goods, while the remainder had either dissolved themselves, discontinued production, or had not determined their conversion plans. He mentioned as one reason for the slowness of conversion in certain fields the fact that many industrialists, accustomed to carrying on production under government orders and with guaranteed profits during the war, had lost their spirit of initiative.

It was announced by the Ministry of Transportation on October 3 that the Japanese merchant fleet at the end of September comprised 583 vessels aggregating 1,175,000 tons. Of this amount 263 ships totalling 579,000 tons were either in the Southern Regions or in need of major repairs. Of the remaining 596,000 tons, 83,000 had had to be set aside for repatriation purposes, leaving 513,000 tons for the transportation of goods. A spokesman for the Shipping Control Association announced on October 13 that plans had been completed for the construction of 370,000 tons of shipping, and the repair of 600,000 tons, by the end of this year.

Unemployment. Data compiled by the prefectural governments and released by the Ministry of Welfare on October 20 revealed 4,346,000 unemployed at that time. The Ministry estimated that even allowing for maximum absorption in agriculture this figure was bound to increase with the return of Japanese servicemen and civilians from overseas, and the number of unemployed might reach 6-8 million during the next few years. It was announced on November 12 that the Government had decided to establish a central Unemployment Commission within the Welfare Ministry, with subsidiary commissions in each prefecture.

There have been indications that the large volume of unemployment is not due solely to lack of employment opportunities. An investigation reported by the Yomiuri on November 17 revealed that with 600,000 reportedly unemployed in Tokyo the number of jobless applying for work at employment agencies is smaller than the number of positions offered. Statistics of the Metropolitan Police Board revealed that 37,000 jobs were offered through such agencies during October but only 26,000 had applied. The explanation offered by the Yomiuri for this state of affairs was that transportation to working places, mostly factories which had escaped destruction in the far corners of Tokyo, was extremely difficult, and that those who accepted regular employment were deprived of opportunity to go into the country to buy foodstuffs. Also, large numbers of people, attracted by the profits of black market operations, have been working as street vendors or brokers.

Baron Shidehara stated in a press interview on November 7 that the Government was considering a vast dam construction program to reduce unemployment and provide cheap power. Such a program, he believed, could be carried out on the basis of domestic materials ("more dams will produce more cement and more cement will produce more dams") and once completed, would permit large savings of coal and petroleum. Electrically powered automobiles would travel on a greatly extended highway system, while the railroads, completely electrified, would provide uninterrupted transportation between the four main islands through connecting tunnels. Newspaper comment on this proposal was mainly to the effect that although the program had long-range possibilities it would not solve the employment problem of the present and immediate

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future.

Finance. Japanese financial problems were discussed by Hyoye OUCHI, former professor of political economy at Tokyo Imperial University, in a radio address on October 18. Noting that Japan's national debt already totals close to 150 billion yen, an increase of 140 billion yen over 1937, Professor Ouchi referred to the enormous expenditures which the government is making or may soon have to make. These include compensation to munitions and insurance companies for losses consequent upon war damage and cancellation of contracts; compensation to owners of property overseas confiscated by the Allies; retirement of currencies issued by the Japanese Government or banks under Japanese government control in the former conquered territories; veterans' pensions and annuities; reconstruction; air-raid victim and unemployment relief; and, he might have mentioned, payment of the costs of the occupation.

Funds for these purposes, he pointed out, can only be obtained by further borrowing, but the national debt is already larger than can be supported. Interest on the debt this fiscal year will total 9 billion yen, only one billion yen less than estimated total Government revenues. In Mr. Ouchi's opinion critical inflation and national bankruptcy were inevitable unless the Government abrogated all wartime financial commitments, cancelling 120 billion yen worth of war bonds and denying all claims to indemnification for war losses. It was reported on November 9 that Bank of Japan notes in circulation were expected to exceed 50 billion yen at the end of the calendar year, an increase of 20 billion yen since August 15. The free dollar-yen exchange rate is now anywhere from 60 - 100 yen to the dollar.

The Government attitude, as stated by Finance Minister Keizo SHIBUSAWA, is that by reducing administrative expenses, by revising the pension system, by abolishing subsidies, by fostering increased production, and by greatly increasing taxes, the government will be able to avoid either repudiation of its wartime commitments, which, it is held, would lead to the collapse of the nation's entire financial structure, or currency devaluation. In pursuance of this policy the Government has announced intention (1) to effect a 50 percent reduction in government personnel, (2) to carry out a fundamental revision of the pension system to avert an anticipated six-fold increase in the Government's pensions liability as a consequence of the greatly increased number of claimants, and (3) to increase taxes and to levy two important new taxes, one a tax on all personal property, including real estate, graduated up to 70 percent, and the other a new, virtually confiscatory wartime excess profits tax. The two taxes together are expected to yield revenues of 50 - 60 billion yen during the next five years.

Regarding the liquidation of its wartime commitments, the Government was reported on October 27 to be considering the issuance of 20-30 billion yen worth of permanent bonds, bearing one percent interest, to be offered in satisfaction of war losses

indemnification

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indemnification claims. Finance Minister Shibusawa stated on October 28 that the Government definitely would not devalue the currency in an effort to adjust its financial burdens. This pledge was repeated when it was revealed by "a source close to the Finance Ministry" on November 17 that the Government plans to replace all currency in circulation, reportedly for the purpose of preventing tax evasion. The above source stated that the new currency will be issued at par, and that deposit accounts will be freed immediately the exchange is accomplished.

VIII. PUBLIC ATTITUDES

On August 15 a majority of the Japanese people were convinced that the Japanese Navy was hiding in strength waiting a favorable opportunity to engage the American Fleet in an annihilating battle, and that the Army would inflict such heavy losses on our forces landing in the main islands that we would withdraw rather than suffer further losses, and peace would follow. Little was known of the atomic bomb at that time.

The initial reaction to the Emperor's announcement of surrender at noon the following day was one of stunned and incredulous surprise. Later, as the news sank in, this reaction was followed, on the one hand, by relief that a bloody defense of the homeland would not be necessary, and on the other by feelings of increased devotion to the Emperor who had taken this difficult step to save them and the world further suffering. As one Japanese put it, "From that moment the Emperor came down from a position high in the skies and became the real Father of our nation". At the same time a feeling of anger at the militarists who had deceived them swept over the people.

As the time of occupation approached, the people, indoctrinated with tales of American barbarity, prepared for the worst. Bewildered surprise followed when it became apparent that they would be justly treated. At the same time this additional evidence of the calumny of the military was not lost on them. The attitude of the people in their relations with the occupation forces became, in effect: "The war, which most of us never wanted anyway, is over. Let's forget former hard feelings. We will cooperate with you, and you in turn be easy on us". This attitude -- typical of the Japanese, who, when a project fails, prefer to forget it and try something new -- found its counterpart in the friendly manners of the American enlisted man. Fraternization between the enlisted men of the occupation forces and the native population is as close in Japan as in any country where our troops have been stationed, enemy or allied. While the almost excessive friendliness and cooperativeness of the Japanese in their relations with American officers is in some cases an expression of genuine feeling, it is undoubtedly also a reflection of a desire to avoid trouble and get the occupation over as quickly as possible.

The general population appears genuinely to welcome the reforming efforts of the Allies. Establishment of a free press in which the people can have confidence, and freedom to say, think and, in the coming elections, vote as one likes are changes which

are

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are definitely appreciated. It would be a mistake to believe, however, that the Japanese feel grateful to the occupation authorities for effecting these reforms. The general view is that they were inevitable once the military had come to their deserved fate. It is recalled for example, that a bill for the institution of women's suffrage passed the House of Representatives just before the Manchurian Incident, only to be stopped by the House of Peers. Indeed, the most pronounced popular reaction as the various reforms have been effected has been anger and shame that the Government failed to initiate them in advance of Allied directives. This has been the case particularly in the arrest of war criminal suspects. The people seem genuinely ashamed, as well they might, of Japanese atrocities, and consider the offenses of the major war criminals to have been more against **them** than the Allies.

Overshadowing all other matters in the Japanese mind is the problem of subsistence. The occupation, the Government, politics, and practically all other matters are considered in their relation to the food, shelter and employment problem, with food overwhelmingly most important. War savings, dismissal allowances, and mustering-out pay have left the people relatively well supplied with cash. Rather than work, which would simply make them hungrier, they spend the greater part of their time, except the farmers and workers in occupations where increased rations are offered, in seeking food and attempting to mitigate physical discomforts. Exhausted by the war, uncertain of the future, and with vitality lowered by the inadequate diet, the people seem without ambition or initiative, content to live from day to day until a stronger leadership develops.

* * *

The first two-and-a-half months of the occupation have witnessed the successful accomplishment of the initial objectives of the occupation. The Japanese armed forces have been disarmed and demobilized, and many of the more important obstacles to the development of a peaceful, democratic nation have been removed. Thus far, however, although the people appear generally **disillusioned** regarding their former military leaders and the results of military policies, there has been little appreciation, as, indeed, there could hardly be expected to have been in so short a time, of the principles of democracy. The people welcome relief from oppression, and the politically active minority welcome the unhampered opportunity to advance their separate causes. But the people have no understanding of their responsibilities in a democratic **society**, and it is questionable how many of the political parties, while using their new found political freedoms to the full for their own advantage, would be seriously concerned if those freedoms were denied to their opponents. It would be

foolish

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foolish to believe, moreover, that there are not large and potentially powerful elements still remaining in the country which have learned nothing from the experience of the past ten years, and which will seek to revive former habits of life and thought if a favorable opportunity appears. Nevertheless a promising beginning has been made, sufficient to indicate that, in time, assuming the enjoyment of reasonable economic opportunity, a democratic, peacefully inclined Japan can develop.

Robert A. Fearey.

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APPENDIXCALENDAR OF PRINCIPAL EVENTSAugust

- 26 - U. S. Third Fleet anchors in Sagami Bay.
- 28 - Eighth Army advance units land at Atsugi Airdrome.
- 30 - Large-scale landings of Eighth Army forces at Atsugi; Marines take possession of Yokosuka Naval Base; General MacArthur arrives at Atsugi, sets up temporary headquarters in Yokohama.

September

- 2 - Surrender Documents signed aboard USS Missouri.
- 5 - Prime Minister Prince Higashi-Kuni addresses a special session of the Diet, outlining the reasons for Japan's defeat and stating the policies of his Government.
- 8 - American forces enter Tokyo; General MacArthur presides at flag-raising ceremony at American Embassy buildings.
- 11 - War criminal roundup ordered by General MacArthur; General Tojo attempts to commit suicide.
- 16 - Publication in the Japanese press of official U. S. Army report of Japanese atrocities in the Philippines.
- 17 - General MacArthur moves his headquarters to Tokyo.
- 24 - Japanese Government is directed to remove itself from direct or indirect control of newspapers and news agencies and to accord non-discriminatory treatment to news services.
- 25 - The Emperor is interviewed by Frank Kluckhohn, New York Times, and Hugh Beillie, president of the United Press.
- 25 - Official statement of U. S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy Toward Japan published by the Japanese press.
- 27 - The Japanese Government is instructed to repeal all laws imposing restrictions on the freedom of the press, motion pictures, mail, tele-communications "or any other form of written or spoken word", and, pending such repeal, to suspend enforcement of those laws.
- 27 - The Emperor calls on General MacArthur.
- 30 - Twenty-one banks and other financial institutions whose special purpose had been the financing of Japanese war production and colonial exploitation are ordered closed for eventual liquidation.
- 30 - Domei News Agency disbands as a consequence of the Headquarters directive of September 24.

October

- 4 - The Japanese Government is ordered to remove restrictions on political, civil and religious liberties, to free all political prisoners, to abolish secret police organizations, and to remove the Minister of Home Affairs and all high police officials responsible for the enforcement of measures dealing with the control of thought, speech, religion and assembly.

5 - The Higashi

- 2 -

October

- 5 - The Higashi-Kuni Cabinet resigns.
- 6 - Baron Shidehara undertakes to form a cabinet.
- 7 - The Mitsubishi interests announce a moderate plan of reorganization.
- 9 - The Shidehara Cabinet is installed at the Palace.
- 9 - A Federation of Cooperative Associations is organized under the sponsorship of Count Yoriyasu Arima and Toyohiko Kagawa.
- 10 - The Mitsui interests announce a moderate plan of reorganization.
- 10 - The Japanese Government is informed of the principles and procedures to govern the importation of essential civilian goods.
- 10 - Current rice crop revealed to be the smallest in 36 years.
- 11 - Prime Minister Shidehara is instructed by General MacArthur regarding the social reforms to be effected in Japan.
- 11 - The Japanese Government is directed to report public and private foreign exchange assets.
- 11 - Prince Konoye is appointed to the Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to advise the Emperor regarding the revision of the Constitution.
- 13 - The Cabinet decides to recommend the adoption of women's suffrage and lowering of the voting age to 20.
- 13 - The Japanese Government announces the removal from office of 4800 secret police in accordance with the directive of October 4.
- 13 - Dr. Joji Matsumoto is appointed Minister Without Portfolio to draw up a proposed revision of the Constitution.
- 13 - The Japanese Government is ordered to report silk stocks on hand and estimated present and future silk productive capacity.
- 15 - The Japanese population is estimated by the Home Ministry to have totalled 77,997,642 as of August 1, 1945.
- 16 - The Yasuda interests announce a plan of general dissolution.
- 16 - General MacArthur announces completion of the demobilization of the Japanese home forces in a broadcast to the United States.
- 17 - Hyoye Ouchi, former Professor of Political Economy at Tokyo Imperial University, advises the government in a radio address to abrogate all financial commitments incurred during the war.
- 17 - Headquarters prohibits any further interference by the Government with the Japanese motion picture industry.
- 17 - Decision to revise the Bank of Japan Law is announced by the Finance Minister.
- 17 - The Cabinet decides to reduce the number of government officials by 50 percent.
- 18 - Headquarters

- 3 -

October

- 18 - Headquarters orders the Japanese Government to ensure the destruction of all narcotics stocks in Japan and prohibits further cultivation of narcotic seeds and plants within the country.
- 19 - The Social Democratic Party rejects a Communist proposal to establish a united Popular Front.
- 20 - Home Minister Horikiri reveals that the Government will introduce a bill for the popular election of prefectural governors at an early session of the Diet.
- 20 - Headquarters issues instructions to the Japanese Government regarding the treatment in Japan and repatriation of foreign diplomats and nationals.
- 21 - The Japanese Government informs the Headquarters of plans to extend Japan's highway system 250 percent during the next 5 years.
- 22 - The Japanese Government is directed to reform the nation's educational system so as to prevent the dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology and so as to emphasize instruction in representative government, international peace and the dignity of the individual.
- 22 - Japan's fifteen largest concerns, including Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda Konzerns, are instructed to submit reports covering all phases of their activities.
- 23 - The Government decides to undertake the drafting of an anti-trust law.
- 24 - Headquarters instructs the Japanese Government to submit reports describing the present state of 81 mission universities, colleges and schools.
- 25 - The Government is instructed to transfer Japanese diplomatic and consular property and archives throughout the world to the Allied Powers, to recall Japanese diplomatic and consular representatives in neutral countries, and to cease relations with foreign governments except through Allied Headquarters.
- 25 - Prince Konoye announces intention to return his peerage and other marks of honor.
- 26 - The Tokyo Metropolitan Council decides to recommend the public election of future Governors of Tokyo Metropolis.
- 26 - The Japanese Government is ordered to establish a newsprint and foreign-type paper distributing agency.
- 27 - Home Minister Horikiri announces a reshuffle of 32 prefectural governors and 130 department chiefs.
- 27 - The Mitsui interests announce a plan of general dissolution.
- 29 - Count Arima proposes the abolition of the peerage.

29 - Ichizo

- 4 -

October

- 29 - Ichizo Kobayashi is appointed Minister Without Portfolio in the Shidehara Cabinet to head a new War Damages Rehabilitation Board.
- 30 - The Emperor's properties are estimated by the Japanese Government to have a total value of 1.5 billion yen.
- 31 - The Japanese Government is informed in detail of the steps to be taken for the removal of objectionable teaching personnel.
- 31 - Plans for the organization of an All Japan Press Workers' Union are announced.

November

- 1 - A Society for the Study of Constitutional Revision is organized by a number of leading writers and scholars.
- 1 - The fifteen firms named in the directive of October 22 are forbidden to dispose of any of their securities or those of their subsidiaries without the prior permission of the Headquarters.
- 1 - The Ministry of Welfare notifies the Headquarters that 2.5 million buildings were partially or entirely destroyed by air raids.
- 2 - The Social Democratic Party of Japan is formally organized in Tokyo.
- 2 - The Premier addresses a conference of prefectural governors.
- 3 - The New Japan Women's Union is formally organized.
- 3 - The Cabinet decides to establish a special commission to probe the causes of the war and the reasons for Japan's defeat.
- 4 - A mass meeting supporting the independence of the Netherlands Indies and Indo-China is held at Hibiya Park in Tokyo.
- 4 - The Japanese Government is ordered to submit a report to Headquarters describing the organization, functions and jurisdiction of the Kempei-tai (Japanese Military Police).
- 6 - The Eight Regional Governments General are abolished, to be replaced by as many Regional Administrative Offices.
- 6 - Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda Konzerns are ordered abolished; the Japanese Government is directed to submit plans for the dissolution of all other monopolistic combines and for the prevention of private monopoly in future.
- 6 - The Japan Women's Cooperation Association is formally organized.
- 7 - A former Kami-kaze corpsman attempts unsuccessfully to assassinate the Home Minister.
- 8 - Mainichi reports 296,000 demobilized servicemen and civilians repatriated to Japan through October 31.

8 - The Japanese

- 5 -

November

- 8 - The Japanese are permitted to resume whaling activities.
- 9 - The Liberal Party of Japan is formally organized at Tokyo.
- 9 - A land development program involving 3.7 million acres is approved by the Cabinet.
- 9 - The Japanese Government is instructed to submit its proposed plans for meeting the food production problem for 1946 and for long range agrarian reform.
- 10 - The central features of an agrarian reform program to be introduced by the Government in the forthcoming extraordinary session of the Diet are revealed to the press.
- 10 - Headquarters announces the abolition of 8 wartime labor laws.
- 11 - Marquis Kido announces intention to resign his position as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.
- 11 - The Communist Party publishes its 25 point platform.
- 12 - A Deliberative Council is appointed by the Imperial Household Ministry to submit recommendations for the revision of the Peers Law.
- 13 - The Emperor reports the termination of the war to his ancestors at Ise.
- 13 - The Cabinet decides to request the Emperor to convene an extraordinary session of the Diet on November 26 for a period of 18 days.
- 13 - The Public Procurator's Office of the Japanese Supreme Court undertakes an investigation of General Tojo's financial affairs.
- 13 - Baroness Ishimoto, leading Japanese birth control advocate, becomes the first woman to announce her candidacy in the coming general elections.
- 13 - The Cabinet decides to reform the civil service system.
- 14 - Plans for the establishment of a private radio broadcasting company, provisionally known as the Japan Radio Company, are revealed.
- 14 - The Cabinet and court circles decide to abolish the Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.
- 14 - The Japanese Government is ordered to report all subsidies now being paid or payable under present law to individuals or legal persons in industry or other fields of enterprise except agriculture.
- 15 - The Cabinet decides to stimulate gold production as a source of foreign exchange.

15 - Edwin M. Pauley

- 6 -

November

- 15 - Edwin M. Pauley, Personal Representative of the President, outlines U. S. reparations policy for Japan at a press conference in Tokyo; the Japanese Government is reported planning to establish a reparation commission as a counterpart to the American commission.
- 16 - The Progressive Party of Japan is formally organized in Tokyo.
- 16 - It is revealed that the New Japan Women's League hopes to enter 50 women candidates in the coming elections.
- 17 - The Cabinet decides to raise the official purchase price of rice, wheat and barley in an effort to curb black market dealings.
- 17 - Authoritative source reveals plan to replace existing currency reportedly as tax collection aid.
- 17 - Leading women's suffragists address mass meetings in Tokyo.
- 17 - The Japanese Government is ordered to deliver eleven named major war criminals to Sugamo Prison Camp.
- 18 - The Government is ordered to submit a detailed plan to replace as soon as possible approximately four million radio receiving sets.
- 18 - The Headquarters prohibits any form of aviation activity in Japan after December 31.
- 19 - Mainichi reports Educational Ministry has decided to revise existing regulations to afford girls the same opportunity as boys to enter higher educational institutions.
- 20 - Baron General Honjo, one of the eleven war criminal suspects named in the directive of November 17, commits suicide.
- 20 - The assets of the Imperial Household are ordered frozen except for normal operating expenses.

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

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Moscow via War

Dated November 30, 1945

Rec'd 10:30 a.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

4016, Thirtieth.

FOR ACHESON ACTING POLITICAL ADVISOR TOKYO.

Press Nov 30, published Tokyo Tass Nov 20, report that Communist Youth League had been reestablished in Japan and that Komsomol would lead democratic tendencies arising among Jap youth.

Sent State Dept as 4016; repeated Chungking as 225, Frankfurt and Tokyo.

MESSAGE UNSIGNED

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 3, 1945.

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

NO. 83

SUBJECT: Political Parties in Japan: Developments
During the Week Ending December 1, 1945.

RECEIVED
DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Mission's Despatch
No. 74 November 24, 1945, and previous despatches trans-
mitting weekly reports, prepared at the request of the
Supreme Commander, on the general subject of the develop-
ment of Japanese political parties.

There is transmitted hereunder a copy of a memoran-
dum of identic date addressed to the Supreme Commander,
forwarding this Mission's report on the development of
political parties during the week ending December 1, 1945,
and recommending, in view of current discussion of war
responsibility in the House of Representatives and the in-
creasing need for clarifying the qualifications for candi-
dates in the coming elections, that steps be taken as sug-
gested in our memorandum of November 24 (forwarded to the
Department under cover of Despatch No. 74 referred to
above).

The report contains a summary as its first section.

Respectfully yours,

DEC 27 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

George Atcheson, Jr.

DEC 27 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Enclosure:

Memorandum to the Supreme
Commander, December 3, 1945,
transmitting report on Jap-
anese Political Parties for
Week Ending December 1, 1945.

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reverse carbon, to Department

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 83 of December 4, 1945, from the Acting United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Political Parties in Japan: Developments During the Week Ending December 1, 1945."

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 3, 1945.

UNCLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: Supreme Commander

SUBJECT: Japanese Political Parties: (Report for Week Ending December 1, 1945)

Hereunder our eighth weekly report on Japanese political parties submitted pursuant to the Chief of Staff's memorandum of October 3, 1945.

With reference to our memorandum of November 24, 1945, recommending the establishment of qualifications for political parties and the prohibition of certain candidates, we are preparing the following lists: 1) members of the present House of Representatives nominated for election by the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association; 2) independent members of the House of Representatives not affiliated with the Political Association of Great Japan; 3) House members who it is believed were influential in the Political Association of Great Japan; 4) House members who were active to some degree in the Political Association of Great Japan; and 5) House members who represented groups more nationalistic than the Political Association of Great Japan.

In view of recent discussions of war responsibility in the House of Representatives and of the increasing need for clarification of the qualifications for candidates in the coming elections, it is believed important that steps be taken as recommended in our memorandum of November 24. Prominent Japanese, both within and without the Government, have themselves suggested that a directive from SCAP on these lines would be welcomed generally and would facilitate the development of democratic processes in Japan.

GEORGE ATCHESON, JR.
American Minister
Acting U. S. Political Adviser

800
JKEmmerson:enl

Enclosure:

Japanese Political Parties:
Report for Week ending
December 1, 1945.

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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 3, 1945.

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UNCLASSIFIEDPOLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE
WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 1, 1945.SUMMARY:

Failure of the present political parties to represent definite ideologies in harmony with the democratic development of Japan has been revealed during the first week of the Diet session. Two of the three major parties have yet been unable to choose leaders. None of them has yet won widespread confidence from the press or the people.

The first issue to come to a vote in the present session of the House of Representatives was the question of war responsibility. A vague resolution introduced by the Progressive Party was passed by a vote of one hundred seventy-eight to forty-five. The Independents are trying to encourage a split in the Progressive Party, already somewhat shaky, and have announced their intention to propose resignation of all Diet members following passage of the election reform bill.

The Progressives are banking heavily on the reputation of SAITO Takao to save them from condemnation for war responsibility. His accusation that Prince Konoye is a war criminal created a furore in the House of Representatives.

The Communists are holding their "Fourth Party Congress" on December 1 and 2 and have announced several candidates for the coming elections. They are seeking to remove disqualifications for office, attached to some of them because of their prison records.

Small rightist parties continue noisy activity. It is reported that FUJI Yoshio, leader of the chauvinistic National Federation of Laborers and KODAMA Yoshio, of the Japan National Party are working together and that mutual support of Diet candidates has been agreed.

Japanese have expressed the hope that SCAP will step in to clarify the question of war responsibility which, unresolved, palls the urge to genuine democratic reform. END OF SUMMARY.

Party Activities in the Diet

The opening days of the Diet session have witnessed leaders of the three major parties jockeying for advantageous positions in the coming election races. That the Progressive and Social Democratic Parties have not yet achieved unity and smooth working machines is proved by the fact that neither party has yet been able to agree upon a head. Mr. HATOYAMA of the Liberal Party remains the sole duly elected president of a party now in the Diet. There has yet been no noticeable move toward any of the constituted parties by the more than one hundred independent members who are apparently still testing the present political atmosphere.

Some

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- 2 -

Some impression of party character and tactics can be gleaned from interpellations which have occurred so far. The Progressive Party is making the most of the reputation as a liberal of SAITO Takao who threw a bombshell into the Diet session of November 28 by naming Prince KONOYE as responsible for the "China Incident" and therefore a war criminal. It is known that SAITO was much sought after by the Liberal Party and both Liberals and Social Democrats are suspicious of Progressive efforts to build up SAITO in an effort to camouflage some of their more peccable members. Rumors continue that a faction within the Progressive Party, to which SAITO belongs, still desires General UGAKI as party head while an opposing group supports Prince KONOYE. It is, however, highly unlikely that either General UGAKI or Prince KONOYE will come forward to head any political party at this time. The future of the Progressive Party must await further clarification of the war responsibility issue.

HATOYAMA's first speech in the Diet has deepened the impression that "Liberal" is a misnomer and that the party should be called Conservative. HATOYAMA again took occasion to preach necessity of preserving the Emperor and to warn against the "weaknesses" of democracy which might permit revival of dictatorship. He explained that there must be "Japanese limitations on democratic government in Japan". An Asahi columnist expressed disappointment that HATOYAMA as the first leader of a new party had not made a more brilliant, forceful entry into the democratic struggle now unfolding within Japan. On specific issues, HATOYAMA criticized the proposed election reform bill as encouraging formation of numerous small parties, advocated ousting prefectural governors and other officials who obstructed constitutional processes, and insisted that Japan must win the confidence of Allied Headquarters to insure food imports which will prevent starvation.

Liberal Party leaders are undoubtedly looking forward to a HATOYAMA Cabinet and many are described as ambitious opportunists gambling on the future. The Party has failed to win support which would ordinarily have come to it from genuine liberals both within and without the Diet due to its somewhat negative conservatism.

The Social Democratic Party has been represented in Diet interpellations by NISHIO Suehiro and MATSUMOTO Jiichiro. NISHIO limited his discussion to concrete problems such as food, unemployment, and labor. The press criticized him for failing to explain the political philosophy of the party. MATSUMOTO devoted the major part of his interpellation on November 30 to attacking the widespread corruption among Army and Navy officers both before and after the surrender.

The Social Democrats are still handicapped by their lack of a clear-cut enunciated stand on the Emperor question. Some of their leaders have expressed support of the Imperial institution but the fact remains that when possible the issue has been avoided. This is of course recognized as a necessary tactic to keep together the divergent elements within the party but it is a weakness vis-a-vis the public.

It is as yet too early in the session to predict the strength and potentialities of the parties. No one is surprised at the uninspiring efforts of a group of men discredited by their acts and by their weakness to salvage their reputations and their futures by

fumbling

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fumbling with the construction of a democratic State which they little understand.

War Responsibility

Since the opening of the Diet session it has been clear that the first issue of importance to come to a vote would be the question of war responsibility. Only a handful of Diet members have resigned and the efforts of the party men seem to have been concentrated on finding a formula which would satisfy public demand for clarification of Diet responsibility in the war and at the same time not destroy their chances in the next election.

It was at first hoped that the parties could agree on one resolution but it soon became clear that this was impossible. The question was scheduled for debate in the House of Representatives on November 30 but no conclusion was reached in committee and the matter was postponed until December 1 when two resolutions were introduced.

The first resolution was signed by twenty members of the Liberal Party and supported by the Social Democrats. It stated that the House of Representatives could not carry on its work without first clarifying the question of war responsibility and that those leaders in the wartime Diet who wholeheartedly supported the Government should feel their responsibility and decide their future course of action. The second resolution introduced by the Progressive Party divided war responsibility into two categories, those who initiated an ill-advised war and those who violated international law during the war. It absolved the general public who followed orders of the Government and ended rather weakly, "We legislators should also reflect upon our past conduct calmly and exercise self-repentance and proceed with the work of reconstructing the country."

When vote was finally taken at 4:15 p.m. on December 1, the Progressive resolution was passed by a vote of one hundred seventy-eight votes against forty-five votes for the Liberal resolution. At least one hundred of the Progressives as well as a good many Liberals and Social Democrats abstained from voting.

The Independent Club, numbering only ten or twelve members, opposed both resolutions and its members left the House chamber before the vote was taken. They have prepared a draft resolution and will propose resignation of all members of the present Diet following passage of the election reform bill. They state that the present Diet is not qualified to take up such measures as the land reform bill and the labor union bill. Their political purpose is clearly to encourage the splitting of the Progressive Party which appears likely at the present time.

General reaction to the Diet discussion of war responsibility is that House members are obviously reluctant to vote themselves out of office and that they will hardly of their own accord come to a decision which will guarantee a thoroughly renovated Diet after the next election. A SCAP directive would clear the atmosphere by setting qualifications for candidates for the next House of Representatives. It is believed that such a directive would be welcomed by many of the Diet members themselves and by the Japanese public in general.

Activities of Communist Party

Representatives of the Japanese Communist Party have announced
their

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their Fourth National Congress to be held for two days, December 1 and 2. Three hundred party members were expected to attend. Sessions were closed to the public. The first three party congresses took place clandestinely in 1922, 1923, and 1926.

Certain of the released political prisoners who wish to become candidates for the Diet are still technically disqualified under present law because of having been judged guilty in the past of criminal charges. Communist leaders have been in consultation with the Justice Ministry and with officers in Headquarters to seek a way of removing the disqualification.

The Party Congress will elect a chairman and a central committee and will hear reports on the progress of the party's organization and on policies to be advocated in the coming elections. KIM Tenkai, Korean released political prisoner, will discuss Communist activities among the Koreans in Japan, SHIGA Yoshio will explain the plans for expanding the People's Emancipation League, MIYAMOTO Kenji will discuss the training of organizers and the institution of a short-term party school, and HAKAMADA Satomi will present the party's activities among youth and women. KUROKI Shigenori will discuss the coming election and KANDA Shigeo will explain policy toward labor unions and farmer's organizations.

Apprehension over Communist activities was expressed in the House of Peers on November 29 by MATSUMOTO Joji, Minister without Portfolio in the present Cabinet. He stated that the Communist movement was "extremely radical" and that violations of the provision of the criminal code against lese-majeste might occur. He added that he had feared the radio had been too sympathetic to the Communists but that this situation seemed to have changed recently.

Union of Rightist Parties

In order to achieve maximum results in the coming elections, the minor rightist parties are cooperating in individual election districts. It is reported that FUJI Yoshio, leader of the National Federation of Laborers (Zenkoku Kinrosha Domei) will form a united front with KODAMA Yoshio, leader of the Japan National Party (Nippon Kokuminto) in the second district in Tokyo. YOSHIMATSU Masakatsu, chief secretary of the former party and AKAO Bin, president of the Great Japan Imperial Way Association (Dai Nippon Kodokai), will support each other in one of the constituencies in Osaka.

AKAO, who was one of the rabble-rousers in Tokyo in 1940 and 1941, is again active and is addressing meetings of his Imperial Way Association, announced by lurid red and black posters on the telephone poles of downtown Tokyo. KODAMA was recently named as a war criminal and war profiteer by the writer of a letter to the Yomiuri-Hochi. He is accused of having had access to Navy funds in Shanghai during the war, to have made huge profits in China, and to have financed a Japanese jingoistic publication called "Yamato".

John K. Emmerson
Foreign Service Officer

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION

Office of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
DEC 17 1945
DIRECTOR
Department of State

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December 6, 1945.

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Carter Vincent, Director
Office of Far Eastern Affairs

FROM: R. E. Carroll
Division of Foreign Activity Correlation

SUBJECT: Report on Japan

OFFICE OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
DEC 10 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

I forward the enclosed report with the idea that it may be of some assistance to you in your work. Many reports have probably been written about this visit and some of the facts set down therein will probably be well-known to you. However, I submit the report for what it may be worth to you.

This report may be slightly different in that it is not an interrogation destined to bring out intelligence, but it is a purely voluntary report which these men rendered to the Y.M.C.A. in New York, which has a great many interests in Japan and Korea. They obtained the services of these men to speak at this conference in order to get first-hand reports on purely Y.M.C.A. matters. The report, therefore, is voluntary and of a religious nature, but at the same time valuable in furnishing background information as to conditions in Japan and Korea and the attitudes of the people there.

Enclosure.

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CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT ON JAPAN

Made by four religious leaders who just returned from Japan.

November 27, 1945, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

(Notes taken by Frank B. Lenz, International Secretary of Y.M.C.A.)

Dr. Douglas Horton

We were carrying out the purpose of the Riverside Conference in California in 1941. In September 1945 we heard a broadcast from Radio Tokyo saying a visit would be welcome. We flew from San Francisco and spent 23 days in Japan.

We were not representatives of Mission Boards, nor denominational groups. Nor did we go as Americans but as Christians. Four men went. We hoped for a Canadian and some women.

Dr. Schaefer and I went to Korea but we had not planned that originally. Even General Hodge said it would be misunderstood if we did not go.

Korea is divided by the 38th parallel. It is a political as well as a geographical line. A heavy curtain has been dropped by the Russians. Koreans are slipping from North Korea to the south. Minerals are in the north; agricultural lands and business in the south. The Koreans are dismayed about this division.

In the south, although there are 70 parties there are only 2 parties. Our military men thought that leadership could be built around Rhee and Kim. We expect better conditions in a few months.

Things are run down in Korea. The water mains are clogged. Severance Hospital is dirty and run down. One said it was a pig pen. An army man said it was worse a month ago. A new Board has been installed. No running water, no sheets and no anesthetics. Families move in to cook. It is a mess. Doctors and nurses are needed now.

Helen Kim is still at Ewa and is still the same Helen Kim. She stood off the Jap military as long as possible. The college is in fair condition. Registration is up to pre-war. Chosen Christian College is also in fair shape, but the windows are broken. New

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leadership is needed.

In Japan the chaplains, in their relation with the Japanese Christians, are splendid. In the devastated cities little contact was made with the Christians. They are scattered. A young G.I. saw a church steeple and went in. He met there a group of Christian ministers in session. He was moved to stand and say: "Nobody sent me but I want to bring greetings from American Protestants". An elder replied and received him gladly. A chaplain (Pott) in Doshishe University was very popular.

A group of W.C.T.U. people went to the airfield and talked with the American flyers on politics and religion.

Midu Kawai is still there. Her record still holds. She refused to let her girls march in a victory parade. She raised a fund to start an agricultural college for women. She said they found Christian Americans through the G.I.'s.

Miss Fugits is a great woman suffragist. The new laws will enable women to vote and hold office. The suffragists want Miss Kawai to stand for Diet. A league of women voters has been formed. There is a new day for women in Japan.

The president of the Y.W.C.A. is active and will be more aggressive.

Most of the kindergartens were burned as were several of the training schools. Christians started again the kindergarten work.

The Y.W.C.A. magazine was stopped because it was international.

The Y.W.C.A. lost many buildings but the big building in Tokyo is in use. Our Navy took it with the exception of 4 rooms. Their rest cottages are in use.

The women's groups started a move to sell valuable personal things in return for food. We brought back kimonos and obi's as a token of the women's friendship.

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Dr. Van Kirk

I had never been to Japan. I was made business manager and had to do a lot of odd things. Dr. Gulick had engendered in me a love of Japanese. We were billeted in the Disahi Hotel in Tokyo.

Dr. Schaefer and I got up at daybreak and walked around the city for 2 hours. Ruins everywhere, but saw a few little gardens - symbolical. Talked with an old elder in the Genza church; at 5:30 met Rev. Metsui and his family and learned of the plans to rehabilitate the church.

Saw American G.I. guarding the Imperial household, a lesson in humiliation.

We didn't know how the Japanese Christians would receive us. We met a band of Christians in the Y.M.C.A. informally, therefore genuine. Mr. Saito brought some leaders of the Church of Christ. There were many tears shed at that little meeting. This little meeting resolved differences. Met Kagawa in the evening. He prayed: "Now that the war is over let the sun shine down upon they work again, etc." Then we had a communion service.

Russell Durgin of the Y.M.C.A., now of the State Department, was of great help. He prepared most of our meetings. We got army bread for the communion.

The Christians in Japan didn't know what the churches in the U.S. had been doing. We told them of Japanese evacuation from the Pacific Coast. Told them of Dulles work with the Church on Just and Durable Peace. Many wept at these reports and said: "This is happiest day of my life." "We see again with our own eyes our friends from U.S."

Kagawa has lost one fourth of his weight. Clothes don't fit, somewhat ragged but filled with enthusiasm for Christianity.

In the second year of war, he was imprisoned a day in Kobe. A half year later he was questioned day and night for 9 days. A student told the police. Later he was released and allowed to preach in his own church but could not move around. He said: "MacArthur is a good man. The G.I.'s won us. If we had been victorious it would have been a catastrophe

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for us and the world. Our culture had fallen to a low ebb."

He is again carrying on great evangelistic meetings. One meeting registered 150 people signed to become Christians. He went with us to visit Hogachi Kuni. Kagawa said the Emperor's brother was making a study of Christianity. He wanted to read Kagawa's new books.

He is addressing 1000 teachers to hear him on moral culture. He has never before talked to teachers, the purveyors of Shintoism.

"We need prayers, Bibles and good missionaries" from America, said Kagawa. He is re-vamping the Cooperative Movement. Says there are 13,000 in existence. He is on the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Political Party. He brings into this party labor and agricultural groups. Kagawa will not run for office. He promised God he would preach the gospel. He says it is imperative to keep the Emperor because there is political chaos in Japan. The emperor is a unifier.

Kagawa is a mover in the International Peace Association Morality Revival Society, a Rural Watchmakers Institute for discharged soldiers. He says the F.O.R. is fine for Christians but I must go to the Shintoists and Buddhists through the International Peace Association. He is active in the Relief program. He is getting the use of barracks for the homeless.

He sent his greetings to all friends in America.

Bishop Baker

The devastation is unbelievable. I saw the ruin of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as ruins of other cities.

A letter from a leader said: "We are completely smashed. We have no army, no navy, no houses, nothing."

MacArthur is a gift of God in my judgment. We have a single occupation and a man at the head who knows the Orient, who is humane and who has imagination. We were his guests at the old American Embassy. MacArthur opened his heart and mind for 3 hours but I can't reveal it here.

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MacArthur is not only a great general but he is a statesman. Fundamentally he is a Christian. He is not soft to the military and financial forces of Japan. "We are here to sow an idea of freedom and democracy", said MacArthur.

The American G.I.'s go all over Japan unarmed. MacArthur has embarked on a great venture of trust. The people who were filled with fear now go about with confidence. MacArthur said he is proud of the American soldier. "We cannot control them but they have an inner control developed in the American home, school and church." The soldiers are not plastered saints. Their attitude toward the Japs is one of friendliness. Miss Kawai said: "Your boys are funny but they are friendly and wonderful. We must bring up our children like these boys." The G.I.'s make a line to let the women get into the trains.

The Japanese people react to American boys. "Our best ambassadors are our American troops", said MacArthur.

MacArthur is surrounded by hundreds of American civilians in uniforms. To those men is committed the task of setting up a whole new school system but MacArthur feels that the reforms must come up out of Japanese life.

I think we ought to have a long occupation to restrain the vicious element in Japanese society. People in the past have been shadowed by secret police. We need enough soldiers to police, then must have advisors.

The audience with the Emperor did not come from the American headquarters. We were received as individuals, not as a deputation. The venocular press had many stories about our presence in Japan.

I walked in, bowed, the Emperor held out his hand, showed me to a chair and we sat down and talked. I walked out - didn't back out.

The Emperor talked with us about Christianity. Thanked us for schools and wanted us back. The door is open in Japan for Christianity.

One American officer sent word to his wife to send \$1500 for missionary work in Japan.

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They want us back. The American government will cooperate.

The Christians want again to enter into the world wide Christian fellowship. We were received with open arms. There is a new day.

Dr. Schaefer

The Christian Movement, how did it fare during the war?

We are convinced of the complete integrity of the Christian church in Japan. There was persecution of ministers. One minister said: "War is a sun. We are not told what we ought to know." He was arrested, tried; appealed his case to Supreme Court and acquitted in April 1945.

The Christians were like the bamboo in a storm. It bends but it doesn't break. The Christians held to their essential loyalty. Many services were stopped but people met in homes. Attendance dropped off because of hard work but the churches held their meetings. Sunday Schools were small.

We found no ministers who were defeated. They were all underweight and tired. But they are a convinced group.

The church had centralized control exercised over it by government. But a union had already been a fact if the pattern was formal. This union was bomb-proof. The United Church survived pressure from authorities. Local churches were urged to continue meetings and not to get lax.

The schools were under pressure by the government, by parents, by people who urged that Bible reading and chapel be discontinued. "Get rid of Christianity", in our schools was the government propaganda. In some cases the schools had to change their constitution but the teachers held other small meetings.

One principal was called to the government. He said: "I may not return but if you don't see me again you will know I have been honest."

The Christian schools are in an excellent situation to carry on.

There are only 9 churches in Tokyo intact out of 157. Many pastors and teachers are homeless.

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Everywhere we went the Japanese say this is a marvelous opportunity for Christianity. This is a period for rebuilding a new Japan. "Japan must rise up out of its despair with Jesus Christ", said one pastor. It is the greatest time for evangelism. Everybody is eager for English and Christianity.

There is also a great opportunity for missionary work. Teachers are wanted back.

The United Church will not continue as it is. But it will not break up into previous denominations.

There will be a reorganization with democratically elected leaders. Or there may be a branch organization set up with an inner unity holding them together. Or there may be a Federation of Churches.

Among the over-age ministers there has been a revolt against the hierarchy in Tokyo as in New York or Boston.

One large movement as a democratically elected assembly will emerge. But we will not return to denominationalism.

There is discussion for a great Christian University, also an urge for a Japanese American university.

The Christian movement needs 100,000 hymn books, one million Bibles. Bibles have been burned during the war. A great need for Christian books, newer books, commentaries and pamphlets.

Relief is needed now. The people say millions will starve. They don't need money but food and clothing. No pastor wanted anything that the people don't get. No priorities for Christmas. General starvation need not exist. The situation is not desperate.

The church cannot undertake a program of mass relief. The occupying power must do this. But there is need for a Church Relief program in Japan at once. The people are on the edge of subsistence.

The atomic bomb to the Japanese people was just another bomb. When 100,000 people died in the fire from bombing in Tokyo in March it made a greater impression than the atomic bomb. There is resentment but people are saying "If it were not for our military the Americans wouldn't have come over."

CONFIDENTIAL



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DIVISION OF CULTURAL COOPERATION
JAN 20 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 8, 1945.

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Office of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
JAN 24 1946
DIRECTOR
Department of State

DCR

NO. 86

SUBJECT: Translation of Magazine Article Entitled "Public Men Who Danced to the Tune of the Militarists".

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
RECORD BRANCH
DEC 28 PM 10 28

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

HB
DEC 29 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IJA
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Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a translation of an article from the December issue of the newly established magazine "New Life (Shinsei) entitled "Leaders who Sponsored Militarism" by a relatively unknown journalist, SHIROKI Masayuki.

The thesis of the article is that Japanese political leaders since the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, including militarists and bureaucrats, bear heavy responsibility for the war and should be purged from public life if the democratic revolution is to be successfully realized in Japan.

Summary. The ruling classes have been trying desperately to maintain their status since the war, as envisaged by the personnel of both the HIGASHI-KUNI and SHIDEHARA Cabinets. The clique exerting power behind the present SHIDEHARA administration includes IZAWA Takio who was a close collaborator of the militarists. Army politics since 1931 have been characterized by rivalry between two cliques, the "Control" group and the "Imperial Way" group. Marquis KIDO and the elder statesmen, instead of using their influence to suppress the rise of the militarists, actually encouraged them and bear responsibility for Japan's ruin. Furthermore, Diet members formed the brain trust of the totalitarian Imperial Rule Assistance Association must be held politically responsible for the No democratic Diet can be established until these individuals are removed from office. Bureaucrats in the Home, Finance, Agriculture, and other Ministries must likewise bear responsibility. A thorough purge must be effected to realize the democratization of Japan. End of Summary.

With new freedom of expression, much information is coming to public light on the political and military intrigues of the years since 1931. The enclosed article is one example and while it is difficult now to check its accuracy in the case of all individuals named, the author's treatment of Japanese politics is believed to be in general sound. The article further suggests an attitude prevalent among many Japanese who are sincerely interested in the establishment of a democratic form of government in their country.

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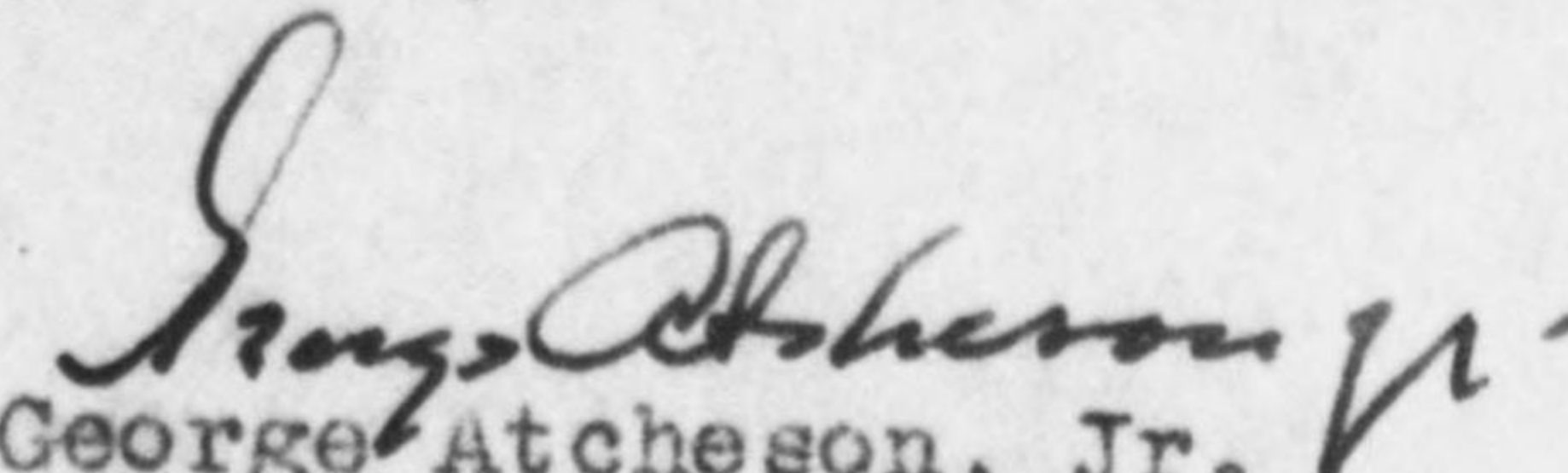
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These Japanese would welcome the elimination from public life of those individuals, civilians as well as militarists, who are tainted with varying degrees of responsibility for the tragic course of Japanese events from September 18, 1931 to August 15, 1945.

Respectfully yours,


George Atcheson, Jr.

Enclosure: *atn*

✓ Translation

Original and duplicate, with reverse carbon, to the Department.

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Copy to General of the Army
Douglas MacArthur.

Enclosure to Despatch No. 86 of December 8, 1945, from the Acting United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Translation of Magazine Article Entitled "Public Men Who Danced to the Tune of the Militarists".

TRANSLATION

Public Men Who Danced to the Tune of the Militarists

by SHIROKI Masayuki

(In the December Issue of the Magazine "Shinsei")

A great political change is just now on the way of the construction of our peaceful state through the purging of militarism in Japan.

In whatever age, a revolution can be never accomplished without pulling down the ruling class of that time, as shown by instances in the history of the world. Construction of a new Japan is being sought to be realized without seeing this basic principle, thus revealing inconsistencies of ideas involved.

New Japan must be built on the basis of a revolutionary democratic principle. Let us see what reconsideration and what change were there among those persons who sponsored the so-called militarism by their action as the war political leaders for longer than 15 years since the occurrence of the Manchurian Affair.

The present movements of the ruling class, who ought to strongly feel their responsibility for the war and who ought to retire from the active field, have incidentally indicated that through the dissolution of the fighting services, all and everything were liquidated, showing their inclination to protect themselves by the maintenance of their own ruling status.

The HIGASHI-KUNI Cabinet, while stressing thoroughgoing reflection and thorough-going repentance of the whole nation, comprised in its own organization, without showing any reflection the members who were politically responsible for the war, and the same Cabinet made no attempt to hold these responsible persons blamable.

The collapse of the HIGASHI-KUNI Cabinet, therefore, should be regarded as a natural result of its failure to have a determination to carry out a reform.

In forming the SHIDEHARA Cabinet it was claimed that endeavour was made to have only the Cabinet colleagues who "had not occupied the leading positions for the past 10 years."

But the real situation revealed that TSUGITA Daisaburo, who was active in the work of organizing the foregoing Cabinet, and who became the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, was formerly the President of the Legislative Bureau in the HIROTA Cabinet. And he was the very person who played a leading role in setting up the system of having the posts of the Ministers of War and Navy filled by the officers on the active service list.

Just at that time, MOTODA Hajime and FUJISAWA Ikunosuke, Privy Councillors, known as opponents to the foregoing system, received a call of TSUGITA at their own residences several times. And this TSUGITA claimed he succeeded in persuading the foregoing Privy Councillors to agree to his own proposition, making him very proud on that account.

This establishment

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This establishment of the system of necessitating the Ministers of War and the Navy to be those officers in the active service was responsible for bringing about the miscarriage of the UGAKI Cabinet and also for laying a strong basis in setting up the militarism.

HORIKIRI Zenjiro, Home Minister, was the leader of the General Spiritual Mobilization movement that served to help the militarism from one side. Later HORIKIRI became the central figure in the Election purification campaign and he participated, directly and indirectly, in creating the recommendation system in the election of members on behalf of the TOJO Cabinet.

Furthermore, the clique who recommended TSUGITA and HORIKIRI to SHIDEHARA to serve as an instrument in directing the SHIDEHARA Administration from behind the scene, was the Bureaucracy including IZAWA Takio who was in league with the military clique.

There were three phases of development in connection with the Manchurian Affair, so that the core of militarism that marked the whole Japanese politics should be carefully scrutinized, with a view to having all the persons, who were the political leaders in the meanwhile, removed from the way of construction of New Japan.

The so-called March Affair just before the Manchurian Affair, and the October Affair immediately after the same Manchurian Affair, proved to be the cradle of militarism in Japan. The foregoing two Affairs are still held secret historically. But they were in line with a Fascist revolutionary movement which the fighting service, especially the Army, intended to use as the tool for their assuming the political leadership.

The March Affair was engineered by SUGIYAMA Gen, War Vice-Minister, and by KOISO Kuniaki, Chief of the Military Duties Bureau, by NAGATA Tetsuzan, Chief of the Military Affairs Section and by NINOMIYA Harushige, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, who formed the brain trust of the Army and who joined hands with the Rightists among civilians. Counting on the aid of UGAKI Kazunari, War Minister, they intended to encircle the Imperial Diet, then in session, to practise a coup d'etat. This was the March Affair.

Meeting a strong opposition of General MAZAKI Jinzaburo, then Commander of the First Division, the foregoing plot ended unaccomplished. Both the assassination of HAMAGUCHI and the collapse of the HAMAGUCHI Cabinet were attributable to the circumstances that had the March Affair as its origin.

The October Affair was an armed revolutionary plot engineered in October 1931 by the younger elements of the Army with, in the center, TATEKAWA Yoshitsugu and HASHIMOTO Kingoro of the General Staff Office, who were the predominating figures in the Army. MINAMI Jiro was the War Minister at that time.

This plot became divulged before it was carried out. ARAKI Sadao persuaded the foregoing officers to stop the design. The gendarmerie force started activities. Eventually the plot ended unsuccessfully.

Moreover, the Second WAKATSUKI Cabinet collapsed on account of this October Affair and also on account of the movement for Coalition Cabinet started among political parties under the influence created by the same October Affair.

Despite

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Despite the fact that the inside circumstances of these two Affairs were very clearly known among all the militarists, neither UGAKI nor MINAMI, though in the post of War Minister, cared to punish any offenders, but rather they showed their tacit understanding. The Cabinet in power was apparently afraid of a mere shadow and never showed an attitude of clarifying the responsibility of the men involved.

Because the political parties failed to offer any opposition or to take any repressive measures against the foregoing political offensive of the Army, it led to the occurrence of the May Affair, eventually resulting in the collapse of the rightful theory about the Constitution and party politics.

Furthermore, within the Army circles no attention was given seriously to the March Affair and October Affair. This attitude was responsible for the subsequent confrontation of the control party and the Kodoha or Imperial War party, surrounding the military discipline issue and the control question.

The control party identified itself with the NAGATA Tetsuzan clique which was involved in the foregoing two Affairs, or in other words, ISHIWARA Kanji, TOJO Hideki, UMEZO Yoshijiro, ANAMI Koreiku, MUTO Akira, TANAKA Shin-chi, KAWABE Torashiro, IKEDA Sumihisa and KATAKURA Chu were the soldiers who constituted the brain trust of the Army from the time of the China Affair until the War of Greater Asia, and they placed themselves in the position of war leaders.

In the Imperial Way party there were ARAKI Sadao, MAZAKI Jinzaburo and OBATA Toshishiro. After the outbreak of the February 26th Affair it was held under repression by the control party acting in collusion with the upper political strata, so it was always in sad circumstances.

Both the AIZAWA case and the February 26th case are being attributed to the friction between the control party and the Imperial Way party. The control party was quick to avail itself of these incidents for its political ends and solidified the basis of militarism.

The attitude that Lord Keeper KIDO and other elder statesmen should have assumed was that of repressing the militarists. And for the sake of averting war they must have shown courage and determination to resort to the final extraordinary measure.

On the contrary, the fact was simply that of KIDO found recommending TOJO on his own responsibility as the Lord Keeper.

Thus it amounts to this; The elder statesmen with KIDO as the leader, willingly or unwillingly, fostered militarism. They should therefore be held responsible for having brought the country into ruin.

When a study is made of the relations between the TOJO Cabinet and the Imperial Diet, it will be seen that in conducting the election of the recommendation system, the Diet members who played the leading role in the election and who as the brain trust of the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association worked inside and outside the Government and who interested themselves in the proceedings of the Diet and who worked in support of the Tojo Administration should be held res-

ponsible

- 4 -

possible politically as the collaborators of the Tojo Cabinet. Thus it is clear that ABE Nobuyuki, ENDO Ryusaku, YOKOYAMA Sukenari, HASHIMOTO Seinosuke, CASA Tadao, MAEDA Yonezo, YAMAZAKI Tatsunosuke, MIYOSHI HIDEYUKI and TSUKUMO Kunitoshi were the men who acted vigorously as the leaders.

Establishment of a Diet of Democratic principles is possible only through the purging of the group of these politicians, holding them responsible for the war defeat.

A rise of Bureaucracy was always seen through league with the fighting services or through the utilization of the military background. The new Bureaucrats identified with GOTO Fumio clique have taken advantage of the opposition of the militarists to the political parties that became conspicuous since the Manchurian Affair.

This was followed by a further rise of the so-called newest Bureaucrats including HOSHINO Naoki and KISHI Nobusuke of the Manchurian group and SEKOMIZU Hizatsune, MINOBE Yoji and OKUMURA Kiwao of the Kikaku In group.

Among the Bureaucrats of the Home Ministry field are HIROZAWA Toshiki and AIZAWA Katsuroku with GOTO Fumio in the center. There is also another clique including HIROSE Kiyotada and ABE Motoki with Lord Keeper KIDO as the pivot.

In the field of Finance, there are KAYA, ISHIWATA and AOKI. And in the Agriculture-Forestry Administration, there are ARIMA, ISHIGURO and SENGOKU.

Their latent power is likely to make itself felt as the governing influence even after the war. For the sake of an effective realization of a democratic revolution in Japan, a thoroughgoing purging of Bureaucracy should be carried out decisively.



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 11, 1945

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Office of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
JAN 24 1946
DIRECTOR
Department of State

LEGAL ADVISER
MAR 8 - 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 92

SUBJECT: Political Parties in Japan; Developments During
Week Ending December 8, 1945

34

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Mission's despatch
No. 83, December 3, 1945, and previous despatches transmitting
weekly reports prepared at the request of the Supreme
Commander on the general subject of the development of
Japanese political parties, and to forward herewith copy
of this Mission's latest report covering the week ending
December 8, 1945.

A summary appears as the first section of the report.

Respectfully yours,

George Atcheson, Jr.
George Atcheson, Jr.

Enclosures: *att 2*

- 1. Copy of report entitled
"Political Parties in Japan:
Developments during the week
ending December 8, 1945."

Original and duplicate, with
reverse carbon, to Department.

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*DIVISION OF
STATE SERVICES*

*RECORDS BRANCH
DEC 28 1945*

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 92 dated December 11, 1945, from George Atcheson, Jr., Acting Political Adviser to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Political Parties in Japan: Developments during week ending December 8, 1945."

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 10, 1945.

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE
WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 8, 1945.

Summary. Inclusion of five members of the House of Representatives in the recent list of war criminal suspects issued by Headquarters created a flurry within the Diet. The Progressive Party has been particularly affected with two of its prominent members named. Observers believe that the party may split into factions, especially if further designations of members as war criminal suspects are made. The selection of a president has become of prime importance to the Progressive Party and continuous efforts are being made to reach an agreement on a leader who can preserve party unity and at the same time be beyond suspicion of war guilt. At present General UGAKI seems the likely choice although his military career is against him.

The Liberals are quiet and apparently relieved that none of their leaders have yet been singled out for arrest. They expect to place 200 candidates in the field and to increase substantially their present 50 seats in the House of Representatives. They are undoubtedly hoping to control the balance of power in the next Diet between the chastened and diminished Progressives and the up-and-coming Social Democrats.

The Social Democratic Party has again rejected an appeal made by the Communists for a united front on the grounds that the two parties lack mutual trust. The Communists are playing on internal differences within the Social Democratic Party and trying to wean away the left wing group to their own camp.

The Communist Party estimates its present membership at 1200 and is confident of doubling this number within the near future. 500 party members attended the Fourth Congress on December 1, 2, and 3. The party held a mass meeting on December 8 attended by approximately 5,000 persons at which a list of 1,000 war criminal suspects was read. The list included the Emperor, Imperial Family, and representatives of Japan's ruling classes. The position of Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party remains open, with all other offices filled. The consensus is that Communists may win two or three seats in the coming elections. End of Summary.

The Progressive Party

Events of the week have further shaken the somewhat creaky structure of the Japan Progressive Party. Two of its prominent members, OTA Masataka and SAKURAI Hyogoro, appeared on the list of war criminal suspects announced by SCAP on December 3. Dr. OTA was chairman of the party's important Political Affairs Investigation Committee and had been characterized by one of the party leaders as a financial and economic expert of the highest caliber and one of the best "brains" among the Progressives.

The Progressive Party

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- 2 -

The Progressive Party leaders, realizing their vulnerability on the question of war responsibility, have from the beginning made constant efforts to keep in the background and out of party office those Diet members regarded as prominent politically during the war. Such men as NAKAJIMA Chikuhei, OASA Tadao, MAEDA Yonezo and TSUGUMO Kunitoshi have not been permitted to play an open, active role in the new party. It is apparent, however, that OTA was felt to be safe from charges as a war criminal and his inclusion in the Headquarters list came as a "bolt from the blue" to the party.

According to the Asahi, TSURUMI Yusuke, who speaks English fluently and has wide acquaintance among Americans, has been maintaining daily contact with Allied Headquarters in an effort to keep American officials fully informed regarding the party platform and activities and to secure prior consent to its personnel and policies. TSURUMI has since stated in private conversation that neither he nor the party had any idea why OTA should be apprehended as a war criminal. He added, however, that unless there were further arrests of party members, the Progressives would be little affected by OTA's loss.

The order for the arrest of OTA and SAKURAI has made even more urgent the selection of a president for the Progressive Party. Indications are that unless agreement on a leader for the party becomes possible within the very near future, a split will be inevitable.

Beginning as an amalgamation of the NAKAJIMA and MACHIDA factions of the Seiyukai and Minseito, the Progressive Party set out to be a small, compact group but has now extended itself to include individuals of varying political backgrounds. For a time it appeared that KANEMITSU Tsuneo, Diet member of long standing and Welfare Minister in the second KONOYE Cabinet, would try to put forth Prince KONOYE as President of the party. However, press criticism of KONOYE and finally SAITO's Diet speech directly denouncing the Prince as a war criminal eliminated him from the race before he was listed for arrest.

At present General UGAKI's chances seem to be the best. He has renounced his military rank and has become a candidate for the House of Representatives from Okayama Prefecture. In spite of UGAKI's reputation as a liberal and an opponent of military aggression, he cannot so easily slough off his military character and some Progressive Party leaders are still dubious of the expediency of choosing him as their leader.

Admiral NOMURA, former Ambassador to Washington, has also been mentioned but his military (as well as his diplomatic) career is likewise against him. During the past week, a party delegation called upon Viscount SHIBUZAWA to offer him the presidency of the party which he refused. Other possibilities, suggested as "dark horses" by the Japanese press are SHIMADA Toshio, Speaker of the House of Representatives, IWATA Chuzo, present Minister of Justice, MATSUDAIRA Tsuneo, former Imperial Household Minister, and Baron WAKATSUKI, one of the elder statesmen.

Both Party members and outside observers are agreed that failure to select a president will cause the Progressives to lose considerable strength in the present Diet and in the coming elections.

The Liberal Party

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The Liberal Party

In an interview with Mr. Emmerson on December 8, Mr. ANDO Masasumi, one of the prominent leaders of the Liberal Party, commented on the coming elections and the party in general as follows:

The nucleus of the Liberal Party was a small group of Diet members calling themselves the Doko-kai which formed in 1940. They were not nominated by TOJO in the elections of 1942 and, according to ANDO, only 9 of the 29 members at that time won seats in the election. These original 9 were the following: HATOYAMA Ichiro, now president of the Liberal Party, ANDO Masazumi, OZAKI Yukio, ASHIDA Hitoshi, now Minister of Welfare, KITA Reikichi, TANAKA Ryoichi, HOSHIJIMA Jiro, BANDO Kotaro, and KAWASAKI Katsu. KAWASAKI has since joined the Progressive Party.

ANDO's group opposed Japan's adherence to the tri-partite pact, TOJO's policies, and particularly war with the United States. He states that members of the Doko-kai opposed Prince KONOYE's "New Structure" and the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and that they went so far as to make speeches against the IRAA.

The Liberal Party is not large in numbers and is not trying to obtain a wide following at the expense of integrity, as the Progressive Party is doing. The Liberals are endeavoring to put up candidates for Diet seats who have not before been members of the House of Representatives. They believe in the injection of new blood into Japanese parliamentary politics. (One might remark that this is sorely needed in view of the average age of most of the leaders who have so far come forward.)

The Liberals advocate political and economic freedom. The Progressive Party speaks much of "new economic policy" but is vague in its definition. The Progressives oppose both socialism and bureaucratically controlled economy. They say they favor economic controls but by the people instead of by the bureaucrats. The Progressives want to oust present officials and become bureaucrats themselves in order to administer the controls. ANDO believes they actually mean only to revise slightly the economic policy maintained during the war. OTA Masataka, recently named as a war criminal suspect was a staunch advocate of the Government's economic policy during the war. OTA's present support of the property tax is believed to be motivated by his desire to counterbalance his activities during the war.

The Liberal Party believes in the indissoluble trinity of "initiative, responsibility, and liberty". Economic freedom must be established as a fundamental principle. A free economy will in practice contain defects. However, defects in a free economy can be corrected by an enlightened social policy and by the reeducation of merchants and industrialists.

As a result of the war, there is no balanced economy in Japan today. Neither progress nor balance can be attained except through free competition.

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The Liberal

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- 4 -

The Liberal Party heartily supports in principle the three urgent bills now before the Diet, Election Reform, the Labor Union Bill, and the Land Reform Bill. The party will however propose certain revisions in the bills as they now stand. In the Election Reform Bill the Party objects to division of certain voting districts and favors a "one prefecture, one election district" system. Furthermore, a "single entry transfer system" for voting is favored instead of the "restricted plural system" in the present bill.

with regard to the Labor Union Bill, the party should support the establishment of labor unions and the principle of collective bargaining. There should be provisions to prevent strikes without prior notice in public utility industries.

The Land Reform Bill deserved much study and there would be heated Diet argument over its provisions. Farmers were apparently objecting to a change in payment of rents in money instead of kind, since they have little faith in the value of currency and fear instability in rice prices.

At the conclusion of the interview, Mr. ANDO made an impassioned plea for retention of the Emperor. He emphasized that the Emperor was venerated as a father by the Japanese people and intimated that his removal would throw the country into confusion and would vitiate much of the good work accomplished by General MacArthur's Headquarters.

The Social Democratic Party

The Social Democrats have increased their representation in the present Diet to 16 members with the adherence to the party on December 4 of KINOSHITA Iku, Independent, of Oita prefecture. In a statement to the press on December 6, MIZUTANI Chosaburo predicted that his party would win more than 100 seats in the coming January elections. He indicated that from 200 to 300 candidates would run for the Social Democratic Party in the elections and that in the event of a split in the Progressive Party, the Socialists might become the leading party in the Diet. However, in an informal conversation on December 8, KAGAWA Toyohiko expressed the opinion that the Socialists would win no more than 50 seats.

Principal event of the week so far as the Social Democrats were concerned was their second refusal to join the Communists in a united front. Two Communist representatives, KAMIYAMA Shigeo and KUROKI Shigenori, called at Socialist headquarters on December 6 to propose the formation of a united front. Decision had been taken earlier in the week by the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party and the Communist representatives were informed of it by KONO Mitsu and NISHIO Suehiro, representing the Socialists. The basis for the Socialists' first rejection on October 20 was that the parties were not at that time formally organized. The Communists stated that they had come a second time in view of the fact that formal inauguration of both parties had now taken place. The Socialists replied that cooperation was impossible due to lack of mutual trust between the two parties and that both should concentrate on consolidating their respective organizations. The Communists commented that stabilization of

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the people's livelihood need not be delayed until consolidation of the parties was accomplished and added that they would return "hundreds of times" until the Social Democrats were persuaded to accept their proposal.

The Communists are quite apparently making use of the "united front" proposal as a strategy to embarrass the Socialists and encourage dissension within the party ranks.

The Social Democratic Party is composed roughly of three groups, known popularly as Sha-min-kei, Nichi-ro-kei, and Nichi-mu-kei. These designations signify previous affiliations with the numerous proletarian parties which have risen and fallen during the history of the Japanese labor movement.

Sha-min-kei, now representing the Right Wing of the present party, derives from the Shakai Minshu-to (Social Democratic Party) formed in 1926 under the leadership of ABE Iso. It inherits the traditions of Japan's first labor party, also called Shakai Minshu-to, founded in 1901 by a group of which ABE Iso was a member. It is interesting to note in passing that of the founders of the 1901 party, one (KATAYAMA Sen) became the father of Japanese Communism, another (KOTOKU Shusui) was executed in 1910 for conspiracy to assassinate the Emperor, and another (KAWAKAMI Kiyoshi - K. K. KAWAKAMI) has spent most of his life in the United States as a journalist and propagandist. Members of the Sha-min-kei in the present Social Democratic Party are the "aristocrats" of the Japanese labor movement. Besides the venerable ABE Iso, they include NISHIO Suehiro, MIZUTANI Chosaburo, and KATAYAMA Tetsu. They support the Imperial institution and oppose the Communists and the formation of a popular front with them.

The Center may be said to be represented in the present Social Democratic Party by the Nichi-ro-kei, or the group deriving from the Nihon Ronoto (Japan Labor-Farmer Party) also founded in 1926 under the leadership of ASO Hisashi, now deceased. This group, led by KONO Mitsu, and including MATSUOKA Komakichi, KAWAKAMI Jotaro, and TAWARA Harumi, is described as "opportunistic" and as having supported the Government during the war. Most of the members joined the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. Nichi-ro-kei is said to be the most influential clique now in the party. It supports the Sha-min-kei in upholding the Emperor system and in opposing the united front with the Communists.

Nichi-mu-kei is the Left Wing of the present Social Democratic Party. Its members were affiliated with the Nihon Musan-to (Japan Proletarian Party) of which KATO Kanju was an original leader. Besides KATO, others in the present clique are TAKATSU Seido, TAKANO Minoru, YAMAHANA Hideo, ARAHATA Kanson, and MATSUMOTO Jiichiro. MATSUMOTO, who is reported to be a member of the Eta, Japan's outcasts, drew attention to himself when he failed to bow to the Emperor at the time of the latter's appearance in the Diet. Nichi-mu-kei is close to the Communists and apparently favors cooperation with them. With the exception of KATO, most members are willing to abolish the Emperor system after a period of democratic education of the people.

There have been recent instances of cooperation among labor unions and Communists and members of the Nichi-mu-kei. Such evidences may increase, as it is clearly the policy of the Communist Party to work within labor organizations and other parties to develop their political strength gradually.

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The increasing

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The increasing popularity of the Social Democratic Party among intellectual circles may be indicated by recent polls taken among students. At Tokyo Industrial College the Social Democratic Party won preferential place in a poll of 418 students, with 97 votes. The Communist Party won second place with 38 votes. However, widespread political indifference was indicated by the 190 students who expressed no party preference. Reports of a poll taken at Tokyo Imperial University among 1,131 students indicate that the Social Democrats won a majority of the votes, although exact figures have not yet been published.

The Communist Party

The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Japan was held in Tokyo on December 1, 2 and 3. Meetings were not open to the public; according to the press, 500 party members attended. The following officers were elected:

General Secretary and Chairman of the Political Organization Committees: TOKUDA Kyuichi

Members of the Central Executive Committee:

TOKUDA Kyuichi
SHIGA Yoshio
KUROKI Shigenori
HAKAMADA Satomi
KAMIYAMA Shigeo
KIM Ten-kai
MIYAMOTO Kenji

Deputy Committee Members: MUNEKIYO Tetsu (Osaka)
IWAMOTO Iwao (Osaka)
SHIDA Shigeo (Osaka)
MATSUZAKA Kumaji (Okayama)
KASUGA Shoichi (Tokyo)
KURAHARA Korendo (Tokyo)
KONNO Yojiro (Tokyo)

Chairman of Propaganda Committee: MIYAMOTO Kenji

Chairman of Publications: SHIGA Yoshio

Chairman of Labor Union and Farmers' Section: KAMIYAMA Shigeo

Chairman of Secretariat: KUROKI Shigenori

The fact that the position of chairman of the Central Executive Committee was left vacant may be significant in view of the fact that OKANO Susumu, Communist leader long in Russia and China, has not yet returned to Japan.

SHIGA Yoshio has stated in an interview that the party membership throughout Japan now numbers 1200 and that approximately 1200 additional applicants will be admitted in the near future. An applicant must have two sponsors who are party members, must subscribe to the party platform, pledge himself to work within the party organiza-

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SHIGA denied vigorously reports to have been circulated by HATOYAMA Ichiro of the Liberal Party to the effect that the Communists were receiving funds from Soviet Russia and that they had purchased a printing press at a cost of ¥500,000. SHIGA stated on December 2 that the party had to date collected ¥150,000 from its members throughout Japan and that its expenses had been ¥80,000 with ¥70,000 now remaining in the party treasury.

The declared policy of the party is not to use violence to accomplish its aims but to resist violence in self-defense if necessary. The subject was discussed at the Party Congress, with emphasis on the danger of the "white terror" and the necessity for the organization of "self-defense units" by the central organ by the party.

The Communists as a party have not softened their attacks upon the Imperial institution. When one recalls the protests of the Japanese Government over a cartoon of the Emperor appearing in Vogue Magazine some years ago, it comes with a shock to note the cartoon in the December 5 issue of the Communist organ Red Flag, which has now assumed the format of a regular newspaper. The Emperor's chair is perched on a cannon barrel which has been crushing a figure labeled "Japanese Communist Party" just now struggling to its knees. In the background a blonde individual marked "Allied Headquarters" is plucking silk-hatted "war criminals" from the cannon and throwing them down. Some of these are frantically pushing the imperial chair out of reach of the long arms of Headquarters while HIROHITO looks anxiously behind him.

The Communist Youth League at its meeting on December 4 decided not to include the abolition of the Emperor system and establishment of a People's Republic in its program. This step was taken in order to attract as large a membership as possible from young people throughout the country. The program adopted included opposition to imperialism, militarism, and war; advocacy of suffrage for men and women 18 years of age and over; land and jobs for repatriated soldiers; and co-education.

Communist sponsored "People's Mass Meetings to Pursue War Criminals" were held in Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, Yokohama, Sapporo, and Fukushima on December 8, the anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack. Several thousand persons attended the Tokyo meeting which was orderly and proceeded with a minimum of heckling. At this meeting a list of more than 1,000 war criminals suspects was read. The list contained the Emperor, Empress, all princes of the blood now of age, 20 officials of the Imperial Household, regular officers of the Kempeitai (military Police), Army, Navy, and Special Police, 100 bureaucrats, 10 career diplomats, 8 prefectural governors, 30 officials of the Justice Ministry, including bureau heads, thought control prosecutors, 10 police officials, 20 members of the Privy Council, 166 members of the House of Peers, 300 members of the House of Representatives, 69 members of the Zaibatsu, 146 Rightists, all officers of the IRAA and numerous representatives of literary, religious, journalistic, and other circles. Included in the list are Baron SHIDEHARA, Admiral YONAI, HATAYAMA Ichiro, and the wife of General TOJO.

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MR. EMMERSON

No. 9

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 10, 1945.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE
WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 8, 1945.

Summary. Inclusion of five members of the House of Representatives in the recent list of war criminal suspects issued by Headquarters created a flurry within the Diet. The Progressive Party has been particularly affected with two of its prominent members named. Observers believe that the party may split into factions, especially if further designations of members as war criminal suspects are made. The election of a president has become of prime importance to the Progressive Party and continuous efforts are being made to reach an agreement on a leader who can preserve party unity and at the same time be beyond suspicion of war guilt. At present General UGAKI seems the likely choice although his military career is against him.

The Liberals are quiet and apparently relieved that none of their leaders have yet been singled out for arrest. They expect to place 200 candidates in the field and to increase substantially their present 50 seats in the House of Representatives. They are undoubtedly hoping to control the balance of power in the next Diet between the chastened and diminished Progressives and the up-and-coming Social Democrats.

The Social Democratic Party has again rejected an appeal made by the Communists for a united front on the grounds that the two parties lack mutual trust. The Communists are playing on internal differences within the Social Democratic Party and trying to wean away the left wing group to their own camp.

The Communist Party estimates its present membership at 1200 and is confident of doubling this number within the near future. 500 party members attended the Fourth Congress on December 1, 2, and 3. The party held a mass meeting on December 8 attended by approximately 5,000 persons at which a list of 1,000 war criminal suspects was read. The list included the Emperor, Imperial Family, and representatives of Japan's ruling classes. The position of Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party remains open, with all other offices filled. The consensus is that Communists may win two or three seats in the coming elections. End of Summary.

The Progressive Party

Events of the week have further shaken the somewhat creaky structure of the Japan Progressive Party. Two of its prominent members, OTA Masataka and SAKURAI Hyogoro, appeared on the list of war criminal suspects announced by SCAP on December 3. Dr. OTA was chairman of the Party's important Political Affairs Investigation Committee and had been characterized by one of the party leaders as a financial and economic expert of the highest caliber and one of the best "brains" among the Progressives.

The Progressive Party

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The Progressive Party leaders, realizing their vulnerability on the question of war responsibility, have from the beginning made constant efforts to keep in the background and out of party office those Diet members regarded as prominent politically during the war. Such men as NAKAJIMA Chikuhei, OASA Tadao, MAEDA Yonezo and TSUGUMO Kunitoshi have not been permitted to play an open, active role in the new party. It is apparent, however, that OTA was felt to be safe from charges as a war criminal and his inclusion in the Headquarters list came as a "bolt from the blue" to the party.

According to the Asahi, TSURUMI Yusuke, who speaks English fluently and has wide acquaintance among Americans, has been maintaining daily contact with Allied Headquarters in an effort to keep American officials fully informed regarding the party platform and activities and to secure prior consent to its personnel and policies. TSURUMI has since stated in private conversation that neither he nor the party had any idea why OTA should be apprehended as a war criminal. He added, however, that unless there were further arrests of party members, the Progressives would be little affected by OTA's loss.

The order for the arrest of OTA and SAKURAI has made even more urgent the selection of a president for the Progressive Party. Indications are that unless agreement on a leader for the party becomes possible within the very near future, a split will be inevitable.

Beginning as an amalgamation of the NAKAJIMA and MACHIDA factions of the Seiyukai and Minseitō, the Progressive Party set out to be a small, compact group but has now extended itself to include individuals of varying political backgrounds. For a time it appeared that KANEMITSU Tsuneo, Diet member of long standing and Welfare Minister in the second KONOYE Cabinet, would try to put forth Prince KONOYE as President of the party. However, press criticism of KONOYE and finally SAITO's Diet speech directly denouncing the Prince as a war criminal eliminated him from the race before he was listed for arrest.

At present General UGAKI's chances seem to be the best. He has renounced his military rank and has become a candidate for the House of Representatives from Okayama Prefecture. In spite of UGAKI's reputation as a liberal and an opponent of military aggression, he cannot so easily slough off his military character and some Progressive Party leaders are still dubious of the expediency of choosing him as their leader.

Admiral NOMURA, former Ambassador to Washington, has also been mentioned but his military (as well as his diplomatic) career is likewise against him. During the past week, a party delegation called upon Viscount SHIBUZAWA to offer him the presidency of the party which he refused. Other possibilities, suggested as "dark horses" by the Japanese press are SHIMADA Toshio, Speaker of the House of Representatives, IWATA Chuzo, present Minister of Justice, MATSUDAIRA Tsuneo, former Imperial Household Minister, and Baron WAKATSUKI, one of the elder statesmen.

Both Party members and outside observers are agreed that failure to select a president will cause the Progressives to lose considerable strength in the present Diet and in the coming elections.

The Liberal Party

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The Liberal Party

In an interview with Mr. Emerson on December 8, Mr. ANDO Masazumi, one of the prominent leaders of the Liberal Party, commented on the coming elections and the party in general as follows:

The nucleus of the Liberal Party was a small group of Diet members calling themselves the Doko-kai which formed in 1940. They were not nominated by TOJO in the elections of 1942 and, according to ANDO, only 9 of the 29 members at that time won seats in the election. These original 9 were the following: HATAYAMA Ichiro, now president of the Liberal Party, ANDO Masazumi, OZAKI Yukio, ASHIDA Hitoshi, now Minister of Welfare, KITA Reikichi, TANAKA Ryoichi, HOSHIJIMA Jiro, BANDO Kotaro, and KAWASAKI Katsu. KAWASAKI has since joined the Progressive Party.

ANDO's group opposed Japan's adherence to the tri-partite pact, TOJO's policies, and particularly war with the United States. He states that members of the Doko-kai opposed Prince KONOYE's "New Structure" and the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and that they went so far as to make speeches against the IRAA.

The Liberal Party is not large in numbers and is not trying to obtain a wide following at the expense of integrity, as the Progressive Party is doing. The Liberals are endeavoring to put up candidates for Diet seats who have not before been members of the House of Representatives. They believe in the injection of new blood into Japanese parliamentary politics. (One might remark that this is sorely needed in view of the average age of most of the leaders who have so far come forward.)

The Liberals advocate political and economic freedom. The Progressive Party speaks much of "new economic policy" but is vague in its definition. The Progressives oppose both socialism and bureaucratically controlled economy. They say they favor economic controls but by the people instead of by the bureaucrats. The Progressives want to oust present officials and become bureaucrats themselves in order to administer the controls. ANDO believes they actually mean only to revise slightly the economic policy maintained during the war. OTA Masataka, recently named as a war criminal suspect was a staunch advocate of the Government's economic policy during the war. OTA's present support of the property tax is believed to be motivated by his desire to counterbalance his activities during the war.

The Liberal Party believes in the indissoluble trinity of "initiative, responsibility, and liberty". Economic freedom must be established as a fundamental principle. A free economy will in practice contain defects. However, defects in a free economy can be corrected by an enlightened social policy and by the reeducation of merchants and industrialists.

As a result of the war, there is no balanced economy in Japan today. Neither progress nor balance can be attained except through free competition.

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The Liberal

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The Liberal Party heartily supports in principle the three urgent bills now before the Diet, Election Reform, the Labor Union Bill, and the Land Reform Bill. The party will however propose certain revisions in the bills as they now stand. In the Election Reform Bill the Party objects to division of certain voting districts and favors a "one prefecture, one election district" system. Furthermore, a "single entry transfer system" for voting is favored instead of the "restricted plural system" in the present bill.

With regard to the Labor Union Bill, the party should support the establishment of labor unions and the principle of collective bargaining. There should be provisions to prevent strikes without prior notice in public utility industries.

The Land Reform Bill deserved much study and there would be heated Diet argument over its provisions. Farmers were apparently objecting to a change in payment of rents in money instead of kind, since they have little faith in the value of currency and fear instability in rice prices.

At the conclusion of the interview, Mr. ANDO made an impassioned plea for retention of the Emperor. He emphasized that the Emperor was venerated as a father by the Japanese people and intimated that his removal would throw the country into confusion and would vitiate much of the good work accomplished by General MacArthur's Headquarters.

The Social Democratic Party

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The Communists

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The Communist Party

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Committees: TOKUDA Kyuichi;

Members of the Central Executive
Committee: TOKUDA Kyuichi,
SHIGA Yoshio,
KUROKI Shigenori,
HAKAMADA Satomi,
KAMIYAMA Shigeo,
KIM Ten-Kai,
MIYAMOTO Kenji;

Deputy Committee

Members: MUNEKIYO Tetsu (Osaka)
IWAMOTO Iwao (Osaka)
SHIDA Shigeo (Osaka)
MATSUZAKA Kumaji (Okayama)
KASUGA Shoichi (Tokyo)
KURAHARA Korendo (Tokyo)
KONNO Yojiro (Tokyo)

Chairman of Propaganda
Committee: MIYAMOTO Kenji;

Chairman of Publications: SHIGA Yoshio;

Chairman of Labor Union and
Farmers' Section: KAMIYAMA Shigeo;

Chairman of Secretariat: KUROKI Shigenori.

The fact that the position of chairman of the Central Executive Committee was left vacant may be significant in view of the fact that OKANO Susumu, Communist leader long in Russia and China, has not yet returned to Japan.

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	SECURITY CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	
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FORM DS-507 3-5-47 REQUEST FOR DECLASSIFICATION OR DOWNGRADING DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECTION A

TO: 1. ORIGINATING OR ACTION DIVISION FE	EXTENSION 2951	BUILDING NS	ROOM NO. 3151
2. REQUESTER'S NAME Wilson C. Flake	DIVISION FE	EXTENSION 4834	BUILDING NS
3. DIVISION OF RECORD: DC/R, REF, PD, etc. DC/R			

SECTION B

ATTACHED
THE FOLLOWING DESCRIBED DOCUMENT APPEARS TO NO LONGER WARRANT ITS SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TYPE OF DOCUMENT
Despatch No. 92

TO: **The Secretary of State** DATE
12-11-45

FROM: **George Atcheson, Jr., USPOLAD TOKYO**

SUBJECT: **Political parties in Japan: Developments during week ending 12-8-45.**

PRESENT CLASSIFICATION
CONFIDENTIAL

SECTION C

THE CHIEF OF THE DIVISION TO WHICH THIS FORM IS ADDRESSED OR A PERSON DESIGNATED BY HIM WILL REVIEW THE SUBJECT DOCUMENT AND INDICATE THE DESIRED CLASSIFICATION.

RETAIN PRESENT CLASSIFICATION <input type="checkbox"/>	CHANGE TO: <input type="checkbox"/> TOP SECRET* <input type="checkbox"/> SECRET <input type="checkbox"/> CONFIDENTIAL <input type="checkbox"/> RESTRICTED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UNCLASSIFIED *(If reclassified to a higher classification explain on reverse side).
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BY AUTHORITY OF: **U. Alexis Johnson** *U. Alexis Johnson* DATE **2/1/52** OFFICE OF THE ASS'T SECY FOR FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

SECTION D

INSTRUCTIONS— (1) The requesting division will complete lines (1) and (2) of Section A and all of Section B of this form in duplicate.
 (2) Both copies of this form, with one copy of the document or documents to be downgraded or declassified, will be forwarded to the action or originating division concerned with the document attached where practicable.
 (3) The action or originating division will, if the contents warrant, declassify or downgrade the document by completing Section C of this form in duplicate and routing both copies to the division responsible for maintaining the official record copy.
 (4) The division that is the custodian of the record copy, upon receipt of this form, will file the original of Form DS-507, change the classification on the record copy of the document involved, and forward the duplicate copy of this form to the division initiating the request.
 (5) The division which initiated the request will note the action taken, make the necessary changes in classification of documents in its possession, and then route the duplicate of Form DS-507 to the Chief, Division of Security and Investigations (CSA).
 (6) In cases where the originating or action division wishes to initiate the declassification, the entire form will be completed and routed to the division maintaining the official record copy.

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
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Ex 116
4-1-52
HCB

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

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FORM DS-507
3-5-47

REQUEST FOR DECLASSIFICATION OR DOWNGRADING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECTION A

TO: 1. ORIGINATING OR ACTION DIVISION FE	EXTENSION 2951	BUILDING NS	ROOM NO. 3151
2. REQUESTER'S NAME Wilson C. Flake	DIVISION FE	EXTENSION 4834	BUILDING NS
3. DIVISION OF RECORD: DC/R, REF, PD, etc. DC/R			

SECTION B

ATTACHED
THE FOLLOWING DESCRIBED DOCUMENT APPEARS TO NO LONGER WARRANT ITS SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TYPE OF DOCUMENT

Despatch No. 92

TO:

The Secretary of State

DATE

12-11-45

FROM:

George Atcheson, Jr., USPOLAD TOKYO

SUBJECT:

Political parties in Japan: Developments during week ending 12-8-45.
File No. 894.00/12-11-45

PRESENT CLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

SECTION C

THE CHIEF OF THE DIVISION TO WHICH THIS FORM IS ADDRESSED OR A PERSON DESIGNATED BY HIM WILL REVIEW THE SUBJECT DOCUMENT AND INDICATE THE DESIRED CLASSIFICATION.

RETAIN PRESENT CLASSIFICATION

CHANGE TO:

TOP SECRET* SECRET CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED UNCLASSIFIED
*(If reclassified to a higher classification explain on reverse side).

BY AUTHORITY OF:

Il. Alexis Johnson

DATE

2/1/52

OFFICE OF THE ASS'T SECY
FOR FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

SECTION D

INSTRUCTIONS— (1) The requesting division will complete lines (1) and (2) of Section A and all of Section B of this form in duplicate.
(2) Both copies of this form, with one copy of the document or documents to be downgraded or declassified, will be forwarded to the action or originating division concerned with the document attached where practicable.
(3) The action or originating division will, if the contents warrant, declassify or downgrade the document by completing Section C of this form in duplicate and routing both copies to the division responsible for maintaining the official record copy.
(4) The division that is the custodian of the record copy, upon receipt of this form, will file the original of Form DS-507, change the classification on the record copy of the document involved, and forward the duplicate copy of this form to the division initiating the request.
(5) The division which initiated the request will note the action taken, make the necessary changes in classification of documents in its possession, and then route the duplicate of Form DS-507 to the Chief, Division of Security and Investigations (CSA).
(6) In cases where the originating or action division wishes to initiate the declassification, the entire form will be completed and routed to the division maintaining the official record copy.

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

89

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 13, 1945

RESTRICTED

No. 98.

SUBJECT: Transmitting Memoranda of Conversations Between Prince KONOYE and a Member of this Mission.

RECEIVED
DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES

1945 JAN 3 PM 2 25

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

RECORDS BRANCH

filed
DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
JAN 1 - 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Sir:

I have the honor to enclose copies of two memoranda of conversations dated November 6 and November 7 between Prince KONOYE and Mr. Bishop of this office in regard to certain political developments in Japan prior to December 7, 1941.

Prince KONOYE expressed his willingness to discuss such political developments in Japan prior to "Pearl Harbor" as were known to him and offered to explain from his private notes and papers, insofar as possible, the background of these developments. In the first conversation Prince KONOYE stated that he had learned only recently for the first time that the United States and Great Britain had offered to mediate in the "China Incident" in 1937; that general developments during 1941 were almost a race between the Cabinet and the Military, resulting in an apparent insincerity on the part of the Cabinet and continuing acts on the part of the Military to dispose its forces advantageously; and that in presenting the American memorandum dated November 26, 1941, to the Privy Council, Premier TOJO described it as an ultimatum and as the final American word, but this characterization was not accepted and the final decision was that the character of the memorandum was subject to individual interpretation.

In the second conversation, Prince KONOYE described the events immediately preceding his resignation as Prime Minister in October 1941. He stated that at an Imperial Conference on September 6, 1941, decision was taken to begin preparations for war with the United States, providing progress in the conversations had not been made by the first part of October; that on October 12 the Japanese Government held a conference to discuss whether the decision of September 6 should be implemented. Prince KONOYE expressed his firm belief that agreement with the United States was still possible. He said that the War Minister, General TOJO, was diametrically opposed, and for various reasons asserted that it was impossible to withdraw Japanese troops from China and that failure to reach an agreement with the War Minister forced Prince KONOYE to resign. Prince KONOYE added that the position of the Navy was extremely important and explained the reason for the belief that TOJO would sincerely

carry

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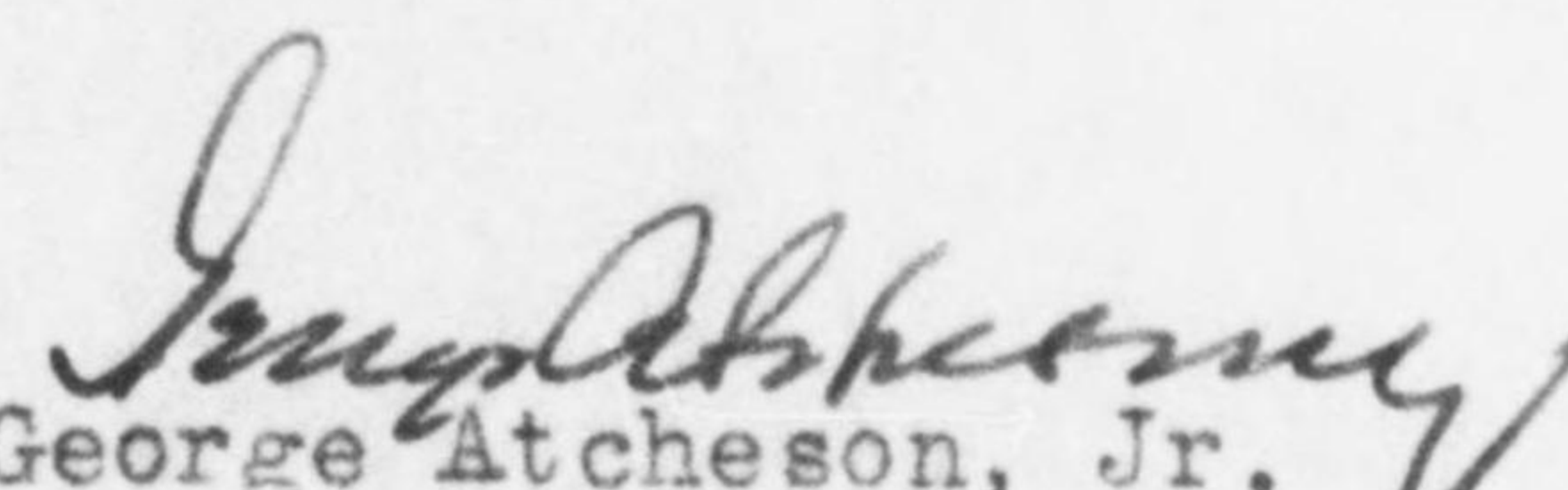
MAY 22 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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C: *W*
D: *W*

-2-

carry out the Emperor's orders to continue conversations with the United States at all costs. He said that controlling elements in the Navy were of the opinion that there was considerable doubt of Japan's ability to wage war successfully against the United States. Prince KONOYE stated that he could not recall, offhand, specific occasions causing the gradual widening divergencies between the United States and Japan but did feel strongly that on several occasions both the United States and Japan might have exerted more effective efforts to come to an understanding. As an example, he mentioned his proposed meeting with the President of the United States in 1941 and explained that it was his intention, if a meeting with President Roosevelt were held, to ask the Emperor to order the withdrawal of Japanese troops in China. KONOYE added that he expected that he would have been assassinated upon his return to Japan, but he was confident that Japanese troops would have been withdrawn if so ordered by the Emperor.

Respectfully yours,


George Atcheson, Jr.

Enclosures: *att 2*

1. Memorandum of Conversation dated November 6, 1945.
2. Memorandum of Conversation dated November 7, 1945

Original and duplicate, with reverse carbon, to Department

Copy to General Headquarters,
Supreme Commander for Allied Powers

711
MWBishop:Jwb

90

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 98 dated December 13, 1945, from George Atcheson, Jr., Acting United States Political Adviser to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Transmitting Memoranda of Conversations Between Prince KONOYE and a Member of this Mission."

RESTRICTEDMEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

November 6, 1945

Participants: Prince KONOYE;
Mr. USHIBA, (who acted as
interpreter);

Mr. Bishop.

Subject: Background of political developments in Japan before
"Pearl Harbor".

The following is a resume of remarks made by Prince KONOYE to Mr. Bishop in a personal interview on the above date.

Prince KONOYE said that he would be glad to discuss informally on a personal basis and to explain from his own private notes and papers such political developments in Japan as were known to him. He said that he had no intimate knowledge of the activities of the Japanese Government or Cabinet after his resignation as Prime Minister in middle October, 1941. Prince KONOYE added that the broad scope of developments could hardly be covered in one interview but would require considerable time, but that he would be glad to devote as much time to it as was desirable. He said that many important developments and situations in Japan were well known to him and that he could give the full background.

With regard to the opening of the "China Incident" in 1937, Prince Konoye said that in reading excerpts from Mr. Grew's book "Ten Years in Japan" he had learned for the first time of the American and British offers of mediation and that strange as it may seem, the Japanese Foreign Minister had neglected to report to the Prime Minister these offers of mediation. (The Foreign Minister at that time was Mr. HIROTA Koki.)

Speaking generally of developments during 1941, KONOYE said that it was practically a race between his government and the military; the one attempting to make progress in diplomatic conversations with the United States and to forestall the activities of the military and the other to dispose its forces and to achieve a position of preparedness. KONOYE added that because of military activities, the Cabinet and the Japanese Government were given the impression in the eyes of the United States of being insincere, if not dishonest, in attempts to reach a

peaceful

894.00/12-1345

peaceful settlement and that on the other hand, failure to make progress in the conversations was used by the military as a reason for the necessity for further military dispositions.

Prince KONOYE said that he did not know the details of the discussion in the Japanese Cabinet of the "November 26 (1941) note" which was handed by the Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington; but that when the note had been presented to the Privy Council by the Cabinet it was described by Tojo as an ultimatum from the United States Government and as the final American word in the conversations. Prince KONOYE went on to say that during the discussion, certain members of the Privy Council had pointed out that the document was marked "tentative" and that therefore it could not be considered as the "final word" or as an ultimatum; but the Japanese Cabinet strongly argued for its interpretation of the note as an American ultimatum. According to Prince KONOYE, the decision finally reached by the Privy Council was that whether the note was an ultimatum was a matter for individual interpretation.

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MWB:jwb

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 98 dated December 13, 1945, from George Atcheson, Jr., Acting United States Political Adviser to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Transmitting Memoranda of Conversations between Prince KONOYE and a Member of this Mission." 92

RESTRICTED

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

November 7, 1945

Participants: Prince KONOYE;
Mr. USHIBA, who acted as
interpreter;

Mr. Bishop.

Subject: Some political developments in Japan in 1941.

The following is a resume of remarks made by Prince KONOYE to Mr. Bishop in a personal interview on the above date.

Prince KONOYE discussed the events preceding his resignation as Prime Minister in the Fall of 1941, especially the proceedings of the Imperial Conference on September 6, and subsequent developments in Japanese High Policy. He explained that at the conference the decision was reached that the conversations with the United States should be continued, but that if by the first part of October, 1941, progress had not been made in the American-Japanese conversations, and if it appeared impossible for the Japanese to reach an agreement with the United States on minimum Japanese demands, Japan should immediately reach the decision to undertake preparations for war against the United States and the implementation of war plans.

Prince KONOYE continued that on October 12 the Japanese Government held a conference to discuss whether in accordance with the above decision taken at the Imperial Conference on September 6, the Japanese Government should then decide that it was no longer reasonable to expect that agreement with the American Government could be reached on minimum Japanese demands and whether, if that decision were affirmative, the Japanese should not take the decision to prepare for war with the United States and discontinue the conversations which had been in progress until that moment. As Prime Minister, KONOYE said that he firmly believed that an agreement with the United States was still possible and that the conversations should be continued in order to achieve that agreement. It was also his belief that if an agreement for the withdrawal of Japanese troops in China could be made, the whole problem of American-Japanese relations could be amicably settled. Prince KONOYE added that the War Minister, General TOJO, was diametrically opposed and argued that there was no longer any possibility of arriving at an agreement with the United States and that Japan should at once take the decision to prepare to go to war with the United States.

Prince

944.001E-1345

Prince KONOYE said that the fundamental disagreement between himself and the War Minister hinged on the problem of withdrawal of troops from China. According to KONOYE, General TOJO contended that although he appreciated the Prime Minister's difficult task and his unquestionable sincerity, it was not possible for Japan to agree to the withdrawal of troops from China for the reasons that it would utterly destroy the morale of the Japanese Army and people, that once Japan had yielded to American pressure, the United States would resort to more and more stringent and arrogant measures against Japan and in the end nothing would be left for Japan to do except to defend itself by arms which would be difficult with morale destroyed, that even though a temporary settlement of the "China Incident" were worked out, relations between Japan and China would again break down within two or three years, and that there were internal weaknesses in both the United States and Japan and accordingly, it was the best time for Japan to make up its mind to prepare for war against the United States. Prince KONOYE added that there were four subsequent conversations between the Prime Minister and the War Minister, and that failure to reach an agreement with the War Minister during these talks forced Prime Minister KONOYE to resign.

In explaining that General TOJO when he became Prime Minister, in spite of the views which had just been revealed continued the conversations with the United States and gave the appearance of seeking a peaceful settlement of pending problems, KONOYE stated that in this connection the position of the Navy was highly important. He said that prior to his resignation as Prime Minister, the Japanese Navy had taken the stand that it would agree to whatever course Prime Minister KONOYE decided upon: If the decision were to continue the conversations with the United States, the Navy would give whole hearted support; but if the Prime Minister were to decide to undertake preparations for war, the Navy would not oppose that course.

Prince KONOYE then gave the following description of developments:

Through informal but entirely reliable information, the Prime Minister learned that the Japanese Navy was far from confident of Japanese ability to wage a successful war against the United States and that the real desire of the most important leaders in the Japanese Navy was to avoid war. The Army and General TOJO were also informed of this basic attitude on the part of the Navy. On October 13 or 14, 1941, the Gummu Kyoku Cho (Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau) of the Army went to the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and told the latter that the Army would not give up its idea of preparing for war immediately against the United States if such were merely the wish of the Prime Minister. However, the Army would consent to give up this program if the Navy were formally to express its opinion that the Japanese Navy was not prepared for war against the United States. The Army therefore asked the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet to obtain formally the official views of the Navy Ministry. Consequently, the

Chief

-3-

Chief Secretary called upon the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau of the Navy and asked him to present formally the official views of the Navy. The Naval Chief of Military Affairs refused to consent to this proposal and stated that the Navy, officially and formally, would go no further than to agree to leave the entire matter in the hands of the Prime Minister and to support whatever decision the Prime Minister should reach. The Army continued to oppose the views of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet was forced to resign.

With regard to the question of a successor, it was proposed at one time that Prince HIGASHI-KUNI should form a Cabinet in which the Army and the Navy would be able to discuss the whole matter with complete frankness and come to an agreement. The Emperor was reluctant to accept this proposal and thereupon Marquis KIDO recommended General TOJO as Prime Minister. It was Marquis KIDO's confident belief that TOJO having been informed of the real views of the Navy and thoroughly realizing that Japan could not reasonably undertake a Pacific war with the Navy fundamentally opposed, would be forced to reconsider his view of a possible war with the United States and exert every effort to continue the conversations with the United States to a successful conclusion. The Emperor himself, when he commanded TOJO to form a Cabinet, expressed his serious desire that General TOJO should make a "clean slate of the whole matter", reconsider the questions from a new angle, and continue the conversations at all costs. In the light of these circumstances, Prince KONOYE was also confident, at that time, that TOJO was sincere in continuing the conversations with the purpose of avoiding war. In view of TOJO's interpretation which he expressed before the Privy Council of the November 26 (1941) note as an American ultimatum it then became apparent that the TOJO cabinet had given up further hope of successfully continuing the conversations.

Prince KONOYE said that he could not offhand think of specific or direct occasions in the gradual widening divergence between the United States and Japan; but it seemed to him to be the result of an accumulation of bad feelings and misunderstandings ever since the Manchurian Incident of 1931. He did feel, however, that on several occasions both governments could have exerted more effective efforts to come to an understanding.

Prince KONOYE said that, for example, he believed that his proposal for a meeting with the President of the United States in 1941 was one occasion when an understanding might have been reached and the question of withdrawal of Japanese troops from China could have been satisfactorily solved. He explained that it was his intention to meet the President in person and then by telegraph to ask the Emperor to take a decisive step and to

order

order the withdrawal of troops from China. Prince KONOYE went on to say that this was the type of decision which the Emperor had made when Japan decided to surrender. Prince KONOYE concluded that he believed confidently that through the direct intervention of the Emperor the problem could have been solved at that time although he fully anticipated that he would have been assassinated upon his return to Yokohama.

MWB
M.W.B.

MWB:jwb



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

203

AIR MAIL

Chungking, China, December 14, 1945

No. 961

Subject: Report on conditions in Formosa
by the Military Attache for Air

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington.

Sir:

The Charge d'Affaires ad interim has the

honor to enclose copy of a memorandum dated December

12, 1945, by the Military Attache for Air, Lieutenant

Colonel Otto R. Haney, on conditions in Formosa as

observed during a recent five day visit.

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AND KOREAN
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JAN 24 1946

Enclosure: Military Air Attache Memorandum, 12/12.

To the Department in original and Hectograph.

JFMelby:bj

800 Formosa

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF FOREIGN
REPORTING SERVICES
JAN 22 1946

DIVISION OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 5 1946

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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3 Mar ICA
1 May ICA
2 Apr ICA
1 Oct ICA
15 Feb 1/10/46

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Enclosure to Despatch 961 dated December 14, 1945
from the Embassy at Chungking, China

- C O P Y -

CONFIDENTIAL

Embassy of the United States of America
Office of the Military Attache
Chungking

12 December 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES:

I have the honor to advise on some of the impressions which I received as a result of my stay in TAIHOKU, Formosa during the period of five days. My impressions are based on conversations with United States Army and Navy personnel stationed there and from viewing the western part of the island from the air.

CIVIL

General CHEN-yi, former Governor of Fukien Province, is the Governor General of the island. According to Colonel Gridley, Commanding Officer of the U. S. Army forces in Formosa, and his executive, Colonel Pegg, the Governor General is an able and sincere official, but is badly handicapped by a poor staff. Comment: Existing intelligence reports on the background of General CHEN-yi indicate that his administration when he was Governor of Fukien was rather corrupt.

At present there are 170,000 Japanese troops in Formosa. Of these, most have disarmed themselves and are awaiting transportation to Japan. It is said there was no resistance to the Chinese occupation. The Japanese have been very cooperative in giving any information desired, and such data have been checked and found to be accurate.

The civilian population appears to be quite healthy and comparatively well clothed. There has been little or no civil disorder, but the Americans speak of a growing resentment towards the fumbling and blundering of the Chinese administration, and they further state that under Japanese rule most officials, executives and technicians were Japanese and that as all Japanese civilians are to be repatriated, the Chinese administration will find it difficult to fill the vacancies with qualified personnel.

The language of Formosa is Japanese. The people
of Chinese...



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OF THE
THE FOREIGN SERVICE

205

- 2 -

of Chinese ancestry also speak Chinese of the Fukien dialect. There has been a program started for teaching the Chinese language over the radio.

WAR EFFECTS

The island was rather hard hit during the war. Most of the larger towns and the seaports were damaged extensively. Salvage of material is in progress, but very little reconstruction has commenced.

COMMUNICATIONS

The railroads appear to be in good condition and many trains are operating. The island is well covered by a network of roads and these highways appear to be in good shape. Most motor vehicles have been taken over by the Chinese military and there is very little automotive traffic. Bicycles are very much in evidence. There are many good airfields and great numbers of Japanese military planes, but very little air activity. There is an ATC schedule running C-47 type planes from Shanghai to Taihoku and Tainan three times weekly.

ECONOMIC

Commodity prices are still fairly low, but have increased rapidly since Chinese occupation. The Taiwan Yen is the official exchange and is listed at 15 Yen to the US dollar. The black market is 50 - 60 Yen to the US dollar and one yen is exchanged for 20 CN. Top salaries for servants range from 400 to 600 Yen per month.

It is anticipated that there will be a shortage of manufactured products in Formosa. However, agricultural staples appear to be plentiful and no shortage of food is to be expected.

The candle power of the lighting system appears to be normal and power facilities are operating rather efficiently.

AMERICAN CONSULATE

The American Consulate building is in fair condition, but is occupied at the present time by U.S. Army and Naval officers.

It is the suggestion of this officer and Lt. Kerr, Assistant Naval Attache at Taihoku, that the State Department station a representative in Formosa. At present, Lt. Kerr is being approached on many consular affairs that he is unable to handle. Furthermore Formosa is a particularly good vantage point to observe the administration and policies of the Central Government at the present time. It is indicated that Russia is in the process of opening a Consulate in Formosa as messages have been received by Lt. Kerr addressed to the Russian Consul.

(signed)
OTTO R. HANEY
Lt Colonel, AC
Military Air Attache

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OF THE
THE FOREIGN SERVICE



AIRGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED
SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL
RESTRICTED

Department of State

1562

NO. A-41

Washington,

TIME _____

CONFIDENTIAL

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS, Dec 14, 1945

TOKYO.

FOR ATCHESON, ACTING POLITICAL ADVISER

The Department is transmitting by air pouch

biographic information concerning the following

Japanese:

HATOYAMA Ichiro

KAGAWA Toyohiko

KAWAI Tatsuo

NARAHASHI Wataru

Acheson
acting

Acheson acting
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(Hwo)

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DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

97

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Paraphrase before com-
municating except to
Government Agencies.

6935

Moscow via War

Dated December 19, 1945

Rec'd 11:17 a.m., 20th

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DIVISION OF JAPAN AFFAIRS
DEC 21 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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- FC-14
- OIC
- INI
- OPI
- PL
- DC/R-1

Washington

4222, December 19, 8 p.m.

Critical items on Japan held foreign news spotlight in
press December 19.

Sent Dept 4222; repeated Chungking 242 Dept repeat to
Tokyo.

Long Tass despatch datelined Tojohara December 17 gave
negative picture of Japanese political situation. Story
gave impression that Parliament was engaged not in legislating
but in preparing for elections while political parties with
exception Ono wing of Socialists were agitating in favor of
preserving emperor system. Item stated that Ono had split
with Socialist majority and favored united front with Communists.
This was first indication of attitude of Japanese Communists
toward Emperor given in Soviet press.

Despatch also gave indications that dissatisfaction in
provinces,

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DEC 20 1945
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-2- #222, December 19, 8 p.m., from Moscow via War

provinces, inflation and unemployment were growing.

IZVESTIYA in long article by Kudryavtsev entitled "Japanese Militarists in Democrats Toga" complained that Parliament and party leaders were doing nothing to punish persons and regime responsible for national catastrophe. Article concluded by stating that Japanese "experiment" showed that it was impossible to convert people who had brought country to catastrophe into Democrats by "original method of self-reevaluation".

HARRIMAN

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DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPHIC SECTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

99

INCOMING TELEGRAM

CTC -R

PLAIN

Tokyo via War

Dated December 22, 1945

Rec'd 12:47 p.m., 24th

- ACTION:FE
- INFO:
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- FC-14
- OIC
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- OPI
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- SA/M-2
- DC/R-1

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Secretary of State

Washington

220, December 22



According to press, Konoye's plan for constitutional

reform reported to Emperor some time before his death was as follows as regards Emperor institution:

"Article One. The Emperor is able person to preside over and simultaneously exercise sovereign power. But it shall be defined especially clearly that the exercise shall be made with the assistance by all imperial subjects. (New Article).

Article Two. It exclusively belongs to the Emperor authority to dissolve the House of Representatives and open the Imperial Diet. (This is our No. 220 December 22). But the constitution shall be so reformed that the imperial Knid may be dissolved by itself and that it is possible to petition the throne to allow the Diet to be opened any time.

Article Three.

PLAIN

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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-2-#220, December 22, from Tokyo via War

Article Three. It shall be provided that the Emperor is authorized to use his prerogative to dissolve the Diet twice or three times so as to avoid the abuse of this imperial authority.

Article Four. With regard to urgent imperial ordinances, a special council (to be so provisionally called) to act for the Imperial Diet shall be established and these ordinances shall be referred to it for deliberation.

Article Five. It shall be clearly provided that the Emperor's order to the government in the form of entrusting the government with it may be issued within fixed bounds and the legislative organ shall be respected.

Article Six. Heretofore, the Emperor's prerogatives relating to the command and organization of the Army and Navy have been exercised with the assistance of the military organs and it has not belonged to the state minister's duties. But it shall be specified clearly that the command and organization of the Army and Navy forms part of state affairs.

Article Seven. Because the matter of war declaration and conclusion of peace and treaties
required haste,

PLAIN

PLAIN

101

-3-#220, December 22, from Tokyo via War

required haste, it belonged to the Emperor's prerogatives, but as was clearly shown by the latest war, today's misfortune as brought about with the fighting services insisting on the independence of the supreme command and making a (appeal to?) direct apel the throne, thereby keeping His Majesty (truth?) uninformed of the tthuh."

ATCHESON

RB

PLAIN