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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

Tokyo, July 10, 1946.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NO. 498
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DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
AUG 2 - 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUBJECT: Transmitting Memorandum on Communist Activities in Press Circles in Japan.

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The United States Political Adviser has the honor to enclose a copy of a memorandum dated May 27, 1946 prepared in General Headquarters, in which there is given in some detail information in regard to activities by Communist Party members or by "fellow travelers" of the Communist Party in their efforts to intimidate the Japanese press and newspaper workers. There is also described Communist Party methods in attempting to disseminate Communist propaganda through the Japanese press. It is asserted that if the large Tokyo dailies such as Mainichi and Asahi could obtain moral support from the Occupation authorities in resistance to Communist activities the editors and officials of these newspapers would be able to devote themselves whole-heartedly to the cause of true democracy. They assert that "they must be free from fear, free from intimidation of both communism and fascism, and free from propaganda."

This memorandum is believed to be accurate in its description of certain recent developments and conditions in Japanese press circles.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 2 - 1946
DIVISION OF FOREIGN REPORTING SERVICES

894.008/7-1046

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Enclosure: att-5

Memorandum dated May 27, 1946.

Original and hectograph to Department
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Enclosure to despatch No. 498 dated July 10, 1946, from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Transmitting Memorandum on Communist Activities in Press Circles in Japan."

(COPY)

May 27, 1946

Some time ago the Japanese government through the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet notified leading newspapers such as the Mainichi, Asahi, Yomiuri and Nippon Keizai that they should submit to the Government reports on personal histories of all present directors, managing editors and some key editors of their papers. The desired reports have been duly submitted.

It is said that the government has taken the aforementioned step in order to examine records of those directors and editors during the period between the beginning of the Manchurian incident and the end of the Pacific War, and determine whether or not they have qualifications to hold a public office when they have left the newspapers. Although it is believed that the government does not intend to purge them from their present positions, for it does not regard newspapermen as public officers, it cannot be ascertained whether this interpretation correctly reflects the view of SCAP.

In this connection it may not be idle to mention the fact that soon after the unconditional surrender of Japan, leading newspapers in the country took the following steps in order to define their moral responsibilities as semi-public organs for the part they played in the execution of her aggressive war. There took place wholesale resignations of those holding important positions during the war in both editorial and business departments. Such resignations in the Mainichi and the Asahi in particular were so thoroughly executed in a short period of about two weeks after the surrender that the conduct of the papers seemed greatly endangered, for never before had they lost such a large number of key men, most of whom had experience of many years as newspapermen and executives.

In the case of the Mainichi, all the 15 directors, including Shingoro Takaishi, chairman of the Board of Directors; Shintaro Okumura, President; Motosaburo Takata, Managing Editor; Torashige Uehara, Editor-in-Chief; Kichiji Shikakura, Managing Director; resigned en bloc, and subsequently completely severed relations with the Mainichi. By taking this step the Mainichi itself and all its employees believe that the paper defined its responsibility for the part it took during the war.

And to start afresh as a genuinely democratic newspaper, the Mainichi employees elected new directors through their representatives whom they chose by popular votes. The directors thus chosen are:

Masaharu Nagato, Editor-in-Chief.

Kazuo Kanda, Representative Director and Managing Editor
(Tokyo)

Ippo Tsukada, Director of Business Dept. (Tokyo)

Chikao Honda, Managing Editor (Osaka)

Taro Hirano, Director of Business Dept. (Osaka)

Katsuji Kamo, Managing Editor (Mji)

and four others including three auditors.

The new

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July 10, 1946

The new directors' terms are three years, ending in November, 1948. The Mainichi has now no president or chairman. The new directors jointly hold themselves responsible for the management of the paper. The employees of the Mainichi who have been organized into union have thus rights not only to elect directors but to actually wield the destiny of the paper, for the directors are elected by them.

The characteristic of the Mainichi which is a joint stock company is that its stocks are open only to the employees and that no outsiders can either own or buy them. It may therefore be called a newspaper run under a cooperative management, which naturally cannot be restrained or influenced by any outside capital, while the Asahi and the Yomiuri are owned by capitalists.

The above-mentioned facts show that the Mainichi's employees' Union may exercise its powerful rights if it chooses to do so, for it can even over-rule any decision made by the directors, who are excluded from union membership. As it may seem strange, the Mainichi's Employees' Union was organized into one single industrial union, including editors, reporters, printers, messenger boys, carpenters, automobile drivers and everybody else on equal footing. So the printers, the unskilled labor and the like are given the same voice as that of editors in making decisions on much important questions as to wield the destiny of the paper. Therefore, the question whether or not the Mainichi can continue to remain such a sound and democratic paper as it is now largely depends on leadership of its Employees' Union, and also on the ideological attitude of the directors and editors who have to keep contact with representatives of the Union.

Everything had been all right with the Mainichi and with the Employees' Union until some time ago. But when the Union with its 5,500 members recently joined the "Nippon Shimbun Tsushin Jyugyojin Kumiai" (Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union), it began to become radical. The Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union is a national industrial union which now embraces all the employees of the newspapers and news agencies throughout the country. It has made some good contributions toward raising wages of newspaper employees, improving their working conditions, particularly those of employees of provincial papers.

However, the leaders of the Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union who are closely associated with communists, not contented with confining its activities to the industrial and economic fields as it should, are apparently trying to make use to the maximum of the organized power of the union in the political field to eventually control the press.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union is Katsumi Kikunami, (a pro-communist and pro Russian) who is a member of the Editorial Board of the Asahi, and its Vice-Chairman Tomin Suzuki, (another pro-Russian and pro-Communist) who holds the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Employees Union of the Yomiuri and of Managing Editor as well as City News Editor of the same paper. Suzuki is also Chairman of the Executive Committee of Kwanto Minshu Food Control Association, which is of communistic nature. The Chief Secretary of the

Japan

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July 10, 1946

- 3 -

Japan Press and News Agency Union is Sumio Makino, a staff member of the Financial News Department of the Mainichi. The two leaders, Suzuki and Kikunami, who actually control the Union, are known as radicals and are closely collaborating with the Communist Party. Incidentally, before these men were chosen, Suzuki openly tried to become the Chairman and made a hard campaign to win votes among the employees of the Mainichi, Asahi and other papers, but met strong opposition. So Kikunami, who is Suzuki's close friend, was chosen Chairman as a compromise. Makino is less radical but seems to be being gradually dragged into Suzuki's camp. When some time ago the Communist Party of Japan and other left-wing organizations staged a city-wide demonstration in Tokyo, demanding immediate resignation of the Shidehara Cabinet, Suzuki and Kikunami as representatives of the Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union had actively participated in it.

The May Day demonstration which was organized under the Communists' leadership, Suzuki and Kikunami joined it as members of the May Day Committee with Kyuichi Tokuda, Kenichi Ito, both communists, and other radicals. And this May Day Committee directed the Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union to participate in the demonstration, who in turn gave same order to its affiliated newspaper employees unions, such as Mainichi's and Asahi's. The order demanded each newspaper to mobilize a fixed number of employees for the demonstration with free lunch, for which the company was compelled to pay. The quota of the men as demanded to the Mainichi to participate in the demonstration was 300.

At the time of the Food Day demonstration, which was also initiated by the same May Day Committee, the Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union also demanded the Mainichi to let 400 of its employees participate. But the Mainichi at this time refused to comply with it, for it did not approve the demonstration because of its political nature.

Later in the afternoon of the Food May Day, a group of the demonstrators numbering about 50, carrying some red flags and led by Shiga, Vice-Chairman of the Yomiuri's Employees Union forced into the Mainichi Building, demanding explanations with angry words and managing gestures why the Mainichi did not take part in the food demonstration.

The exact relationship of Tomin Suzuki is not known. When Tsunego Baba became President of the Yomiuri last autumn at the request of former President M. Shoriki, he asked Suzuki if he was a member of the Communist Party; Suzuki's reply was in the negative. However, Suzuki's activities in many latest communists' demonstrations, his writings, his paper's 100 per cent support to the Communist Party, and his close associations with Tokuda and Shiga, leaders of the Communist Party, who believe in direct action, make one believe he is a radical, if not a communist.

It is also a known fact that Suzuki, taking advantage of his position as Managing Editor and City News Editor of the Yomiuri and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the paper's Employees' Union, virtually controls the Yomiuri. He does not even counsel or ask for advice or opinion of Baba, President of the paper, regarding its editorial policy and management of it. Tsunego Baba is a noted liberal

and journalist

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and journalist and is respected by many people. He is today an adviser to the Social Democratic Party of Japan. It is a peculiar thing that President Baba and Managing Editor cannot agree with each other on their own paper's policy. Baba has recently told to his friend, "I don't read my paper, Yomiuri, very much. It's an unworthy paper."

The reason why a special mention of Tomin Suzuki should have been made is the fact that his activities in the labor movement have either direct or indirect bearing on the Mainichi because the paper's Employees Union is a branch of the Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union and it is so placed as to receive instructions from the latter which is virtually controlled by Suzuki and his radical associates. For instance, the general meeting of the Mainichi's union has recently passed a resolution which forbids editors and chiefs of various editorial and business departments the right to be elected a member of any committees of the union although they are all members of the union. Naturally all the important positions in the Mainichi's union are occupied by younger men who have less training and less experience either as newspapermen or printers. It will be all right that younger and more vigorous men run the union and work for the good of all employees as long as the union confines its activities to the industrial and economic field. But the trouble is that their tendency is becoming more political. Most of these young men were graduated from schools, colleges or universities since the Manchurian incident broke out. They were all unfortunate souls because they were more influenced by the environments and way of thinking then prevailing under the rule of militarists and fascists than the older generation.

During the period of 15 years since the Manchurian incident it was a taboo for the Japanese people to openly study and discuss true democracy or liberalism. Needless to say, it was prohibited to study or discuss socialism, communism and general social sciences. Thus handicapped during best years of life, not a small number of young men who consist of members of the employees union misunderstand the meaning of "Liberty" and "Freedom," and are apt to confuse democracy, with selfishness. And many of them cannot distinguish between democracy, socialism and communism. As they are ignorant or not conscious of evils and harm that communism causes to the political, economical and social structure of the country, they cannot see through designs and conspiracies cleverly set by the Communist Party. They are also not able to make a reasonable judgement of instructions or orders of the so-called headquarters of the Employees Union or the resolutions of the union meetings dominated by radicals.

These undesirable or unhealthy younger elements are gradually gaining power in the printers' shop, and in editorial and business departments of newspapers. Under these circumstances, it may not be a merely imaginary fear that the Communist Party will gain complete control of newspapers employees unions and infiltrate into the press itself to eventually control it. For example, the Yomiuri, one of the three largest papers in Japan, is now virtually controlled by the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, 90% of the capital of the Yomiuri is owned by former President Matsutaro Shoriki, but the paper is being controlled and managed by the employees union under the leadership of Tomin Suzuki. Suzuki's ambition, as well as

the Communists

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July 10, 1946

the Communists Party's is believed to control the Asahi and the Mainichi in particular, two largest papers, through the respective paper's employees union. A certain radical member of a certain paper's union committee has recently said, "Newspaper employees who secretly work for the Communist Party are probably being camouflaged in a most un-communist-like disguise." Therefore, it is impossible to find out how many communists are in the employment of the Mainichi and the Asahi.

It may be of special interest that the Communist Party is constantly trying to disseminate communist propoganda through the press and it sends out numerous propoganda news items to all the newspapers throughout the country. In the cases of Tokyo papers, these news items are either personally delivered by communist party members or by its sympathizers among the employees of newspapers. And when they deliver them they ask to see editors or sub-editors or reporters in charge, and demand that they be printed without fail. If a paper fails to comply with it, they come to the newspapers office next day and menacingly demand explanations. It is most desirable and welcome that the newspaper employees union understands the true character of newspapers as a semi-public organ, realizes grave responsibility of the press for building up the country as a truly peace-loving and democratic nation and strives to use its organized power and influence to that just cause. But evidences prove that the tendency of the present newspaper employees unions is too radical, fascistic radical, too sympathetic to or too collaborating with the Communist Party. Most of the young employees of the newspapers do not know that the Communist Party of Japan is closely connected with the communist organizations abroad.

Since the termination of the war, shortage of food, accelerated inflation, ineffective policy of the government and other unsettled conditions have presented a very favorable ground for aggressive activity of the communists in Japan. The deed and words of communist leaders have gained attraction among young employees of newspapers. Among them it has become a sort of fashion to invite these communist leaders to give them lectures on communism, the communist party, etc. It is now reported that the Japan Press and News Agency Employees Union is contemplating to gain control over press clubs formed by reporters assigned at various governmental departments, so that the communists may eventually control news sources in these fields.

The parties who are liberal and loyal to SCAP and who are trying hard to prevent such dangerous communistic activities from further penetration into the press are the present directors, editors, similarly ranking persons of the Mainichi and the Asahi, to whom not a small number of sensible reporters and employees are giving honest support.

However, if either SCAP or the Japanese Government would take such a step as to make public examined qualifications of the present directors and some key editors of leading newspapers, and make known that such and such persons are not qualified to hold public office, it will certainly give a golden opportunity for the Communist Party and the collaborators to further aggressive infiltration into the press, particularly to attack both the Asahi and the Mainichi. For the Communist Party have already made some good ground work for such

action

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July 10, 1946

action through the employees unions.

Taking into full consideration such a situation as above mentioned, the writer wishes to make the following suggestions; ie, if the GHQ finds it necessary to review and decide individual qualifications to public office of the present directors, managing editors, managers and others holding similarly important positions, it should keep the decision secret until such a time when it would be deemed absolutely necessary. This suggestion should not be taken by any means as an attempt to protect any individual newspaperman from a selfish viewpoint, for the writer feels that whoever found not fit or undesirable to take any important position in the press or public office should be eliminated without mercy. The writer's sole concern is to check further infiltration of communism into the press, for such penetration will produce a disastrous and destructive effect on Japan and her people similar to that brought forth by her aggressive war. If such large papers as the Mainichi and the Asahi could obtain some moral support in one way or other from GHQ in their anti-communist policy, they would be able to wholeheartedly devote themselves to the cause of true democracy. They must be free from fear, free from intimidation of both communism and fascism, and free from propaganda.

Mr. George Atcheson's recent statement on communism has given a considerable encouragement to the Japanese press as well as to the overwhelming majority of the people of the country. But in order to solidify the anti-communist front, some further steps by GHQ are earnestly desired by all who sincerely wish to see Japan reconstructed as a really democratic country.

The Mainichi and the Asahi have daily circulations of about 3 millions and 200 thousands each, and their influence over the people is very great. Both papers stand for 100% cooperation with and dependence on the United States of America. Never have they even thought of Japan rebuilt on a pattern similar to that of communist Russia. Most of the present directors, managing editors, and other key editors have been in America or England - some lived in America for more than 5 or 10 years. They have deep respect to and understanding of Anglo-American culture, their people and their political institutions. Such ideas and views are in perfect accord with those of most of the intellectual people who have made a comparative study of America and Soviet Russia.

The Japanese communists are apparently designing to make the Asahi and the Mainichi newspapers like Yomiuri by kicking the present directors, managing editors, key editors and other liberals and replacing them with communists or their sympathizers or fellow travelers. Therefore, if the Communist Party would have grasped any information or material that might come out from GHQ which may give even a slight hint of encouragement to it, it will undoubtedly utilize it to full advantage and will make a full-scale offensive to eventually control the press, the Mainichi and the Asahi in particular.

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER FOR JAPAN

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Tokyo, July 22, 1946.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 514

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
SEP 12 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 17 1946

SUBJECT: Report on Communist Party Schools in Japan.

OFFICE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
DISTRIBUTION OFFICE
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The United States Political Adviser for Japan has the honor to

1/ enclose five copies of a report, April 15, 1946, entitled "Communist Party Schools" prepared by the Office of the Chief of Counter-Intelligence of General Headquarters, United States Army Forces, Pacific.

894.008/7-2246

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF FOREIGN
DIRECTING SERVICES
SEP 4 - 1946

Enclosure:

1/ Five copies of report, as stated.

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CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
Office of the Chief of Counter-Intelligence

Special Reports
APO 500
15 April 1946

SUBJECT: Communist Party Schools.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

The Japanese Communist Party's educational program is divided into three phases. The first is the education of Party members, the second, the education of labor union members, and the third, the education of the people as a whole. The Communist Party School is the means of accomplishing the first objective.

As a first step toward the establishment of a communist university the party opened a party school at its headquarters in Tokyo in December 1945 to instruct party members in Communist doctrine. The school has an enrollment of 250 students, all members of the Communist Party. Classes meet three times weekly for a three months period. At present, the second term, which began in April is in progress.

Director of the school is NOZAKA Sanzo and he is assisted by a faculty including TOKUDA, SHIGA, HAKAMADA, MIYAMOTO Yuriko, MIYAMOTO Kenji, ITO Ritsu, Central Executive Committee members and such other leading members of the party as KAWAKAMI, YAMABE, MATSUIURA, WATANABE, GNO, KAWASAKI, OKAMOTO, and HIRAKI. The government of the school is entrusted to a School Management Committee in which the students participate through their representatives. Texts used at the school include Stalin's "Fundamentals of Leninism", Marx's "Dialectical Materialism", and "Marxist History". At the end of the three month's course, an examination is given. The final evening is devoted to an open forum discussion.

The courses given are the following:

1. Marxist Economics
2. Party Organization and Discipline
3. Current events
4. Historical Materialism
5. Problems of Labor Unionization
6. Women's and Youth Problems
7. Japanese People's History
8. The Meiji Restoration and its Significance
9. The Nature of the Tenno System,
10. The Development of Japanese Capitalism.

Communist Party Schools (Cont'd)

11. Agricultural Problems and Land Reform
12. History of the World Proletarian Movement
13. History of the Japanese Proletarian Movement
14. The Tactics and Strategy of the Japanese Communist Party
15. Analysis of Japanese Political Parties
16. The Nature of the Current Japanese Revolution
17. Problems of a Democratic Front

In addition to the Communist Party School in Tokyo, similar schools will be established in various parts of Japan. In Kyoto, a school was established by the Regional Committee of that Prefecture during the middle of April 1946. Fifty men and women are now attending the school which offers courses dealing with Political Economy, Historical Materialism and the Emperor System. Party schools have also been set up in OSABA, CHIBA and HOKKAIDO.

In line with its policy of furthering the communist movement by means of a cultural program, The Communist Party at the beginning of May opened its Propaganda Art School in Tokyo with MIJIKATA Yoshi as its head. The 120 persons who were enrolled at that time consisted mainly of working men and women from various parts of the country. The school, which is open three times a week in the evening gives instructions in drama, art and music.

For the purpose of carrying on research along Marxist and Leninist lines, the Communist Party, at the end of April, established an institute in Tokyo with NOZAKA Senzo as its head. The research work of the institute will include the collection, editing and translation of Marxist and Leninist literature, and the compilation of books to be used in party sponsored schools. While at present the work of the institute is confined to the translation of communist classics, it will eventually serve as an institution of Marxist research in the fields of science, economics, politics, philosophy and history.

The second phase of the Communist Party's educational program is the education of Labor Union Members and toward this end eleven labor union schools have been opened in the Tokyo area. Until now, the Labor Union Schools have lacked standardization not only of schedules but also of subject matter and teaching methods. The teachers are all volunteers and most of them belong to the Democratic Scientist's Association (Minshu Shugi Kagakusha Kyokai) a group of professional people, artists and students of left-wing sympathies and liberal tendencies. According to ONO Yoshiko, Chief of

Communist Party Schools (Cont'd)

Education for the Communist Party, these instructors have too often talked over the heads of their laboring-class students and this, combined with the difficulties inherent in all night school and adult-education programs has resulted in a steadily dwindling enrollment. During May, there are probably no more than five hundred students in all the eleven schools in the Tokyo area. In order to reverse this tendency, it was recently decided to reduce the number of subjects taught and to increase the amount of time devoted to each. The present revised list of courses is limited to the following:

1. Economics
2. Japanese History
3. Labor Unionization Problems
4. Current Events
5. Agricultural and Food Problems
6. Problems of a Popular Front, with an analysis of Japanese Political Parties.

Mr. ONO expressed the belief that such subjects as Economics and History would be given a Marxian interpretation, but stated that since many of the teachers of these Labor Union Schools are not Communist Party members, there would be some divergence according to the individual teachers' convictions. ONO however states further that communist party teachers, being closer to the working classes, have approached their subjects from a more practical and less theoretical standpoint and that as a result, their classes have been better attended. This statement, while being that of a partisan communist, is probably correct in that it indicates the generally more effective persuasive methods of the Communists than those of their Socialist rivals. The teachers of these Labor Union Schools were organized in May into a Teachers Association which, since it is largely communist dominated, will result in a tighter control of the Labor Union Schools by the Communist Party. Aside from Tokyo, large labor union schools have been established in Kyoto, Kobe and Nagoya. In all, a total of two to three thousand persons are attending labor union schools throughout Japan.

To accomplish the third phase of the Communist's educational program, the education of the people at large, about twenty "Peoples Schools" (Minshu Gakko) have been established in the suburban wards of greater Tokyo. The schools meet once a week and the choice of subjects is left largely to the teacher. The courses offered in one school, which are fairly representative of those being taught elsewhere, are as follows:

1. Inflation, its cause and cure
2. Development of Modern Society

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Communist Party Schools (Cont'd)

3. The Food Problem
4. Japanese People's History.

Schools similar to these have been organized throughout Japan and have an attendance of two to three thousand persons.

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Supplementary Information:

Since the preceding summary of information was written, the following further information regarding Communist schools has come to the attention of this office:

To date, Communist schools have been established in Tokyo, Osaka, Chiba, Hokkaido, Nagoya, Aomori and Iehikawa Prefectures. Communist schools have been reported planned in Akita and Kanagawa Prefectures, and a School sponsored by the Young Communist League is reported in Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
Office of the Chief of Counter-Intelligence

Special Reports
APO 500
15 April 1946

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Director of the school is NOZAKA Sanzo and he is assisted by a faculty including TOKUDA, SHIGA, HAKAMADA, MIYAKOTO Yuriko, MIYAKOTO Kenji, ITO Ritsu, Central Executive Committee members and such other leading members of the party as KANAKAMI, YAMABE, MATSUMURA, WATANABE, CNO, KAWASAKI, OKAMOTO, and HIRAKI. The government of the school is entrusted to a School Management Committee in which the students participate through their representatives. Texts used at the school include Stalin's "Fundamentals of Leninism", Marx's "Dialectical Materialism", and "Marxist History". At the end of the three month's course, an examination is given. The final evening is devoted to an open forum discussion.

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Communist Party Schools (Cont'd)

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Communist Party Schools (Cont'd)

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To accomplish the third phase of the Communist's educational program, the education of the people at large, about twenty "Peoples Schools" (Minshu Gakko) have been established in the suburban wards of greater Tokyo. The schools meet once a week and the choice of subjects is left largely to the teacher. The courses offered in one school, which are fairly representative of those being taught elsewhere, are as follows:

1. Inflation, its cause and cure
2. Development of Modern Society

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Communist Party Schools (Cont'd)

3. The Food Problem
4. Japanese People's History.

Schools similar to these have been organized throughout Japan and have an attendance of two to three thousand persons.

Evaluation	
---of source	---of information
B	2

Supplementary Information:

Since the preceding summary of information was written, the following further information regarding Communist schools has come to the attention of this office:

To date, Communist schools have been established in Tokyo, Osaka, Chiba, Hokkaido, Nagoya, Aomori and Iehikawa Prefectures. Communist schools have been reported planned in Akita and Kanagawa Prefectures, and a School sponsored by the Young Communist League is reported in Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
Office of the Chief of Counter-Intelligence

Special Reports
APO 500
15 April 1946

SUBJECT: Communist Party Schools.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

The Japanese Communist Party's educational program is divided into three phases. The first is the education of Party members, the second, the education of labor union members, and the third, the education of the people as a whole. The Communist Party School is the means of accomplishing the first objective.

As a first step toward the establishment of a communist university the party opened a party school at its headquarters in Tokyo in December 1945 to instruct party members in Communist doctrine. The school has an enrollment of 250 students, all members of the Communist Party. Classes meet three times weekly for a three months period. At present, the second term, which began in April is in progress.

Director of the school is NOZAKA Sanzo and he is assisted by a faculty including TOKUDA, SHIGA, HAKAMADA, MIYANOTO Yuriko, MIYANOTO Kenji, ITO Ritsu, Central Executive Committee members and such other leading members of the party as KAWAKAMI, YAMABE, MATSUIURA, WATANABE, CNO, KAWASAKI, OKAMOTO, and HIRAKI. The government of the school is entrusted to a School Management Committee in which the students participate through their representatives. Texts used at the school include Stalin's "Fundamentals of Leninism", Marx's "Dialectical Materialism", and "Marxist History". At the end of the three month's course, an examination is given. The final evening is devoted to an open forum discussion.

The courses given are the following:

1. Marxist Economics
2. Party Organization and Discipline
3. Current events
4. Historical Materialism
5. Problems of Labor Unionization
6. Women's and Youth Problems
7. Japanese People's History
8. The Meiji Restoration and its Significance
9. The Nature of the Tenno System
10. The Development of Japanese Capitalism.

- 1 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Communist Party Schools (Cont'd)

11. Agricultural Problems and Land Reform
12. History of the World Proletarian Movement
13. History of the Japanese Proletarian Movement
14. The Tactics and Strategy of the Japanese Communist Party
15. Analysis of Japanese Political Parties
16. The Nature of the Current Japanese Revolution
17. Problems of a Democratic Front

In addition to the Communist Party School in Tokyo, similar schools will be established in various parts of Japan. In Kyoto, a school was established by the Regional Committee of that Prefecture during the middle of April 1946. Fifty men and women are now attending the school which offers courses dealing with Political Economy, Historical Materialism and the Emperor System. Party schools have also been set up in OSAMA, CHIBA and HOKKAIDO.

In line with its policy of furthering the communist movement by means of a cultural program, the Communist Party at the beginning of May opened its Propaganda Art School in Tokyo with HIJIKATA Yoshi as its head. The 120 persons who were enrolled at that time consisted mainly of working men and women from various parts of the country. The school, which is open three times a week in the evening gives instructions in drama, art and music.

For the purpose of carrying on research along Marxist and Leninist lines, the Communist Party, at the end of April, established an institute in Tokyo with NOZAKA Sanzo as its head. The research work of the institute will include the collection, editing and translation of Marxist and Leninist literature, and the compilation of books to be used in party sponsored schools. While at present the work of the institute is confined to the translation of communist classics, it will eventually serve as an institution of Marxist research in the fields of science, economics, politics, philosophy and history.

The second phase of the Communist Party's educational program is the education of Labor Union Members and toward this end eleven labor union schools have been opened in the Tokyo area. Until now, the Labor Union Schools have lacked standardization not only of schedules but also of subject matter and teaching methods. The teachers are all volunteers and most of them belong to the Democratic Scientist's Association (Minshu Shugi Kagakusha Kyokai) a group of professional people, artists and students of left-wing sympathies and liberal tendencies. According to ONO Yoshiko, Chief of

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Communist Party Schools (Cont'd)

Education for the Communist Party, those instructors have too often talked over the heads of their laboring-class students and this, combined with the difficulties inherent in all night school and adult-education programs has resulted in a steadily dwindling enrollment. During May, there are probably no more than five hundred students in all the eleven schools in the Tokyo area. In order to reverse this tendency, it was recently decided to reduce the number of subjects taught and to increase the amount of time devoted to each. The present revised list of courses is limited to the following:

1. Economics
2. Japanese History
3. Labor Unionization Problems
4. Current Events
5. Agricultural and Food Problems
6. Problems of a Popular Front, with an analysis of Japanese Political Parties.

Mr. ONO expressed the belief that such subjects as Economics and History would be given a Marxian interpretation, but stated that since many of the teachers of these Labor Union Schools are not Communist Party members, there would be some divergence according to the individual teachers convictions. ONO however states further that communist party teachers, being closer to the working classes, have approached their subjects from a more practical and less theoretical standpoint and that as a result, their classes have been better attended. This statement, while being that of a partisan communist, is probably correct in that it indicates the generally more effective persuasive methods of the Communists than those of their Socialist rivals. The teachers of these Labor Union Schools were organized in May into a Teachers Association which, since it is largely communist dominated, will result in a tighter control of the Labor Union Schools by the Communist Party. Aside from Tokyo, large labor union schools have been established in Kyoto, Kobe and Nagoya. In all, a total of two to three thousand persons are attending labor union schools throughout Japan.

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- 3 -

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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- 4 -

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30

Sept. 23, 1946

JA - Mr. Borton

JA - H. Kullgren

Communist Party Schools - April 15, 1946

The attached report is a valuable and interesting account of the method used by the Communist Party in disseminating its ideology. The party's educational program strives to reach party members, labor union members and the general public in order of priority.

The leading party school, located in Tokyo, has 250 members and is headed by Nosaka Sanzo and staffed by party leaders. Texts used include works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin but it is note-worthy that very careful consideration has been given to the study of applying Communist theories to the problem as it applies especially to Japan. Special schools are established to propagandize the movement through a cultural program and to further research in Marxism and Leninism.

The program in the Labor Union Schools lacked standardization, not only of schedules but of subject and teaching methods. Until May 1946, the teachers were all volunteers, mostly professionals from the left-wing Democratic Scientist's Ass'n. However, in May these teachers were organized into a Teacher's Ass'n. which since it is largely Communist dominated, will result in tighter control by the Communist Party. About 2 to 3 thousand persons are enrolled in these schools throughout Japan.

"People's Schools" are conducted for the general public, there being about 20 in suburban areas of Tokyo. Subjects are more general in nature and are largely left to discretion of teacher. Attendance throughout Japan numbers about 2 to 3 thousand.

JA:HKullgren:sg

894.008/7-2246

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JA:HKullgren:sg

WAR DEPARTMENT
STAFF MESSAGE CENTER
OUTGOING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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Intelligence Division GSUSA
Intelligence Group CSGID
Maj Carlan 4165

31 October 1947

CINCPAC Tokyo Japan

Nr: WAR 89551

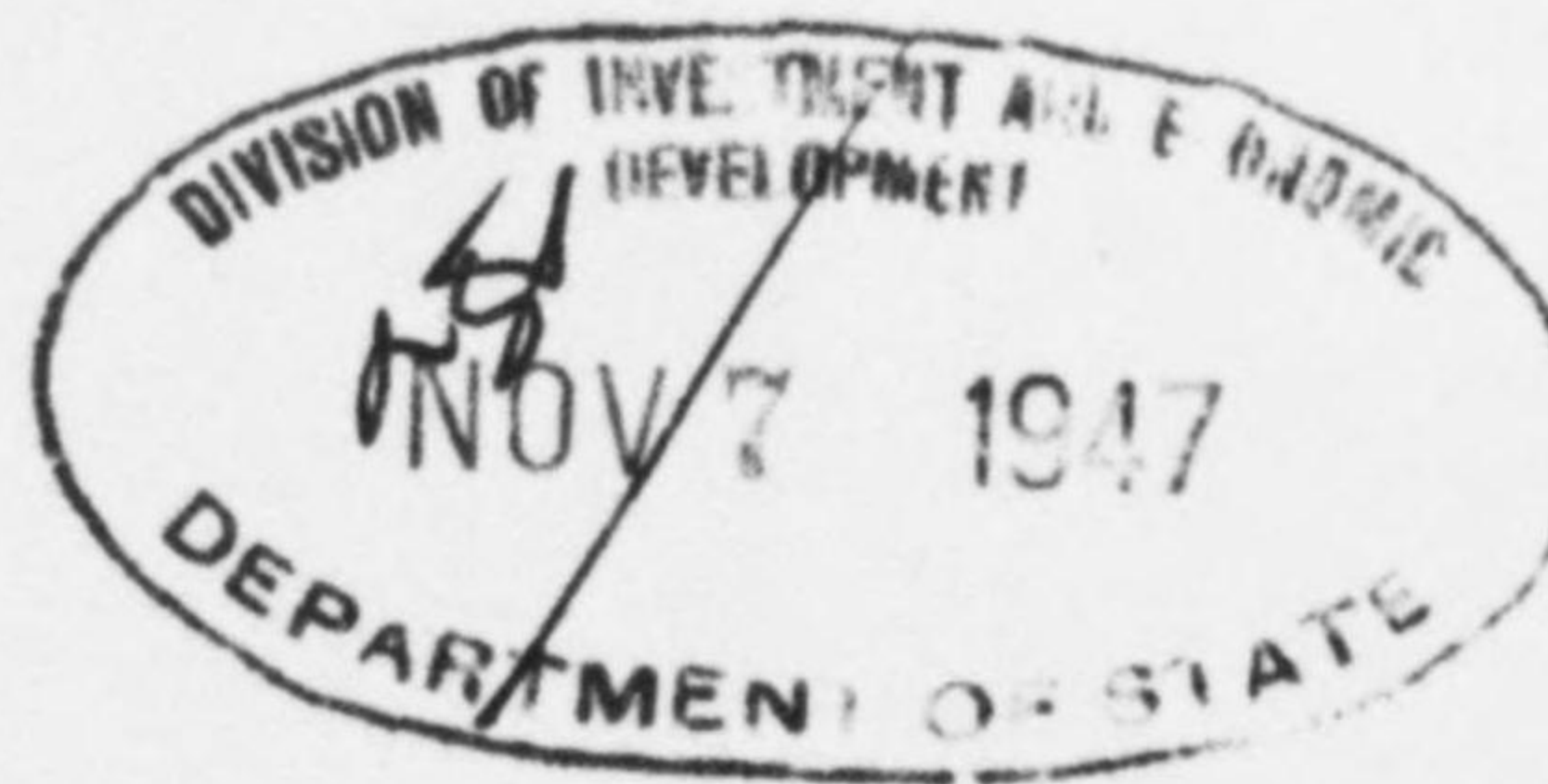
From CSGID reurad C 56332.

Committee for democratic far eastern policy is Communist dominated. Communist sympathies or connections verified for individuals mentioned except Lindsay, Seeman, Stein and Willard. Reference secret meeting unconfirmed to date. Letter with details follows.

End

C 56332 is CM IN 4770, 26 Oct 47

894.008/10-3147



ORIGINATOR: ID

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CS/A
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CM OUT 89551

(Nov 47)

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NOV 1 1947

COPY No.

THE MAKING OF AN EXACT COPY OF THIS MESSAGE IS FORBIDDEN

ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH., CHAIRMAN
 ARTHUR CUPPER, KANS. TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
 WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
 ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS. ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
 H. ALEXANDER SMITH, N. J. ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
 BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
 HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS. CARL A. HATCH, N. MEX.
 FRANCIS O. WILCOX, CHIEF OF STAFF
 C. C. O'DAY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

January 28, 1948

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

FEB - 3 1948

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Secretary George C. Marshall
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear General Marshall:

The following was written on a New Year's card from Japan. It is from a member of the Japanese Diet. I send it to you because it may reflect a wider opinion than just the writer's.

"Since I heard from you early this year, I have been wishing to write. The situation in Japan is gradually improving, but the chaos now existing will continue in the future. We do appreciate America's assistance and our people are grateful to the American Government and people.

"Taking advantage of the economic difficulties, the Soviet Union is working very adroitly to spread Communism in Japan. Communists in Japan are backed by the Soviet and are working systematically and are well organized and are working hard to cause chaos and confusion by discrediting the good works done by the United States in Japan. Then every night at 10:30 PM Moscow is broadcasting to Japan in Japanese language by an efficient Japanese, and it does a great deal to damage good American influence. Our industries are now paralyzed by Red Workers, and it will take a long time to restore Japanese industries, if the present state of Communist agitation continues. I wish very much if you could cause the American Government to take a stern attitude toward the Soviet. It is said that an enormous amount of funds are sent by Russians to Japan through Koreans (Communists) in Japan.

"You were responsible for bringing Italy back into the Community of Nations. I hope you will help us to become an independent and democratic nation. I hope to be able to come to Washington to tell you all about these things."

The fact that this card, which was mailed in the ordinary way from Tokyo on December 30, has just arrived shows us how the ordinary mail is coming from Japan.

With all good wishes.

DCR - CLASS UNIT

MAIL *bu*

DATE *1/28/48*

INITIALS *ET*

Most sincerely yours,

Elbert D. Thomas

Elbert D. Thomas

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894.008/1-2848

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MAR - 5 1948

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AN T...
NA 894.00B/1-2848

FEB 11 1948

Dear Senator Thomas:

Thank you for your letter of January 28 in which you quote a message received from a member of the Japanese Diet. The gist of that message is that the Japanese communists, with Soviet support, are doing their utmost to create chaos and confusion and to undermine the American position and American objectives in Japan.

There can be no question but that the Japanese communists are an active and disruptive minority. Fortunately they are still numerically a small minority. In the last general elections, held in April of last year, only 4 communists won seats in the Diet, and it is doubtful that their popular following has increased materially since that time.

It is to be expected, however, that communist influence in Japan will increase if means cannot soon be found to restore Japan's peaceful productive capacity and to raise its living standards above the point required merely to prevent widespread disease and unrest. It is for this purpose, as well as for the purpose of ending as soon as possible the burden of Japan's support on the American people, that the Department of the Army has included in its occupied areas budget requests for the coming fiscal year a sum to be expended for the purchase of capital materials to enable Japan to embark on a program for the achievement of economic self-support.

The Honorable
Elbert D. Thomas,
United States Senate.

894.00B/1-2848

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894.00B/1-2848

In reply refer to
NA 894.00B/1-2848

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The Honorable
Elbert D. Thomas,
United States Senate.

[Handwritten signature]

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- 2 -

I am convinced that it is through the carrying out of a determined economic recovery program that the communist threat in Japan can be most effectively minimized and the goal of a peaceful, friendly and democratic Japan achieved.

Sincerely yours,

1899

For the Secretary of State: ~~_____~~

Charles E. Bohlen
Counselor

GR 21
FEB 10 1948



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February 4, 1948.

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DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

APR - 2 1948

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 153

Tokyo, March 9, 1948.

SECRET

U.S. FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION
APR 28 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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3/23/48
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OFFICE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
RECEIVED
MAR 3 1948
SPECIAL ASSISTANT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Subject: Further Japan Communist Party Directives
Affecting the Occupation.

Corrected as per
airgram A 43, 3/13/48
from Tokyo. Copy attached
N.E.H.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Mission's despatch
No. 18 dated January 17, 1948 regarding a Communist Party
directive on repatriation of Japanese from Soviet con-
trolled territory and to report that two additional
directives have come to the attention of the Mission.

On January 28, 1948 there was brought to this Mission
by a Japanese, personally unknown to any of the Mission
personnel, a document in Japanese which purported to be a
local Japan Communist Party directive issued by a branch
of the party in the town of Kurume, Fukuoka Prefecture.
When the document was taken to the Civil Information
Section of G-2, this Headquarters, for evaluation, it was
discovered that an identical paper had been made available
directly to G-2 by the same person. In the opinion of
that section the document in question is a bona fide
directive. A translation constitutes the first enclosure
to this despatch.

1/

The most significant portion of the document is the
reference to a resolution, presumably of the Executive
Committee of the Kurume branch of the party, that prep-
arations be completed for communizing electric plants in
Kyushu and for dealing with the American-Soviet question.
The stated intention with regard to the power stations in
Kyushu is to communize 90 percent within three months. To
combat American influence in Japan, intelligence information
on American officers and men and indoctrination of the
people regarding the ineffectiveness of American economic
assistance are called for, as also the very practical measure
of working to promote inflation.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 23 1948
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Tokyo's No. 153
March 9, 1948.

-2-

SECRET

2/

A second directive in the form of a Japan Communist Party order was made available to this Mission by G-2 Section of this Headquarters. The document, a translation of which is forwarded as the second enclosure herewith, is reliably believed to emanate from the national headquarters in Tokyo of the Japan Communist Party. The subject is United States policy towards Japan, and the obvious intent of the directive is to combat American economic assistance to Japan on the ground that credit extended to the Japanese Government entails American economic enslavement and the mortgaging of Japanese railroads and other assets.

The two directives appear to signify that the Japan Communist Party is actively opposed to the objectives of the Occupation and is bent on achieving political power in Japan by the usual subversive methods.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Sebald
W. J. Sebald

Enclosures: *att.*

- ✓ 1. Translation of Kurume Communist directive.
- ✓ 2. Translation of Japan Communist Party Order No. 3.

In triplicate to the Department. *2 carbon copies attached to original.*

800
JDEdwards:cs

3/23/48

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Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 153
dated March 9, 1948 from the Office
of the United States Political
Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled
"Further Japan Communist Party
Directives Affecting the Occupation".

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COPY

(Translation)

Issued from the Communist Headquarters on September
29, 1947.

1. All Party members, acquire weapons and, with utmost strength, complete your fighting positions.
2. Get fully prepared to carry out thorough-going strikes.
3. In the Headquarters preparations for revolution with violence have been completed.
4. The advance-guards should exert their best efforts for attaining the objectives of the Party at the cost of their lives and to leave their names in history.

Directive No. 82 of Kurume Branch of the Japan Communist
Party

On December 2, a meeting was held at the house of Nakajima, Chairman of the Committee. Seventeen members attended the meeting, with representatives of Kumamoto and Yatsushiro areas participating. Directives of the Headquarters were examined, and the meeting was resolved that, under a three months plan, preparations be completed for communizing all electric plants in Kyushu and for preparing for the American-Soviet question.

As a means, Communist cells in power stations and in transformer stations should be strengthened. Cells existing in 1.35% of the power stations at present should be increased to 90% within two months, and all important posts in power stations be occupied within three months, so that no matter what happens, the whole of Japan may be blackened under a single order, and the American forces may be put into confusion.

Targets of occupation in Fukuoka Prefecture:

Thermal power station at Miike
Najima
Hisataka (T.N. - ?)

Nakajima returned to Kurume with the directive of the Yoyogi Headquarters after a conference held on September 29. The directive consists of Parts A, B, and C, each part being accompanied by two or three explanatory documents. Though their contents cannot be uncovered, Sections 1 and 2 of Part A and Section 3 of Part C are known.

SECRET

Section 1

Encl. 1 to
Tokyo's 153
March 9, 1948

-2-

SECRET

Section 1 of Part A

As there is a very great number of repatriates from Siberia landing on September 10, close contact with the repatriates should be kept, and efforts be made for advantageous use of information from Siberia.

Section 2 of Part A

Keep the Northern Fraternity Association (Hokuyu Kai) absolutely secret. Even if the Party should fail in surface propaganda, subterranean movement is possible through this Association, and Japan can be converted into Communism to the extent of 65%.

Section 3 of Part C.

Electricity is the source of living of the entire population. If this is captured in the hands of the Communist Party, the Communist movement is easy, and a quick action can be taken in case of emergency. In the event of hostilities being opened, the supply of electricity can be stopped to all industries and coal mines. If efforts are made for internal collapse, the American forces can be hindered.

In places given below, 100% of hydro-electricity should be captured, and all switchboards controlled. If cells are technically trained to such an extent that no one can contest them, all can be controlled within this year, if done quickly, and by the end of April at latest. The educational policy of the Communist movement in power stations will be given by November directive.

October 13. Shimashin (as secret members of the Party)

1. Working in South Kyushu.
2. Cells at Miike Power House 25%.
3. The total surface members of the Japan Communist Party in Kyushu is 3,700, of which 1,600 belong to the Electric Industry Workers Union.

(DOKI Tsuyoshi) Black Lloyd glasses; Fat; Height 5 feet 4 to 5 inches; Carrying a briefcase; Weight 15 to 16 kan (TN-about 124-132 lbs.) Hunting cap; Round face; Grey single overcoat; Looking like a black-market merchant. Cities of Matsuyama (Shikoku), Niihama (Shikoku), and Amakusa (Kyushu). (Central figure of Northern Fraternity Association (Hokuyu Kai), formerly member of a labor union in Dairen).

1. Assisting the liaison organs of the Communist Party and the entry of the members into Russia.
2. Expediting establishment of a national bloc system, with a view to forming the Japanese Chapter of Northern Fraternity Association (Hokuyu Kai). Different from the local committee of the Japan Communist Party.

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3. The headquarters

Encl. 1 to
Tokyo's 153
March 9, 1948

-3-

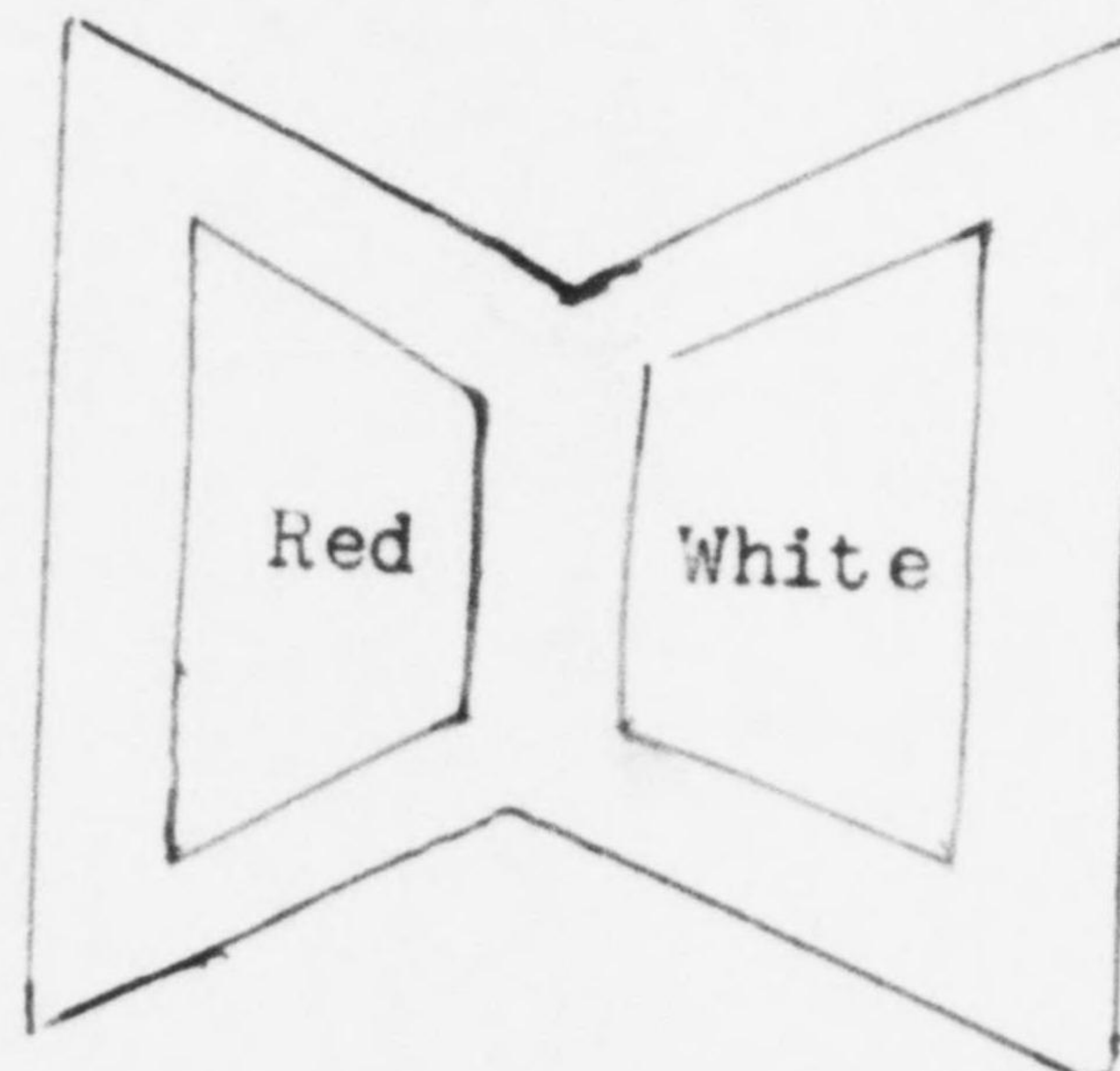
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3. The headquarters of the National Northern Fraternity.

Association (Zen Nippon Hokuyu Kai) is located in Niigata. October 20 (Directive of Headquarters).

1. As the Communist power grows, the reactionary offensive of the American side is also increasing. We should unite the working masses firmly and widely, and fight on resolutely, for the purpose of capturing power by rejecting America which is ruling the world.
2. Inflation should be promoted with 50% of the total membership in each area. Make the people realize that the American economic assistance to Japan has no effect, and that economic rehabilitation of Japan by democracy is impossible as a whole.
3. Watch the movement of the Occupation Forces. Investigate the number of American officers and men who are keeping Japanese women secretly. Find out and report in detail their names, ages, ranks, units, where they belong, etc.
4. Select superior members from among the party members in each area (40% to 60%). Let them leave or be expelled from the party ostensibly, and let them work as secret party members. Those who leave or are expelled from the party should be limited to 2% of the central staff and 8% of the advance-guards.

The badge of an advance-guard:



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About

Encl.1 to
Tokyo's 153
March 9, 1948

-4-

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About Northern Fraternity Association (Hokuyu-Kai)

The real body of Hokuyu Kai is the Japan Communist Young Men's Advance-Guards. The Japan Communist Young Men's Advance-Guards consists of the Communist Young Men's League and young men belonging to Hokuyu-Kai. It appears that they are smuggling weapons from Hokkaido and the Siberian side of Japan, and that they are rearming themselves.

A subordinate of Doki lives in Amakusa. His name is NAKAMURA Chiyozo, Chief of Shimako Branch of the Japan Communist Party, Shimako-mura, Amakusa-gun, Fukuoka Ken. He worked in Shinwa Railway Works at Dairen, and was Chairman of Committee of Dairen Branch of North Eastern People's League.

Yoyogi Headquarters.

The 6th national meeting is to be held in the latter part of December. This is a secret conference, with the following items on the agenda:

1. General situation and the current activities.
2. The nature of revolution and question of strategy.
3. Revision of the principles of activity.
4. Revision of the principles of the Party.
5. Revision of the Regulations of the Party.
6. Election of Members of the Central Committee and Members of Control Committee.

Copied:cs

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 153 dated March 9, 1948 from the Office of the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled "Further Japan Communist Party Directives Affecting the Occupation".

SECRET

COPY

Subject: Japan Communist Party Order, Document No. 3, Bureau Fraction (U. S. Policy)

The following is a translation of subject, photo copy of original obtained through a reliable source, is on file in CIS.

SUBJECT: U. S. Policy Towards Japan

On 6 January, Secretary Royall of the Department of the Army stated that Japan must be helped to become self-supporting in order to serve as a barrier against all other ideologies (TN: Shugi), and that it is necessary to adjust the original U. S. Occupation policy toward Japan. Also, Brigadier General McCOY, U. S. Representative to the Far Eastern Commission, made the following general statement on 26 January concerning U. S. Policy toward Japan: "The U. S. is planning measures to have Japan become economically self-supporting as soon as possible."

Reports from foreign sources stated that the Department of Army is expected to make a request to Congress for \$600,000,000 (of which sum 75% is to be loaned to Japan). This will be for the fiscal year 1948-1949, commencing 1 July, and will be used as an economic reconstruction aid fund for Japan and Korea.

(TN: Some characters illegible). The U.S. alone is planning to permit Japanese industrialists to travel abroad, furthermore, she is aiming at economic aggression with a \$600,000,000 credit to the Japanese (TN: Characters illegible). In some circles the inflow of foreign capital is being discussed, but the present inflation is about to make a sudden change due to reparations, and foreign loans. As collateral for this loan, our railroad will be taken first. At present the Japanese currency is exchanged on a one dollar to 200 Yen basis on the international exchange. Such depreciation in Japanese currency is one big reason for Japan's fall among the other nations. After the railroad becomes collateral for the loan received, it will be Americanized, and no matter how fast the train travels between Tokyo and Shimonoseki, it still is a "slave."

At present we are confronted with such problems as war reparations, U. S. food aid, credit from foreign powers, and inflation. When we think of the U. S. Policy towards Japan, we can only see her plan to colonize Japan economically, using goods and money. There are already American concessions

SECRET

within

Encl.2 to
Tokyo's 153
March 9, 1948

-2-

SECRET

within Japan. We are good "bait" for the conquerors.

We must fight to the bitter end to prevent foreign capital from entering Japan, as our country may be colonized and we become the "second Philippines". Our Party must at all times lead the people and fight this evil.

All Regional Committees will first study the details thoroughly, and oppose this credit to Japan, and endeavor to develop the economic problem toward a peoples' revolution.

Copies:cs

SECRET

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM

3640

2

LAF

ACTION:DC
INFO:
DC/RSECRETFROM: USPOLAD, Tokyo
Date of Mailing: March 16, 1948
Rec'd: March 23, 8:44 a.m.Secretary of State,
Washington.

A-43, March 13, 1948.

Reference is made to despatch No. 153 of March 9, 1948, subject "Further Japan Communist Party Directives Affecting the Occupation".

In the sixth line of the second paragraph "Civil Information" should read "Civil Intelligence".

SEBALD

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JDEdwards:csSECRET

UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

APR - 2 1948

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 153

Tokyo, March 9, 1948.

SECRET

Subject: Further Japan Communist Party Directives
Affecting the Occupation.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Mission's despatch No. 18 dated January 17, 1948 regarding a Communist Party directive on repatriation of Japanese from Soviet controlled territory and to report that two additional directives have come to the attention of the Mission.

On January 28, 1948 there was brought to this Mission by a Japanese, personally unknown to any of the Mission personnel, a document in Japanese which purported to be a local Japan Communist Party directive issued by a branch of the party in the town of Kurume, Fukuoka Prefecture. When the document was taken to the Civil Information Section of G-2, this Headquarters, for evaluation, it was discovered that an identical paper had been made available directly to G-2 by the same person. In the opinion of that section the document in question is a bona fide directive. A translation constitutes the first enclosure to this despatch.

The most significant portion of the document is the reference to a resolution, presumably of the Executive Committee of the Kurume branch of the party, that preparations be completed for communizing electric plants in Kyushu and for dealing with the American-Soviet question. The stated intention with regard to the power stations in Kyushu is to communize 90 percent within three months. To combat American influence in Japan, intelligence information on American officers and men and indoctrination of the people regarding the ineffectiveness of American economic assistance are called for, as also the very practical measure of working to promote inflation.

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A second

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(27)

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Tokyo's No. 153
March 9, 1948.

-2-

SECRET

2/

A second directive in the form of a Japan Communist Party order was made available to this Mission by G-2 Section of this Headquarters. The document, a translation of which is forwarded as the second enclosure herewith, is reliably believed to emanate from the national headquarters in Tokyo of the Japan Communist Party. The subject is United States policy towards Japan, and the obvious intent of the directive is to combat American economic assistance to Japan on the ground that credit extended to the Japanese Government entails American economic enslavement and the mortgaging of Japanese railroads and other assets.

The two directives appear to signify that the Japan Communist Party is actively opposed to the objectives of the Occupation and is bent on achieving political power in Japan by the usual subversive methods.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Sebald

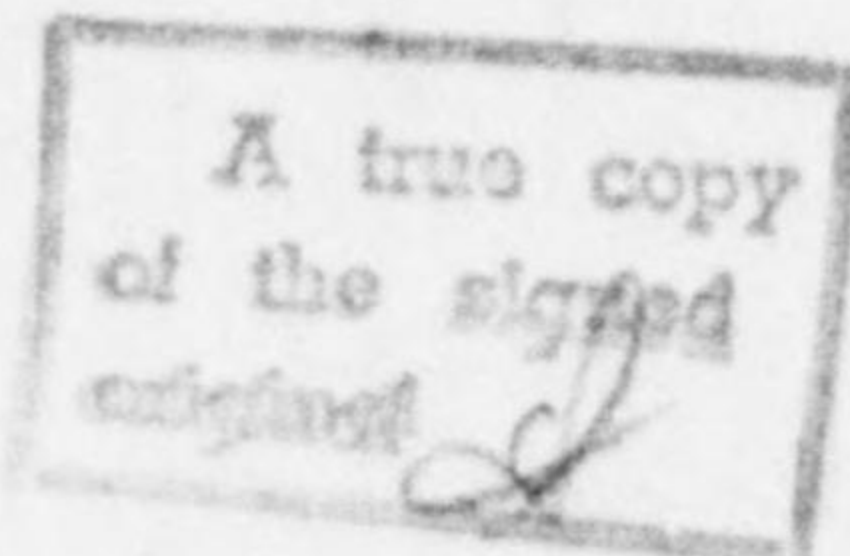
Enclosures:

1. Translation of Kurume Communist directive.
2. Translation of Japan Communist Party Order No. 3.

In triplicate to the Department.

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JDEdwards:cs

SECRET



Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 153
dated March 9, 1948 from the Office
of the United States Political
Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled
"Further Japan Communist Party
Directives Affecting the Occupation".

SECRET

COPY

(Translation)

Issued from the Communist Headquarters on September
29, 1947.

1. All Party members, acquire weapons and, with utmost strength, complete your fighting positions.
2. Get fully prepared to carry out thorough-going strikes.
3. In the Headquarters preparations for revolution with violence have been completed.
4. The advance-guards should exert their best efforts for attaining the objectives of the Party at the cost of their lives and to leave their names in history.

Directive No. 82 of Kurume Branch of the Japan Communist
Party

On December 2, a meeting was held at the house of Nakajima, Chairman of the Committee. Seventeen members attended the meeting, with representatives of Kumamoto and Yatsushiro areas participating. Directives of the Headquarters were examined, and the meeting was resolved that, under a three months plan, preparations be completed for communizing all electric plants in Kyushu and for preparing for the American-Soviet question.

As a means, Communist cells in power stations and in transformer stations should be strengthened. Cells existing in 1.35% of the power stations at present should be increased to 90% within two months, and all important posts in power stations be occupied within three months, so that no matter what happens, the whole of Japan may be blackened under a single order, and the American forces may be put into confusion.

Targets of occupation in Fukuoka Prefecture:

Thermal power station at Miike
Najima
Hisataka (T.N. - ?)

Nakajima returned to Kurume with the directive of the Yoyogi Headquarters after a conference held on September 29. The directive consists of Parts A, B, and C, each part being accompanied by two or three explanatory documents. Though their contents cannot be uncovered, Sections 1 and 2 of Part A and Section 3 of Part C are known.

SECRET

Section 1

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 153
dated March 9, 1948 from the Office
of the United States Political
Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled
"Further Japan Communist Party
Directives Affecting the Occupation".

SECRET

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SECRET

Section 1

Encl. 1 to
Tokyo's 153
March 9, 1948

-2-

SECRET

Section 1 of Part A

As there is a very great number of repatriates from Siberia landing on September 10, close contact with the repatriates should be kept, and efforts be made for advantageous use of information from Siberia.

Section 2 of Part A

Keep the Northern Fraternity Association (Hokuyu Kai) absolutely secret. Even if the Party should fail in surface propaganda, subterranean movement is possible through this Association, and Japan can be converted into Communism to the extent of 65%.

Section 3 of Part C.

Electricity is the source of living of the entire population. If this is captured in the hands of the Communist Party, the Communist movement is easy, and a quick action can be taken in case of emergency. In the event of hostilities being opened, the supply of electricity can be stopped to all industries and coal mines. If efforts are made for internal collapse, the American forces can be hindered.

In places given below, 100% of hydro-electricity should be captured, and all switchboards controlled. If cells are technically trained to such an extent that no one can contest them, all can be controlled within this year, if done quickly, and by the end of April at latest. The educational policy of the Communist movement in power stations will be given by November directive.

October 13. Shimashin (as secret members of the Party)

1. Working in South Kyushu.
2. Cells at Miike Power House 25%.
3. The total surface members of the Japan Communist Party in Kyushu is 3,700, of which 1,600 belong to the Electric Industry Workers Union.

(DOKI Tsuyoshi) Black Lloyd glasses; Fat; Height 5 feet 4 to 5 inches; Carrying a briefcase; Weight 15 to 16 kan (TN-about 124-132 lbs.) Hunting cap; Round face; Grey single overcoat; Looking like a black-market merchant. Cities of Matsuyama (Shikoku), Niihama (Shikoku), and Amakusa (Kyushu). (Central figure of Northern Fraternity Association (Hokuyu Kai), formerly member of a labor union in Dairen).

1. Assisting the liaison organs of the Communist Party and the entry of the members into Russia.
2. Expediting establishment of a national bloc system, with a view to forming the Japanese Chapter of Northern Fraternity Association (Hokuyu Kai). Different from the local committee of the Japan Communist Party.

SECRET

3. The headquarters

Encl. 1 to
Tokyo's 153
March 9, 1948

-3-

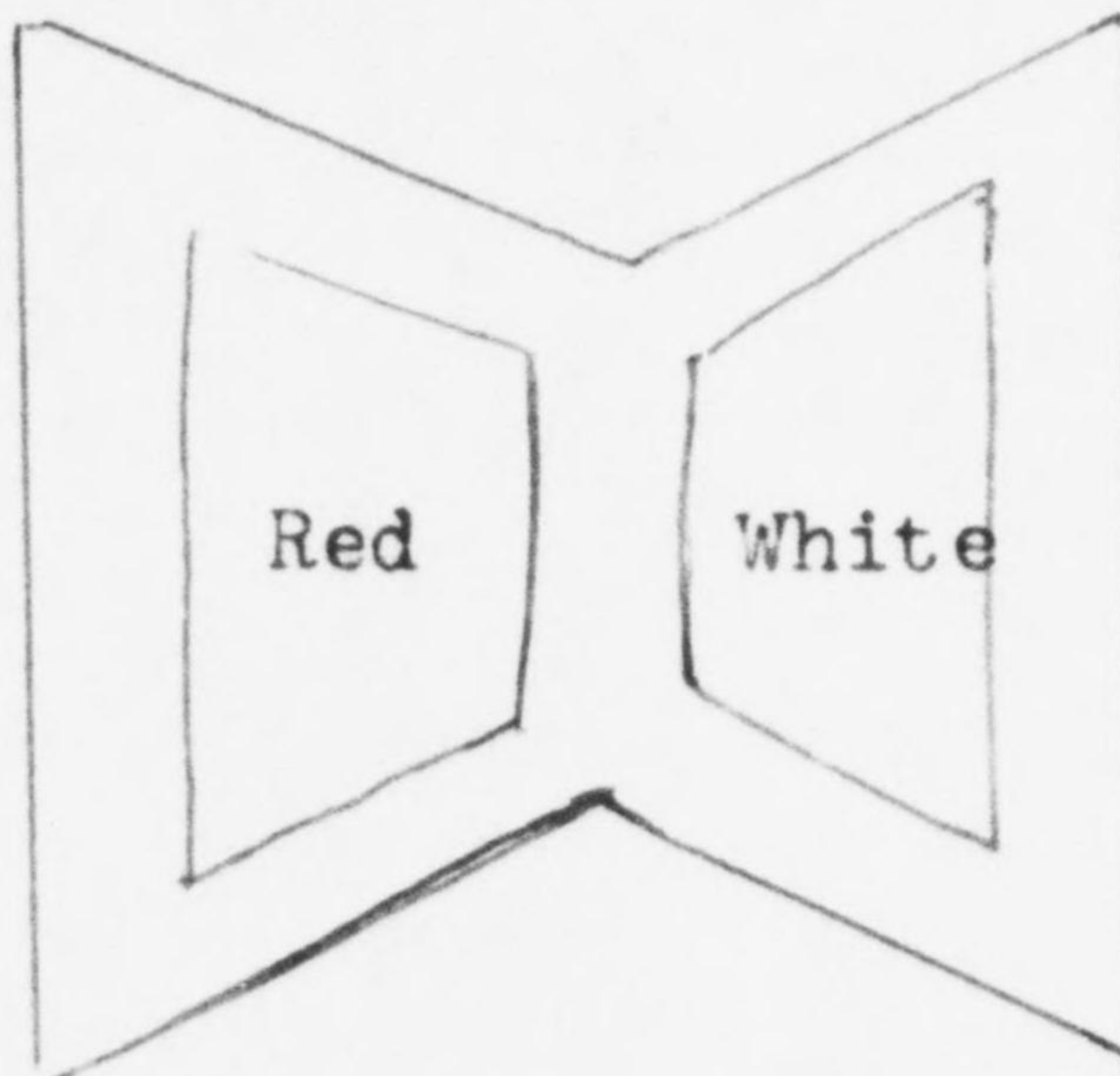
SECRET

3. The headquarters of the National Northern Fraternity.

Association (Zen Nippon Hokuyu Kai) is located in Niigata. October 20 (Directive of Headquarters).

1. As the Communist power grows, the reactionary offensive of the American side is also increasing. We should unite the working masses firmly and widely, and fight on resolutely, for the purpose of capturing power by rejecting America which is ruling the world.
2. Inflation should be promoted with 50% of the total membership in each area. Make the people realize that the American economic assistance to Japan has no effect, and that economic rehabilitation of Japan by democracy is impossible as a whole.
3. Watch the movement of the Occupation Forces. Investigate the number of American officers and men who are keeping Japanese women secretly. Find out and report in detail their names, ages, ranks, units, where they belong, etc.
4. Select superior members from among the party members in each area (40% to 60%). Let them leave or be expelled from the party ostensibly, and let them work as secret party members. Those who leave or are expelled from the party should be limited to 2% of the central staff and 8% of the advance-guards.

The badge of an advance-guard:



SECRET

About

Encl. 1 to
Tokyo's 153
March 9, 1948

-4-

SECRET

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6. Election of Members of the Central Committee and Members of Control Committee.

Copied:cs

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 153 dated March 9, 1948 from the Office of the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled "Further Japan Communist Party Directives Affecting the Occupation".

SECRET

COPY

Subject: Japan Communist Party Order, Document No. 3,
Bureau Fraction (U. S. Policy)

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Encl. 2 to
Tokyo's 153
March 9, 1948

-2-

SECRET

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Copies:cs

SECRET

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

Correction made on all copies of despatch # 153. File DC/R 3/23/48

AIRGRAM

3640

2

LAF

FROM: USPOLAD, Tokyo

Date of Mailing: March 16, 1948

Rec'd: March 23, 8:44 a.m.

ACTION:DC
INFO:
DC/R

SECRET

Secretary of State,
Washington.

A-43, March 13, 1948.

Reference is made to despatch No. 153 of March 9, 1948, subject "Further Japan Communist Party Directives Affecting the Occupation".

In the sixth line of the second paragraph "Civil Information" should read "Civil Intelligence".

SEBALD

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JDEdwards:cs

SECRET

894.00B/3-1348

MAR 23 1948

FILED

SECRET FILE
CW

PERMANENT RECORD COPY.—This copy must be returned to DC/R central files with notation of action taken

DIVISION OF PROTECTIVE SERVICES

87K
W.S.C. amc
DIVISION OF NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS
UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER FOR JAPAN
JUN - 1 1948

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 253

Tokyo, April 30, 1948

~~SECRET~~

(For Department Use only)

SUBJECT: Reported Japanese Communist Party Espionage on Japanese Repatriation Vessels.

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 13 1948
4 39 PM

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to forward herewith, copy of a Summary of Information prepared by Military Intelligence Section of this Headquarters, which contains a translation of Japan Communist Party Order, Document No. 14, issued on March 13, 1948, by the Cominform Fraction, Central Committee of the Japan Communist Party, and sent to the Responsible Person, Urban Plans Department of each regional committee of the party.

This directive asserts that on the repatriation vessels running to Nahodka and Maoka, one or two personnel of the former Japanese Army and Navy, traveling under the guise of demobilization officials, are engaged in investigating the sympathies of the crew members, repatriates and demobilized persons, and in exposing so-called "democratic" groups among the repatriates. The directive instructs party members sailing on repatriation vessels to make certain investigations with regard to the work of these super-cargoes and to attempt interference with such work by suitable methods. An order is also given to take note of the particulars of any ranking personnel of the repatriation vessels who may be regarded as "democratic", that is, as communist personalities.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Sebald
W. J. Sebald

Enclosure: *ATT*

Summary of Information
Original and ozalid to Department.

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JDEdwards:mhp
~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Authority NND 760081
By CD/SZ NARS, Date 9 OCT 1975

Office of Assistant Secretary of State, Department of State.

DIV. OF FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION
MAY 17 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECRET FILE

894.00B/4-3048

AUG 30 1948
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AUG 19 1948

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 253 dated April 30, 1948 from the Office of the Political Adviser For Japan, Tokyo, on the subject, "Reported Japanese Communist Party Espionage on Japanese Repatriation Vessels".

(COPY)

APO 500
3 April 1948

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

SUBJECT: Japan Communist Party Order, Document No. 14

1. A photographic copy of Japan Communist Party Order, Document No. 14, dated 13 March 1948, from the Cominform Fraction, Central Committee, Japan Communist Party, to the Responsible Person, Urban Plans Department, each Regional Committee, was obtained by CIC agents from a reliable source on 16 March 1948. This document, a photographic copy of which is on file in CIS, bears the initials of HIROYA Shunji, member of the Japan Communist Party, Hokkaido Regional Committee Secretariat.

2. Following is a translation of Japan Communist Party Order, Document No. 14:

Urgent Directive to Responsible Persons of Seamen's Union Fractions.

As we enter April, repatriation of our comrades who remain in the USSR will recommence and orders to prepare the machinery and stand by have been issued to party of the repatriation vessels, as was already announced by the Central Shipping Management Association.

This year, coordinating with the positive repatriation hastening movement of overseas brethren by the Communist Party, they are inclined to send many of our fellow countrymen to their country. Based on the report that there are already complete arrangements in the USSR, the mass movement of the Japan Communist Party is growing positively along the line of the movement to hasten repatriation of our brothers overseas. While confident of the perfect execution of this policy, investigation activities and movement plans were issued according to directives issued anew by the Far East Cominform.

It is desired that each Regional Committee, immediately upon gathering the responsible persons of the Seamen's Union Fractions in each Region, and upon analyzing and discussing the details of the following items, contact IMMEDIATELY the responsible person for the Seamen's Union Fraction in each District.

According

~~SECRET~~

Encl. to
Tokyo's No. 253
April 30, 1948.

~~SECRET~~

-2-

According to conditions up to now, on the repatriation vessels running to Nakhodka and Maoka, one or two personnel from the Japanese Army and Navy (mostly staff members, persons connected with Headquarters, and the Military Police), are sailing under the guise of demobilization officials; they are engaged in detailed investigation of tendencies of the crew members on the repatriation ships, repatriates, demobilized persons, military action among demobilized personnel in land now held by Soviet units, economic and educational conditions, exposure of democratic groups, Communists among the repatriates, etc. They submit the reports on this either through the Repatriates Assistance Branch Office in each landing point or directly to the C.I.C. of the American Army Department. Previously American-Japanese Nisei, sailing as demobilization officials, have taken unauthorized photographs of Soviet Occupied districts.

Upon transmitting these plans in detail concerning the following investigation items and movements to Party members sailing on repatriation vessels by the Seamen's Union Fraction in each Region, it is desired that you enforce them.

1. The comrades from the Regional Seamen's Union Fraction sailing on each repatriation vessel will investigate in detail the following:

- a. Surveillance of activities of demobilization officials.
- b. A substantial investigation of the demobilization officials (upon contacting the Shipping Association Cell).
- c. Definite, detailed investigation of the liaison methods and contacts of demobilization officials.
- d. Details of the duties of each demobilization official.
- e. Details of the particulars of investigations of repatriates on the ships.

2. Together with the above investigation, whenever there is a chance, plan to interfere with points of the investigative activities of the demobilization officials by any methods.

3. At the Liaison Council of the Shipping Association Cell leaders and the Seamen's Union Fraction leaders immediately transmit to Headquarters the registered address, present address, occupation, name and age of democratic personalities who might come in line among the ranking ship personnel, such as Captains, Chief Engineers, Office Chiefs, Surgeons, etc.

Because

~~SECRET~~

Encl. to
Tokyo's No. 253
April 30, 1948.

SECRET

-3-

Because it is necessary that detailed reports on the above be transmitted to Central Headquarters immediately, please send a documentary report on the above to the Central Urban Plans Department NK - 11, within five days after each repatriation vessel comes into port. Submit this from (through) the Seamen's Fraction, Responsible Person in each port of debarkation. End.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

Enclosure to Despatch No. 253 dated April 30, 1948 from the Office of the Political Adviser For Japan, Tokyo, on the subject, "Reported Japanese Communist Party Espionage on Japanese Repatriation Vessels".

(COPY)

APD 500
3 April 1948

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Tokyo's No. 253
April 30, 1948.

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SECRET



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DIVISION OF
UNITED STATES POLITICAL AFFAIRS
for Japan
MAY 17 1948
Tokyo, May 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 264

~~SECRET~~

(For Department Use Only)

SUBJECT: Report of Formation of Far Eastern Block.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED
JUL 23 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DIVISION OF
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INFORMATION

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose for the Department's information a copy of a summary of information prepared by G-2 Section of this Headquarters, concerning Japan Communist Party Order No. 15, relative to the part to be played by the party in the formation of a so-called Far Eastern block.

The party order in question, dated March 19, 1948, is from the Cominform Fraction, Central Committee of the Japan Communist Party, to the responsible person of the Cominform Fraction of each regional committee. It is stated that its purpose is to apprise the regional committees of the plan to form a Far Eastern Block in which the Japanese Communist Party will play a prominent part. A directive regarding formation of the block is said to have been received, but the source is not mentioned. Countries participating in the Far Eastern Cominform, specifically China, Manchuria, Korea, Malaya, Burma, India, Java, Mongolia, Sumatra, and French Indo China are mentioned as being also members of the Far Eastern Block. The success of the Japan Communist Party's labor attacks upon production is also lauded, and it is asserted that this success shows the progress of the party's basic policy, namely, "a struggle with American Fascism in the Far East".

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Sebald

W. J. Sebald

Enclosure: *MA*

Copy of Summary of
Information.

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Copy to American Embassy, Moscow

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

Authority NND 760081

By CP/5a NARS, Date 9 OCT 1975

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Enclosure to despatch No. 264 dated May 6, 1948 from the office of the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled: "Report of Formation of Far Eastern Block".

(COPY)

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
Military Intelligence Section, General Staff

APO 500
8 April 1948

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

SUBJECT: Japan Communist Party Order, Document No. 15

Counter Intelligence Corps agents obtained from a reliable source on 22 March 1948 a photographic copy of a significant document concerning the part to be played by the Japan Communist Party in the formation of a "Far Eastern Block." This document, photographic copy of which is on file in CIS, is Japan Communist Party Order, Document No. 15, dated 19 March 1948, from the Cominform Fraction, Central Committee, Japan Communist Party, to the Responsible Person, Cominform Fraction, Each Regional Committee. It bears the initials of HIROYA Shunji, member of the Japan Communist Party Hokkaido Regional Committee Secretariat. A complete translation follows:

Matters concerning the Formation of the Far Eastern Block:

The swift development of world conditions, in the form of the two great attacks in Eastern and Western Europe, draws the eyes and ears of the whole world. The fate of every country in the world hangs in the balance.

As for the approaching great attack of the Far Eastern Cominform, the New Democracy Struggle has swung into action through the Democratic and Racial Fronts of the Japan Communist Party. Already in Eastern Europe they have succeeded in making a great Eastern European block, called the "Iron Curtain," by means of the New Democracy Policy of the Cominform.

Now the anxiety of American Fascism betrays the tension between the United States and the USSR and has ended in revealing the weakness of capitalism. The European Recovery Conference held under the Marshall Plan will become an actuality in April. The spark is being struck for struggle between Communism and Capitalism in Europe.

Robust Soviet Policy is making possible the realization of establishment of political rights in countries like France and Italy and participation in the "Iron Curtain."

At this time we are trying to enliven activity in the Far Eastern Cominform to accompany the above, as you saw in Directive NKIT - No. 7 of 17 February 1948. At the beginning of March the Japan Communist Party dispatched by NVK (TN - Romaji meaning unknown) and the leadership of the Japan Youth Communist League by KOJ (TN - Romaji meaning unknown) has finally stirred up the attack against America in the Far East (sic).

The Japan Communist Party has just received an important directive on the formation of a Far Eastern Block composed of all people

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Enclosure to Despatch
No. 264, May 6, 1948.

May 6, 1948

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and nations participating in the Far Eastern Cominform, covering the broad areas of China, Manchuria, Korea, Malaya, Burma, India, Java, Mongolia, Sumatra, and French Indo-China.

The Japan Communist Party has developed one great labor attack under the new Democracy by the use of Democratic Fronts; it has sent special Central organizers to lead this great attack in every district; it has carried out industrial sabotage and destroyed industrial establishments through the use of the Production Revival Struggle. This shows progress of the Party's basic policy, which is a struggle with American Fascism in the Far East. In this, the great national Labor Attack, concentrated around All Japan Communications (ZENTEI), and coordinated with the economic struggle, has hastened the formation of the Democratic and Racial Fronts.

The Japan Communist Party has now assumed the great mission of forming a mighty Far Eastern Block. However we must not be impatient, as this will bring ideological disunity and be a trap of the reactionary elements. The Japan Communist Party is proceeding to develop the present plans, while awaiting the political progress of the formation of a mighty Far Eastern Block. Because we have assumed a great mission in the formation of the mighty Far Eastern Block and decided through the Japan Communist Party Cominform Plans officials, who are to prepare for the formation of this Block, we want you to know of this plan.

Names of the Japan Communist Party Far Eastern Block Formation Preparation Officials (Committee members):

Responsible Person: TOKUDA Kyuichi

Members:

NOZAKA Sanzo	MIYAMOTO Kenji	KURAHARA Koreto
SHIGA Yoshio	ITO Ritsu	SHIDA Shigeo
KISHIMOTO Shigeo	HASEGAWA Hiroshi	HATTORI Bakusei

End (of translation)

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 264
dated May 6, 1948 from the Office
of the United States Political
Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled:
"Report of Formation of Far Eastern
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Military Intelligence Section, General Staff

APD 500
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Enclosure to Despatch
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End (of translation)

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ACTION
is assigned to



No. 299

U. S. Political Adviser for Japan

SECRET

Tokyo, May 24, 1948.

(For Department Use Only)

DEPARTMENT OF
STATE AFFAIRS
JULY 1948

Subject: Communist Activities in Kyushu

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED

SEP 27 1948

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

OFFICE OF LIBRARIES
AND INTELLIGENCE ACQUISITION

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a memorandum which was prepared by Foreign Service Officer W. Henry Lawrence, Jr. concerning the activities of communists in Kyushu. The information was gathered by him during a trip to Kyushu in the latter part of April 1948. Four prefectures were visited, Fukuoka, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, and Kagoshima. The data and opinions in the memorandum are based on conversations with officials of the Military Government Teams and with representative Japanese leaders in these four prefectures. Japanese interviewed included the governors and chairmen of prefectural assemblies and a wide variety of individuals from governmental, financial, educational, industrial, and labor circles.

It is believed that this report is of particular interest because it is based on a cross section of individuals who are in a position to know and judge the activities of communists in Kyushu. Military Government officials and Japanese leaders were in basic agreement, and the Mission considers that the views presented are fundamentally sound.

With regard to the attitude of Japanese leaders, an observation of Mr. MATSUO Chuei, the interpreter from this Mission who accompanied Mr. Lawrence, is especially pertinent. Mr. Matsuo, who was employed by the Department for many years in Formosa, stated that he noted a tremendous difference in the attitude of the Japanese people as compared with pre-war periods. Everywhere they were friendly, frank and cooperative, instead of suspicious, taciturn, and cautious. This cooperative attitude, aside from an obvious fundamental change in psychology, was in some measure perhaps also due to introductions from members of the National Diet and other Japanese in public life in Tokyo, which were presented to the governor and other leaders in each prefecture.

It is indicated in the memorandum that the Japanese people in Kyushu regard that area as the first line of defense should war break out between the Soviet Union and the United States, and in that event would align themselves on the side of the United States. It is also stated that officials in Kyushu believe the spread of communism has been slowed but cannot be

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stopped without American aid in the rehabilitation of Japan. There is also mention that many labor leaders are beginning to take a strong anti-communist stand, but that communism appears to be increasing in agricultural areas. Special emphasis is placed upon the fact that the communists, although few in number, wield a powerful influence, because they are well-organized and have a definite program, and that there is an urgent need for educational material concerning democratic methods of handling labor problems. It is further noted that reports concerning the proceedings of the Allied Council for Japan are considered to give too much encouragement to the communists, but that there is no legal way of suppressing the communists since they are allowed to function as a party.

✓ It is stated in the memorandum that there are few communists either among students, despite their curiosity in studying it, or among repatriates from Soviet areas, although indoctrinated while in Soviet territory. It is also stated that the communists are under constant scrutiny by Military Government and Japanese leaders; that there are fewer communists in important positions than formerly because of orders to work behind the scenes; and that some of the funds for communist activities are derived from the sale of smuggled goods.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Sebald

W. J. Sebald

Enclosure: *est*

- ✓ Memorandum entitled "Communist Activities in Kyushu" dated May 24, 1948.

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Interim Files*

In triplicate to the Department.
Copy to American Embassy, Moscow.

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WHLawrence, Jr.:cs

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(For Department Use Only)

Enclosure to Despatch No. 299 dated May 24, 1948 from the Office of the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled "Communist Activities in Kyushu".

MEMORANDUM

May 24, 1948

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN KYUSHU

The close proximity of Korea and China to Kyushu makes the Japanese in Kyushu feel that they are the first line of defense against the encroachment of communism into Japan. This fear is especially evident in Fukuoka Prefecture because of the large number of Koreans coming into that area illegally.

Mr. SUGIMOTO Katsuzi, Governor of Fukuoka Prefecture and member of the Social Democratic Party, stated that the people in Kyushu feel that if a war breaks out between Russia and the United States their land may become a battlefield. He and other officials claim that most Japanese dislike war and are anxious to live up to the spirit of the new constitution which denounces war. There appears to be no doubt, however, that if there should be a war the majority of Japanese people would align themselves with the United States although they realize that disarmament has rendered them impotent as far as fighting is concerned.

Spread of Communism Slowed

In general in Kyushu, both Military Government officials and Japanese leaders expressed the belief that the spread of communism has been slowed but by no means stopped. Mr. SUGIYAMA Sojiro, Governor of Nagasaki Prefecture, declared that formerly Kyushu tended to be a conservative and stable section of Japan, but that the difficulties of gaining a livelihood have made it a fertile ground upon which communist activities thrive. As might be expected such activities are most effective in those industries employing individuals of relatively low skill and education, such as the mines, and least effective in industries employing highly skilled workers, such as the glass factory of the Mitsubishi Chemical Company, Ltd.

American Aid Essential to Stop Spread of Communism

Japanese leaders are convinced that the rehabilitation of Japan and a higher standard of living are essential if the tide of communism is to be stemmed. These leaders feel that this can only be accomplished with American aid, such as that recommended by Under Secretary of the Army William F. Draper. The latter's statements have given great encouragement to the Japanese people although fears are expressed occasionally that the aid advocated will not materialize soon. For example, Mr. INAKAZU Minoru, Chairman of the Fukuoka Prefectural Assembly and coal mine owner, declared that the Japanese economy might collapse if aid is too long delayed.

Labor Assuming Anti-communist Attitude

In labor unions, according to the Labor Officer of the Fukuoka Military Government Team, the communists are losing ground, because members are finding that communist tactics have not produced the results promised. Several strikes directed by the communists have been lost. Another encouraging aspect of the labor picture was the comment of Mr. TAMAKI Masayoshi, Principal of the Kyushu Labor Training School and Chief of the Educational Department of the Western Japan Branch of the General Federation of Japanese Labor (Nihon Rodo Sodomei), that only recently has he been able to assume a strong anti-communist attitude. If he had done so previously, he contended that he would have had no school because many of his teachers and students would have walked out on him.

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Encl. to Tokyo's 299
May 24, 1948

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SECRET

Another indication that the tide of communistic influence is perhaps reaching its peak, if it has not already attained it, are conditions in the Takamatsu mine of the Japan Coal Mining Company, Ltd. This particular mine, according to the officers of the company, is more communist-dominated than any other, because the union leader, Mr. YAMAMOTO Tsunekatsu, is an unusually forceful and capable leader. Although he is a communist, he now takes into consideration the interest of the union members first, has abandoned his former tactics and is promoting production as well as the welfare of the miners. It is of interest to note that this mine has been meeting its production quota regularly. Members of Mr. Yamamoto's union, who are communists first and union members second, are said to be giving him considerable difficulty.

Still another encouraging development reported by both the Labor Officer of the Fukuoka Military Government Team and Mr. EGUCHI Yoshimi, Chairman of the Fukuoka Branch of Tanro, Japan League of Coal Mine Labor Unions (Nihon Tanko Rodo Kumiai Domei), the communist-dominated Zen-sekitan, All Japan Coal Industry Labor Union (Zen-Nihon Sekitan Kangyo Rodo Kumiai), and neutral unions have been losing members steadily during the last few months to Tanro, a union of rightist tendencies (see footnote). Officials of Zen-sekitan have just approached Mr. Eguchi saying that they wish to cooperate with Tanro. This sudden outward change of tactics has aroused suspicions as to the motives of Zen-sekitan.

According to Mr. Eguchi, he pointed out that he believes in settling differences with management by peaceful means, using strikes only as a last resort, whereas the communists of Zen-sekitan want to strike immediately disrupting production and forcing a decision. He stated, however, that he would continue discussions because Zen-sekitan support might be needed to promote some of the over-all objectives of labor, but that he would be on his guard.

Communism Growing Faster in Agricultural Areas

In agricultural areas, such as Kumamoto and Kagoshima, an impression was gained that the communists are now gaining strength more rapidly than in industrial areas, but have not yet attained a position comparable with their status in the industrial areas. It is not believed that most farmers are communists, but that they are influenced by white collar workers in farmers associations and by young intellectuals who travel about the countryside spreading communistic ideas. Everywhere one meets the claim that at heart the Japanese people are not communists, but are only susceptible to communist agitation because of the present hand-to-mouth existence of most of the Japanese people.

Few Communists Wield Great Power

Another point constantly brought out in discussions with both Military Government and Japanese officials was that the communists, although few in number, wield immense power because they have a program upon which they

concentrate

Footnote: As of February 1948, Tanro had 86 unions with 105,352 members; Zen-sekitan had 16 unions with 42,674 members; and 15 neutral unions had 20,008 members.

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Encl. to Tokyo's 299
May 24, 1948

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concentrate and because the Japanese people, not being a cohesive group of people united for a common purpose, are easily influenced. For example, in the mine of the Japan Coal Mining Company, Ltd., two hundred communists have succeeded in leading 9700 employees. It was stated by many Japanese and Military Government officials that the "fraction" method of operation used by the communists (this Mission's despatch No. 209 dated March 31, 1948) frequently enables a small minority to control the majority of union members.

Mr. HARADA Kanae, Chairman of the Yawata Iron Works Union of the Japan Iron and Steel Company, Ltd., stated that many of the communists are young and have not been employed very long, but being university graduates and intellectuals familiar with communist theory and doctrine, are articulate and persuasive.

Mr. KANEGAE Yasaburo, Chairman of the labor union of the Japan Rubber Company at Kurume, said that the group of reactionaries in his company, who are mostly young men of the kind described by Mr. Harada, cause him great difficulty. He himself is a skilled laborer who is convinced he knows the correct course for labor to pursue to improve its condition. However, he has to spend a great deal of time arguing with members of his union, and feels handicapped by his lack of knowledge of theory. The reactionary group in his union also causes him trouble, because after a course has been agreed upon and worked out with management this group tries to prevent implementation of the agreement.

Urgent Need for Educational Material

There is evident a need for further education of labor along democratic lines to offset the communist program. Union leaders and Military Government officials concerned with labor problems cited the lack of publications available to laborers and strongly stressed the urgency of obtaining publications, particularly those from the United States, and of obtaining supplies, especially paper, and equipment for the dissemination of democratic ideas and information.

Influence of Allied Council in Spread of Communism

Governor Sugimoto of Fukuoka Prefecture stated that the Allied Council had been helpful in establishing democratic principles, but also had created difficulties by giving too much encouragement to the communists. He said that although he believes the Japanese people desire a strong policy toward communism there is no legal way of suppressing communism because the communists are allowed to function as a party.

(This comment points out the difference in attitude of the Occupation and of the United States Government at home toward the communists. The communists are allowed to pursue their activities in Japan, but vigorously and increasingly opposed in the United States.)

Few Communists Among Students

Mr. OKUDA Yuzuru, President of Kyushu University, claimed that the number of communists among students is small, but that many students are interested, and since under the new constitution freedom of thought is granted, they feel no constraint in examining what communism has to offer.

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Mr. TAKEUCHI Toshiro,

Encl. to Tokyo's 299
May 24, 1948

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Mr. TAKEUCHI Toshiro, a recent graduate who is held in high esteem by the Civil Education officer of the Nagasaki Military Government Team, feels that many students are at the crossroads and can go either in the direction of communism or democracy. It is his opinion that most of them find the latter more attractive.

Repatriates Not Communists

Mr. Takeuchi further volunteered the opinion that many of his friends who have been repatriated from Soviet areas after receiving communistic indoctrination are not communists. He stated that these repatriates feel that the Russians have severely prejudiced their case by holding individuals in Soviet areas. This view was reiterated in conversations with many other individuals, for example, the head of the labor union of the Mitsubishi Chemical Industries, Inc., at Yawata was stated to be completely anti-communistic as a result of his experiences before repatriation from Soviet areas.

Communists Under Scrutiny

Communists are under constant scrutiny by Military Government officials and Japanese leaders. The communists are said by Military Government officials to realize that their activities are carefully watched by the Occupation and, while pressing as hard as possible to attain their ends, appear to attempt to avoid antagonizing occupation authorities for fear of accelerating the growing anti-communistic attitude of the Occupation. A few months ago this opposition led to orders from communist headquarters to work behind the scenes so there are now fewer communists in important positions in labor unions.

Japanese leaders have been helpful in reporting to the Occupation the names of those known to be communists. There is also evident an effort to remove these objectionable elements if at all possible. For example, the Economics Officer of the Nagasaki Military Government Team said that the Nagasaki Shipbuilding Yard of the Mitsubishi Heavy Industry Company, Ltd. doesn't find it too hard to discover an excuse to get rid of known communists since they are mostly young men who are not good workers.

Smuggled Goods Source of Funds

It is claimed that some of the men who are traveling about Kyushu spreading communistic ideas have no visible means of support. From several sources it has been learned that some of their funds are obtained by selling blackmarket whiskey and a worm medicine smuggled from Soviet areas.

W. Henry Lawrence, Jr.

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(For Department Use Only)

Enclosure to Despatch No. 299 dated May 24, 1948 from the Office of the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, entitled "Communist Activities in Kyushu".

MEMORANDUM

May 24, 1948

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There is evident a need for further education of labor along democratic lines to offset the communist program. Union leaders and Military Government officials concerned with labor problems cited the lack of publications available to laborers and strongly stressed the urgency of obtaining publications, particularly those from the United States, and of obtaining supplies, especially paper, and equipment for the dissemination of democratic ideas and information.

Influence of Allied Council in Spread of Communism

Governor Sugimoto of Fukuoka Prefecture stated that the Allied Council had been helpful in establishing democratic principles, but also had created difficulties by giving too much encouragement to the communists. He said that although he believes the Japanese people desire a strong policy toward communism there is no legal way of suppressing communism because the communists are allowed to function as a party.

(This comment points out the difference in attitude of the Occupation and of the United States Government at home toward the communists. The communists are allowed to pursue their activities in Japan, but vigorously and increasingly opposed in the United States.)

Few Communists Among Students

Mr. OKUDA Yuzuru, President of Kyushu University, claimed that the number of communists among students is small, but that many students are interested, and since under the new constitution freedom of thought is granted, they feel no constraint in examining what communism has to offer.

SECRET

Mr. TAKEUCHI Toshiro.

Encl. to Tokyo 299
May 24, 1948

-4-

SECRET

Mr. TAKEUCHI Toshiro, a recent graduate who is held in high esteem by the Civil Education officer of the Nagasaki Military Government Team, feels that many students are at the crossroads and can go either in the direction of communism or democracy. It is his opinion that most of them find the latter more attractive.

Repatriates Not Communists

Mr. Takeuchi further volunteered the opinion that many of his friends who have been repatriated from Soviet areas after receiving communistic indoctrination are not communists. He stated that these repatriates feel that the Russians have severely prejudiced their case by holding individuals in Soviet areas. This view was reiterated in conversations with many other individuals, for example, the head of the labor union of the Mitsubishi Chemical Industries, Inc., at Yawata was stated to be completely anti-communistic as a result of his experiences before repatriation from Soviet areas.

Communists Under Scrutiny

Communists are under constant scrutiny by Military Government officials and Japanese leaders. The communists are said by Military Government officials to realize that their activities are carefully watched by the Occupation and, while pressing as hard as possible to attain their ends, appear to attempt to avoid antagonizing occupation authorities for fear of accelerating the growing anti-communistic attitude of the Occupation. A few months ago this opposition led to orders from communist headquarters to work behind the scenes so there are now fewer communists in important positions in labor unions.

Japanese leaders have been helpful in reporting to the Occupation the names of those known to be communists. There is also evident an effort to remove these objectionable elements if at all possible. For example, the Economics Officer of the Nagasaki Military Government Team said that the Nagasaki Shipbuilding Yard of the Mitsubishi Heavy Industry Company, Ltd. doesn't find it too hard to discover an excuse to get rid of known communists since they are mostly young men who are not good workers.

Smuggled Goods Source of Funds

It is claimed that some of the men who are traveling about Kyushu spreading communistic ideas have no visible means of support. From several sources it has been learned that some of their funds are obtained by selling blackmarket whiskey and a worm medicine smuggled from Soviet areas.

W. Henry Lawrence, Jr.

SECRET

No. 299

U. S. Political Adviser for Japan

SECRET

Tokyo, May 24, 1948.

(For Department Use Only)

Subject: Communist Activities in Kyushu

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a memorandum which was prepared by Foreign Service Officer W. Henry Lawrence, Jr. concerning the activities of communists in Kyushu. The information was gathered by him during a trip to Kyushu in the latter part of April 1948. Four prefectures were visited, Fukuoka, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, and Kagoshima. The data and opinions in the memorandum are based on conversations with officials of the Military Government Teams and with representative Japanese leaders in these four prefectures. Japanese interviewed included the governors and chairmen of prefectural assemblies and a wide variety of individuals from governmental, financial, educational, industrial, and labor circles.

It is believed that this report is of particular interest because it is based on a cross section of individuals who are in a position to know and judge the activities of communists in Kyushu. Military Government officials and Japanese leaders were in basic agreement, and the Mission considers that the views presented are fundamentally sound.

With regard to the attitude of Japanese leaders, an observation of Mr. MATSUO Chuei, the interpreter from this Mission who accompanied Mr. Lawrence, is especially pertinent. Mr. Matsuo, who was employed by the Department for many years in Formosa, stated that he noted a tremendous difference in the attitude of the Japanese people as compared with pre-war periods. Everywhere they were friendly, frank and cooperative, instead of suspicious, taciturn, and cautious. This cooperative attitude, aside from an obvious fundamental change in psychology, was in some measure perhaps also due to introductions from members of the National Diet and other Japanese in public life in Tokyo, which were presented to the governor and other leaders in each prefecture.

It is indicated in the memorandum that the Japanese people in Kyushu regard that area as the first line of defense should war break out between the Soviet Union and the United States, and in that event would align themselves on the side of the United States. It is also stated that officials in Kyushu believe the spread of communism has been slowed but cannot be

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Tokyo's 299
May 24, 1948

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SECRET (For Department Use Only)

stopped without American aid in the rehabilitation of Japan. There is also mention that many labor leaders are beginning to take a strong anti-communist stand, but that communism appears to be increasing in agricultural areas. Special emphasis is placed upon the fact that the communists, although few in number, wield a powerful influence, because they are well-organized and have a definite program, and that there is an urgent need for educational material concerning democratic methods of handling labor problems. It is further noted that reports concerning the proceedings of the Allied Council for Japan are considered to give too much encouragement to the communists, but that there is no legal way of suppressing the communists since they are allowed to function as a party.

It is stated in the memorandum that there are few communists either among students, despite their curiosity in studying it, or among repatriates from Soviet areas, although indoctrinated while in Soviet territory. It is also stated that the communists are under constant scrutiny by Military Government and Japanese leaders; that there are fewer communists in important positions than formerly because of orders to work behind the scenes; and that some of the funds for communist activities are derived from the sale of smuggled goods.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Sebald

Enclosure:

Memorandum entitled "Communist Activities in Kyushu" dated May 24, 1948.

In triplicate to the Department.
Copy to American Embassy, Moscow.

800C
WHLawrence, Jr.:cs

SECRET

A true copy
of the signed
original

Form DS-302
(7-2-46)

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

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DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS
JUL 20 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Control 6846
Rec'd July 20, 1948
10:04 a.m.

Office of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
JUL 20 1948
DIRECTOR
Department of State

FROM: Moscow
TO : Secretary of State
NO : 1370, July 20

Soviet press July 20 carried brief London Tass dispatch
echoing Reuter's report of attempted assassination
Secretary General Japanese Communist Party Tokuda.

Sent Dept 1370, repeated Tokyo 18; Dept pass Tokyo.

SMITH

RB:ERA

NOTE: Relayed to Tokyo 7-20-48, 10:30 a.m., CWO-M

894.008/7-2048

JUL 22 1948

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INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS JAPANESE TELEGRAPH BRANCH

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DIVISION OF

JUL 21 1948

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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AIRGRAM

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CONFIDENTIAL

FROM USPOLAD, Tokyo

Dated: July 20, 1948

Date of mailing: July 21, 1948

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Secretary of State,

Washington.

A-152, July 20, 1948.

Rec'd: July 23, 1948

Office of

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

8:54 a.m.

JUL 20 1948

DIRECTOR

Department of State

An attempt was made to assassinate TOKUDA Kyuichi, Secretary General, Japan Communist Party, on July 19, 1948, when he was delivering an address in the city of Saga, Saga Prefecture. A home-made bomb, believed to have contained dynamite and other substances, was thrown on the speakers' platform, exploded and inflicted about thirty-seven cuts on Tokuda's body. His condition is reported as not serious and he is expected to recover within a week.

Shortly after the incident, KOGA Ichiro, known anti-Communist, presented himself at the Saga Police Station and confessed to the attempted assassination.

Further details and comment will follow.

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Form DS-302
(7-2-46)

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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Control 7303

Rec'd July 21, 1948
9:34 a.m.

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FROM: Moscow
TO: Secretary of State
NO: 1382, July 21, 10 a.m.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 21 1948
7 25 PM NAB

OFFICE OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MESSAGE CENTER

894.008/7-2148

Soviet press July 21 carried following telegram to Central Committee Japanese Communist Party:

CC CPSU learned with indignation of odious attempt of contemptible hireling enemies of Japanese people on life our Comrade Tokuda---prominent leader Japanese working class.

CC CPSU expressed to CC Japanese Communist Party its friendly condolences and hopes Comrade Tokuda will soon return to his fruitful activity of constructing new democratic and peace-loving Japan.

Signed-Secretary CC CPSU Giorgi Malenkov.

Also most papers carried Tokyo, Paris and Rome Tass dispatches summarizing appeals, warnings and protests of Japanese Communist Party and sympathizers, including charges by UNITA that new attack reveals more clearly that US warmongers are inspirers these crimes (Togliatti as well as Tokuda).

Department pass Tokyo as 19.

SMITH

NOTE: Relayed to Tokyo 7/21/48 10 a.m. MCP

WFS:MEK

JUL 27 1948

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

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is assigned to



No. 461

Tokyo, July 22, 1948

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NCH. HEAT. ASIA. DIV. 1185
AUG 10 1948

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DGR

Subject: Transmission of book entitled Eighteen Years in Prison.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUL 27 1948

DCM
FACILITIES BRANCH

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

I have the honor to forward herewith in single copy a translation of the memoirs of TOKUDA Kyuichi and SHIGA Yoshio, entitled Eighteen Years in Prison, made by the Allied Translator and Interpreter Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

Mr. Tokuda has been Secretary General of the Japan Communist Party since its revival at the end of the war, and is currently a member of the House of Representatives. He was one of the original founders of the first Japan Communist Party in 1922 and was a prominent leader in the Party until his arrest in the great communist round-ups in 1928. Mr. Tokuda remained in prison until his release in October 1945. As Secretary General, Mr. Tokuda is regarded as the real "boss" of the party today. He maintains party discipline with an iron hand, but his demands for a so-called "revolution by violence" have frequently brought him into conflict with other top party leaders who advocate achieving communist ends in Japan by more expedient and less provocative methods.

Mr. Shiga is now a member of the Party's Central Committee, and held a seat in the House of Representatives until his defeat in the national elections of April 1947. Mr. Shiga was also one of the original founders of the first Japan Communist Party. He is one of the few communist leaders today who can boast an education at one of the imperial universities. Mr. Shiga is essentially an intellectual and has been responsible for preparing interpretations and commentaries on Marxian doctrine.

The memoirs conclude with the release of the authors from prison in October 1945 and are therefore primarily of an historical interest. Detailed information concerning the early history of the Party in the 1920's is presented, but written entirely from the biased viewpoint of the two authors. Accordingly, considerable space is given to the so-called betrayal of the party by SANO Manabu (Gaku), NABEYAMA Sadachika and others who renounced communism while in prison in the early 1930's.

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July 22, 1948.

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It is significant to note the authors' frequent reference to the close liaison the party maintained with the Comintern and the material support and guidance provided by this international communist agency. From this account of the careers of two leading Japanese communists, it is plain that Mr. Tokuda and Mr. Shiga, like almost all the top leaders of the present party, have had considerable experience in underground operations.

The book also affords an insight into the psychological and physical factors which go into the making of confirmed communists.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Sebald
W. J. Sebald

att
Enclosure:

att VVL
Book entitled Eighteen Years
in Prison.

Filed in Package File

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EIGHTEEN YEARS IN PRISON

By TOKUDA Kyuichi and SHIGA Yoshio

Published: 15 February 1947

First Edition: 10 February 1947

Second Edition: 5 March 1947

Publisher: MATSUO Seikichi
JIJI TSUSHINSHA (JINI Press)
TOKYOTO, KOJIMACHI Ku, HIBIYAKOEN, 2

Printer: HOSOKAWA Printing Shop
TOKYO to, KYOBASHI Ku, GINZA
NICHI, 6-2

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rec to dump 461 / June 2, 1948*

Return to DC/R Overflow Files

Full Translation of Paper Bound Book Entitled
"EIGHTEEN YEARS IN PRISON"

by

TOKUDA Kyuichi
and
SHIGA Yoshia

1946

Document No. 36388

PREFACE

The elimination of egoism is of the utmost importance to Communists. This means true devotion for the sake of laborers, farmers, and the common people. One must not covet social position of any kind, much less entertain hopes of becoming a Premier or a Midas. A revolution cannot be accomplished if there remains even a vestige of acquisitiveness.

The complete elimination of egoism is easier said than done, but, as long as one professes to be a Communist, one must constantly be prepared to sacrifice himself. Indeed, it is out of such an attitude that the courage necessary for true Communists and for revolutionists will spring. Moreover, from this true appreciation will arise, the faculty of discernment will become more sound, and one's vitality will increase. If this mental attitude is firmly fixed, one will be quick to perceive one's mistakes and set oneself on the right track when one errs in thought or action as we all do occasionally. Thus, even if occasional mistakes are committed on side issues, fundamentally one will be able to traverse the straight path without faltering.

As long as one is to live as a revolutionist, it is inevitable that he shoulder a multitude of troubles and hardships; yet even in the midst of these difficulties, the afore-mentioned mental attitude will banish all anxieties and allow one to remain an untroubled and cheerful optimist.

The way of the Communists is just such a way. We, as Communists, have traversed such a road, encouraging one another. We believe that this is the most desirable path for the Japanese who are now facing a crisis. Furthermore, since this is the true, carefree, and cheerful way, it is open to all. We believe that great pleasure can be gained by following this path as Communists. We have committed a portion of our experiences to writing for three reasons. (Publisher's Note: This book "EIGHTEEN YEARS IN PRISON" was compiled from a series of four interviews held with TOKUDA () and SHIGA () at the invitation of the JIJI Press in February 1946. The two men retraced their memories and supplemented each other in facts regarding the Party history; however, they are all included in TOKUDA's chapter for the sake of convenience.

TOKUDA Kyuichi

SHIGA Yoshio

Document No. 36388

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Document No. 36388

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The Air Raids

The Ideology of "Public Management" Originates in
the Detention Home

The Gate of Freedom

Document No. 36388

LITTLE DEFENDER OF JUSTICE

I was born in 1894 in OKINAWA Ken, KUNCHAN Gun, NAGO Mura. Extraordinary circumstances led me to become a Communist. My grandfather was a shipping agent who started as a sailor during the clan period in KAGOSHIMA. His business meant dropping anchor in the RYUKYU's, purchasing various foreign articles very cheaply and reselling them in KAGOSHIMA, MOJI and OSAKA. These shipping agents had mistresses in the RYUYKYU's. My father was the son of such a man from KAGOSHIMA and his mistress, a RYUKYU woman. My mother was also the child of a RYUKYU mistress and the chief of the shipping agents. My grandmother was the daughter of a destitute farmer, and the home of her birth was little better than a pigsty. She was sold into prostitution, and eventually became my grandfather's mistress. My mother, too, was born under similar circumstances. My grandmother on the distaff side was born to indigent artisans and two of the three girls in the family were sold into prostitution. She was born into this miserable household and was sold since there was no money with which to pay the taxes nor no articles to sell. This was during the KEIO period, and it is said that the price for a child of 15 or 16 was approximately 20 yen in Japanese currency. I understand that in extreme cases, they were sold for about 10 yen. Even in my youth, the prices ran from about 30 to 50 yen.

During my childhood, my grandmother on the distaff side sold DOROAI (Translator's Note: Dye precipitated from indigo by lye) and engaged in usury. This usury resulted in loaning money to poor families in 5 yen amounts to be paid in 100 days at a monthly interest rate of 10 percent. At the same time, she sold DOROAI, a dye for SATSUMA and KURUME KASURI (Translator's Note: splashed or spotted fabrics or patterns). Since this DOROAI decreased in weight while being conveyed from RYUKYU to KYUSHU, she used this as an excuse to cheat the farmers by buying it cheaply and resold it at a terrific price.

From the time I was 13, I kept the accounts on which the cheating in weights was done. Since our family was poor, up to the time of my graduation from middle school, I took care of all the miscellaneous domestic affairs for my grandmother's household, including secretarial matters, accounting and even went out to collect payments. At the same time, I was going to school but managed to attend only 20 days out of the month. I entered middle school at the age of 13, but even at this early age, I was thoroughly familiar with the workings of such things as usury through which farmers, laborers and the poor were being hoodwinked and exploited. Consequently, compassion for the laborers and the farmers on the one hand and hatred for all those, including my grandmother on my mother's side, who engaged in such ignominious dealings, on the other hand, steadily assailed my young mind. I spoke ill of my grandmother to those who came to borrow money. I explained to them in earnestness, yet not without humor, that it would be unwise to borrow money from a usurer such as she; that they definitely should not borrow because they would, without question, be squeezed dry; and that in a short time I would earn enough money to help them all.

I was a serious little defender of justice and was, therefore, the object of my grandmother's intense hatred. She would not buy shoes for me during my middle school days, and so I borrowed worn-out shoes from my uncle and wore them only during the gymnastic period. However, these shoes were large and floppy and I suffered from blisters and corns. Even though she realized these things, my grandmother would not lift a finger to help me. I ordinarily walked to and from school in my bare feet because there was nothing else I could do. When I absolutely had to I wore sandals or clogs which were kept at home, but each time I did so my

Document No. 56388

grandmother took it out on me. Since I was brought up in such an environment, I was deeply resentful of the oppression and injustice towards the poor. I was keenly aware of the fact that I could not live a truly happy and honest life in such a society. However, shortly thereafter, I experienced a political awakening and a bright ray broke through into the depths of dark resentment. The direct impetus was NAKAE, Chomin, "ICHINEN YUHAN" (Translator's Note: "Over A Year and a Half"). At that time, a very progressive man by the name of KANESHIRO, Tokio was staying with my grandmother. Formerly a teacher, he was at the time a member of the Prefectural Assembly and when I was 15, he let me read "ICHINEN YUHAN". I was deeply impressed by this book which sharply criticized the despotism of the Meiji Government and attacked the incompetence and corruption of ITO and the YAMAGATA faction. When I was 17, the same person lent me KOTOKU, Shusui's "The Essence of Socialism". My first introduction to socialism was through this book with quotations from MARX and ENGELS printed in bold type.

THE DUTIFUL SON

I was extremely devoted to my parents during my childhood and I hear that even today the people of the village speak of my filial piety. I was especially dutiful toward my mother and my grandmother on my father's side, but I loathed my grandmother on my mother's side as I have mentioned earlier.

My mother, in marrying my father, found herself at odds with my grandmother. The reason was that my father was a heavy drinker, a man who was incapable of saving any money, and the type of person who would give the shirt off his back if anyone asked for it. Therefore, he was not acceptable in my grandmother's eyes. My father being such a man, we were always poor so my grandmother had no love for my mother. It seems that she tried many times to break up the marriage, but she did not succeed. Such was the situation, and for my part, my hatred for my grandmother only tended to deepen my love for my mother. The roads are poor in the place where I was born and there are places where one must wade across rivers because there are no bridges across them. I always carried my mother across such places on my back. Since it is uncommon to carry one's mother on one's back, I was regarded as a dutiful son; in truth, my love for my mother was boundless.

Next to my mother, the object of my affection during my childhood was my younger sister. There is still a scar on the back of my head, the memento of a fall into a river bed full of gravel when I was trying to pick some flowers for her when I was 7. The gravel embedded itself in my head and I suffered great pain since it had to be pulled out; however, I went alone to the doctor and had it attended to without crying because the people of KAGOSHIMA believe in Spartan discipline and I would have been reprimanded if I had shed any tears. I also fractured my hip when I was 12. This was when I lost my balance and fell headlong from a banyan tree while playing with my sister who was on the ground. Even now, my hips give me trouble.

My grandmother on my father's side was also born to indigent farmers, but she was totally different from my other grandmother and was an unselfish, soft-witted and gentle woman. Since my father was a child of her late years, he was showered with her love. After I was born, this love was focused on me, and although we were poor, I never felt the want of her love. My grandmother was fond of cooking and whenever she went to gather plants, catch frogs or river fish to use for her cooking, she always took me. I was also extremely fond of this grandmother and was more dutiful

Document No. 36988

to her than to anyone else in the family. Every night before I went to bed, I gave her a massage and also helped with the cooking. Consequently, I still know my way around a kitchen, being able to cut meat and to cook fish. I also helped her with the sewing and spinning. Whenever she had a little money she would put it aside, always saying that it was for my education. This grandmother died prior to my graduation from middle school, but even at the time of her death she requested in her last breath that her grandson at least be sent to TOKYO for an education, since she failed to give her children one.

THE FIRST STRIKE - IN GRADE SCHOOL

I was brought up by two such grandmothers, one good and the other evil, and was placed in close proximity with social vices from my childhood. My sympathies towards these powerless people and my instinct to defend them from unjust oppression were aroused in my early years. During my fifth year in grade school I conducted my first strike. The principal was not a native of the RYUKYUS and like all the teachers who were imported to the RYUKYUS, he was cruel and evil. Even at school, we were given the Spartan education of KAGOSHIMA, and were struck, kicked and insulted. This aroused our antipathy and so we went on strike. It started during the end of our physical education class. Our instructor left without giving us the order "Dismissed", so we stood our ground, telling the others not to dissemble because we weren't given the order, and returned to our homes. We went on strike for about three days threatening that if they were going to beat and kick us and speak insultingly of the people of the RYUKYUS, we wouldn't return; however, the teachers finally gave in and became moderate. Since I was the class president all during my grade school years, I was, inadvertently, placed in a position of leadership in this strike.

In middle school we were not provoked to the point of striking. However, I was extremely unruly and constantly quarreled with the teachers. Once Prince and Princess KAN-IN visited the RYUKYUS. On that occasion the residents were made to kneel all along their itinerary and all the middle school students were made to carry rifles and guard their route. My impressions of Prince KAN-IN upon seeing his face were not unfavorable, but his wife had so much powder on her small face that it looked as if it had been whitewashed, and she resembled a white mouse. I thought that it was unnecessary to welcome such a person so royally, but when I expressed such an opinion to a few, it created quite an issue and I would have been expelled were it not for all those who came to my rescue.

Since the majority of middle school teachers were not natives, of the RYUKYUS, and regarded us with great contempt, we always defied them unapologetically. The majority of these teachers had passed some haphazard official examination and drifted to the RYUKYUS; hence, they had inferior qualifications. Only 2 or 3 out of 15 or 16 teachers had graduated from Higher Normal School, and a university graduate would have immediately become the principal or the head teacher upon his arrival.

Among these teachers, I thought that NOMA, Seiji, who later became the president of the KODANSHA, was the worst. NOMA was my Chinese classics teacher during the first year of middle school, but he knew practically nothing about the subject. In the classroom he did nothing but talk about ISSHIDOMARU, tell stories, or recite NANIWABUSHI. Moreover, he took up quarters in the red-light district and would come to work each day in an inebriated condition. He was also one of those who had taken some spurious teacher's examination and had drifted to this place. He must have been making 40 or 50 yen a month. During those days it cost only 10 yen a month to stay at the brothels, and for only 20 yen or so he was able

Document No. 36388

to her than to anyone else in the family. Every night before I went to bed, I gave her a massage and also helped with the cooking. Consequently, I still know my way around a kitchen, being able to cut meat and to cook fish. I also helped her with the sewing and spinning. Whenever she had a little money she would put it aside, always saying that it was for my education. This grandmother died prior to my graduation from middle school, but even at the time of her death she requested in her last breath that her grandson at least be sent to TOKYO for an education, since she failed to give her children one.

THE FIRST STRIKE - IN GRADE SCHOOL

I was brought up by two such grandmothers, one good and the other evil, and was placed in close proximity with social vices from my childhood. My sympathies towards these powerless people and my instinct to defend them from unjust oppression were aroused in my early years. During my fifth year in grade school I conducted my first strike. The principal was not a native of the RYUKYUS and like all the teachers who were imported to the RYUKYUS, he was cruel and evil. Even at school, we were given the Spartan education of KAGOSHIMA, and were struck, kicked and insulted. This aroused our antipathy and so we went on strike. It started during the end of our physical education class. Our instructor left without giving us the order "Dismissed", so we stood our ground, telling the others not to dissemble because we weren't given the order, and returned to our homes. We went on strike for about three days threatening that if they were going to beat and kick us and speak insultingly of the people of the RYUKYUS, we wouldn't return; however, the teachers finally gave in and became moderate. Since I was the class president all during my grade school years, I was, inadvertently, placed in a position of leadership in this strike.

In middle school we were not provoked to the point of striking. However, I was extremely unruly and constantly quarreled with the teachers. Once Prince and Princess KAN-IN visited the RYUKYUS. On that occasion the residents were made to kneel all along their itinerary and all the middle school students were made to carry rifles and guard their route. My impressions of Prince KAN-IN upon seeing his face were not unfavorable, but his wife had so much powder on her small face that it looked as if it had been whitewashed, and she resembled a white mouse. I thought that it was unnecessary to welcome such a person so royally, but when I expressed such an opinion to a few, it created quite an issue and I would have been expelled were it not for all those who came to my rescue.

Since the majority of middle school teachers were not natives, of the RYUKYUS, and regarded us with great contempt, we always defied them unitedly. The majority of these teachers had passed some haphazard official examination and drifted to the RYUKYUS; hence, they had inferior qualifications. Only 2 or 3 out of 15 or 16 teachers had graduated from Higher Normal School, and a university graduate would have immediately become the principal or the head teacher upon his arrival.

Among these teachers, I thought that NOMA, Seiji, who later became the president of the KODANSHA, was the worst. NOMA was my Chinese classics teacher during the first year of middle school, but he knew practically nothing about the subject. In the classroom he did nothing but talk about ISHIDOMARU, tell stories, or recite NANIWABUSHI. Moreover, he took up quarters in the red-light district and would come to work each day in an inebriated condition. He was also one of those who had taken some specious teacher's examination and had drifted to this place. He must have been making 40 or 50 yen a month. During those days it cost only 10 yen a month to stay at the brothels, and for only 20 yen or so he was able

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to have a ricksha to and from the school, a distance of one RI (2.44 miles); drink to his heart's content, and have women, so his salary was more than sufficient. Therefore, the RYUKYUS must have been a perfect paradise for people like him, but to us it was hell.

FROM STUDENT AT THE SEVENTH HIGHER SCHOOL
TO ASSISTANT TEACHER

Upon my graduation from the Okinawa Middle School, I entered the Seventh Higher School after a year of preparatory school in TOKYO; however, due to lack of funds I stayed for a while with my uncle who happened to be my mother's half-brother and he looked after me. This person was not very mean but his mother was extremely ill-natured, and contending that I was a child of a RYUKYU woman, she objected to my eating at the same table and treated me like a servant in every manner. They had a bathroom, but taking the attitude that I was offensive, she would not even let me take a bath, so I went to the public bathhouses in town. Finally, I could no longer bear such indignities and went into the dormitory, but then financial difficulties overtook me. So after just a year of Higher School, I returned to the RYUKYUS in 1913.

In Higher School there was an English instructor by the name of MATSUMOTO. This person always looked down on the people of the RYUKYUS and whenever I asked a question he would say with venom, "You have your nerve asking me, you RYUKYU bastard". Finally, I lost my temper and started a strike. I started the strike by inciting others to rise up and fight the indignities committed against those of the RYUKYUS, and finally drove the man to the Second Higher School in SENDAI. I thought of Higher Schools as worthless institutions since they placed emphasis only on languages. Therefore, I abandoned my studies and pursued my own interests. I devoted myself to the study of socialism. At that time, "MANCHO HO" carried MORITA, Ariaki's "Dispatch from GERMANY" and ISHIKAWA, Sanshiro's "Dispatch from FRANCE", besides constant news about activities regarding socialism, therefore, I never failed to read it. Even after my return to the RYUKYUS, I continued to read "MANCHO HO", if nothing else. I lived in the RYUKYUS for approximately four years, teaching at the grade school as an assistant teacher or working as a clerk at the Gun office.

The grade school teachers were only paid about 10 yen a month. I could not live on this and since I was an assistant teacher there were no possibilities of my achieving a better position or salary to ease living conditions. Consequently, I did not intend to remain a teacher for long. I did not adhere to the textbooks, but taught according to my own system. The textbooks at that time were centered around the concept of loyalty and patriotism, but instead of taking up these subjects, I taught chiefly the modern literary works of TOLSTOY, DOSTOEVSKI, IBSEN and others, and stressed Russian literature in particular. I placed great emphasis upon the tenet of humanitarianism as taught by TOLSTOY, and the fact that degeneration is a crime arising from sloth. I often told such stories as "Ivan the Fool".

CLERK IN THE GUN OFFICE

Subsequently, I became a clerk in the Gun Office and, at the time handled payments of delinquent taxes. Since land holdings were extremely small in the RYUKYUS, the taxes often amounted to a mere one or two sen. Whenever a default of payment occurred, I would be sent out to adjust

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these delinquencies, receiving some 2 yen per night for travel expenses. Actually, it would have been much simpler to write off the delinquencies with the travel expenses since scores of delinquency cases could be adjusted with one yen. Any other way would have been very troublesome and too pitiful for these poor people.

This being the situation, I assembled the people of the village and spoke to them. I told them that this was such a ridiculous method of taxation and if they paid on time it would be a saving to them since it would eliminate the cost of my making such trips. As a method of inducement, I sent out letters of appreciation to those who did pay on time.

There was another amusing incident which occurred while I was employed at the Gun Office. The accounts of the Gun Office were in a state of chaos. Upon examining them minutely, I found that the unit purchase prices of commodities were outrageously high. Rice bowls which ordinarily sold for 10 sen were listed as 1 yen or 1.50 yen. Thinking this was absurd, I gathered the merchants and submitted the commodities for auction. Whereupon, as I had expected, those priced at 1 yen and 1.50 yen sold for only 10 sen. However, the bidders paid cash for them. In this manner, instead of finding that the budget for the fiscal year was insufficient, even necessitating drawing from the budget of the following year, we found that we were able to make up all past payments, to pay for all expenses of that year with the year's budget, and even to purchase new quilts and blankets for the duty room and still have over 10 percent of the budget remaining.

Nevertheless, I was fired after a year's service. This was because they feared the next fiscal year's budget would be decreased if one with such capabilities remained. Furthermore, there were complaints from the merchants to the effect that their security was jeopardized. The merchants who had been raking in the profits up to that time by buying off the accountants were afraid that they would no longer be able to do so.

RETURN TO TOKYO

For some time I had been wanting to return to Tokyo and this desire grew stronger as I saw the forces of evil triumph over good as mentioned previously. In March 1917, at the age of 24, I returned once again to TOKYO because those were the boom days preceding the end of World War I when the shortage of manpower in the cities increased the possibilities of my working my way through school in TOKYO.

Upon my arrival in TOKYO a friend helped me get a job with the Savings Bureau of the Ministry of Communications, located in TSUKIJI, where I worked at a salary of 50 sen per day. Since there were holidays in between, my average monthly earnings were about 13.50 yen. Similar tendencies are still apparent in the Ministry of Communications, but at that time the administration was crooked and the employees were made to work like mules. This was due to the fact that the employees who were hired at low wages, were, for the most part, young boys and men who came from rural districts filled with visions of grandeur which they hoped to attain by working their way through schools in TOKYO. These men made a go of it somehow by supplementing their cheap salaries with help from home. Even so, they did not strike. They thought that if they participated in a strike and the outcome was unfavorable it would be detrimental to their future success. Even today there are very few instances of strikes being conducted in the Ministry of Communications. At that time I held the mean position of addressing envelopes, renewing savings bank books, carrying duffel bags from one department to another and putting the contents in order. I was here for

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about nine months and attended the law courses given by the night school of Nippon University. Actually, I merely enrolled at Nippon University and only attended classes for about a month. I thought of universities being nearly worthless institutions. KANAMORI Tokujiro (), YAMAOKA Mannosuke, (), HATOYAMA Hideo (), and others used to come to lecture, but their lectures were, in truth, unconvincing and irresponsible, so I stopped attending them and read books which I thought were more profitable.

PARTICIPATION IN THE RICE RIOT

The Rice Riot broke out in 1918, while I was still employed at the Savings Bureau. The fervor of the mob which participated in the Rice Riot overwhelmed the rice dealers of that time. In truth, the price of rice had risen and most of the people were on the verge of starvation. I, too, did not know what to do since I could not pay for my room and board. This was attributed to the fact that the rice merchants bought up all the rice and were manipulating the prices. Therefore, fury broke loose upon these men and rice riots sprang up all over the country. I was deeply stirred and became a participant. I joined the riots somewhere in the vicinity of RYOGOKU. The rioters started in FUKAGAWA, pillaged the rice granaries in the RYOGOKU and KANDA districts, and then made their way toward MANSEIBASHI; however, the police rode in on trucks and began to rain blows on the rioters with their clubs, from above. The people shoved and pushed their way to MANSEIBASHI, practically crawling on all fours to avoid being struck by the police; however, they were beaten and had stones thrown at them by those in that area. When the rioters reached MANSEIBASHI the troops were called out. It seems that an officer drew his sword and gave the order "Fire!" However, disciplined as they were, the soldiers did not fire. At this stage, being hemmed in on both sides by soldiers and being beaten by the police from behind, we finally fled in wild confusion. It was a matter of life and death. I still remember how I fled, towards HONGO, and climbed the TENJIN hill, gasping for breath, but I do not know in which direction I fled from there since my head began to reel. Nevertheless, I somehow made my way back to my quarters in KANDA and escaped arrest. This Rice Riot was the first of such large mass demonstrations in which I participated and the cruelty of the police left a deep impression upon me. I was furious with this force of the Government which conducted, without compunction, all manners of violence, according to the dictates of convenience. This resentment has never left me.

Shortly thereafter, I left the Ministry of Communication and became a house boy in the home of Mr. ONO, a lawyer. I thought my chance of continuing my education would be better in this capacity; however, 15 days were all I could endure here. What provoked me most was the fact that I was requested to take an extremely servile attitude when answering the telephone and when receiving guests. The direct cause of my leaving was the fact that I misinterpreted a telephone message of a guest of honor, who was to leave from Tokyo Station in the morning. I thought he had said "afternoon" when I asked him the time, so I gave the incorrect message to the lawyer. When he went to see him off at Tokyo Station in the afternoon, he found that said person had left that morning. As soon as he returned he vented his wrath upon me. I thought that I would never be able to endure working here after such an experience, so I quit after 15 days. However, there were no other jobs and finally I was kicked out of my boarding house when I was two month's rent in arrears. Then, I found temporary employment in a Ward Office and later found a position copying records for a court. My livelihood became somewhat secure after I had secured a position in the Tokyo Prefectural Office and I was able to continue my studies.

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MY TWO MONTHS AS PROBATIONARY JUDGE

Thus, for three years, I continued working my way through school and, at the age of 27, in the third year after my arrival in TOKYO, I became a lawyer.

My becoming a lawyer was merely a means to an end. I chose this profession because I regarded it as the best approach in conducting socialistic activities. Lawyers were extremely influential during those days and I thought that it would be the perfect front behind which to carry out socialistic activities since lawyers commanded respect anywhere. In truth, this cloak proved to be quite effective. However, in order to become a lawyer, I served for two months as a probationary judge. This is the story behind it.

The bar and judicial service examinations were conducted one after the other, the latter coming first. I took both examinations, but exhausted my energies during the judicial service examination, so when the bar examination came up I was on the verge of collapse. Hence, I passed the judicial service examination but failed in the other. However, there is a provision to the effect that one can automatically become a lawyer after serving as probationary judge for a length of time provided one qualifies in the judicial service examination. I, therefore, registered at the Tokyo District Court. At the end of two months, without having worked a day, I became a lawyer and worked under YAMAZAKI, Kesaya.

During this year, 1920, YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi, SAKAI, Toshihiko, and others established the Socialist League. I had been participating in socialistic activities with YAMAKAWA before that time, so I joined this League before becoming a lawyer and began my activities under him.

MY DAYS AS A LAWYER

This being my background, I rarely handled ordinary legal cases, although I was a lawyer. I handled only those cases involving the defense in labor disputes, Tenants' League, and those engaged in Socialist activities. Therefore, I know the gist of ordinary legal proceedings, but not the detailed procedures. Lawyers are principally technicians of law and know only of the application of legal knowledge. However, I applied my legal technique in the realm of politics. And the fact that I was a lawyer who specialized in this manner benefited me greatly in the courtroom battles in later years.

My first case as a lawyer was the case of ethnologist HASHIURA, Yosuo and 14 or 15 others who were apprehended on charges of resisting officers and obstructing the discharge of public duties on May Day 1921.

I, a greenhorn, took a hand in this trial along with many famous lawyers, including HANAI, Takuzo, and YAMAZAKI, Kesaya. When my turn came and I presented a rather lengthy argument, Mr. YAMAZAKI laughingly said, "He's a funny one. He speaks loquaciously and eloquently despite the fact that this is the first time he is presenting a case." Mr. YAMAZAKI told me that he was trembling when he argued his first case. In this sense I was quite bold.

The most interesting case with which I was connected was that regarding farm rents on crown-lands under the Ministry of the Imperial Household in ASAHIGAWA, HOKKAIDO. There was an understanding that, as a general rule, crown-lands would not be rented to anyone except the tenant farmers themselves and the rent had been set extremely low.

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This was around the beginning of 1923 and the agreement was fixed at approximately 10 sen per SE (Translator's Note: 119 sq. yards) or one yen per TAMBUR (Translator's Note: 0.245 acres). However, one KAMIYA, Bembei, who sold DENKI BURAN (Translator's Note: spirits similar to brandy) in his shop at KAMINARIMON, ASAKUSA, had rented all of the enormous crown-lands in the vicinity of ASAHIGAWA. KAMIYA planned to have tenant farmers grow potatoes here and produce DENKI BURAN from the alcohol taken from the potatoes. Therefore, the actual farmers were relegated to the position of tenant farmers and paid KAMIYA the ordinary farm rent of 15 or 16 yen per 1 TANBU. The case concerned the disputes of these sub-tenants who demanded that these discrepancies be revised, that KAMIYA be ousted, and that the land be leased to them directly. The Ministry of the Imperial Household could not oppose this and the tenant farmers won this case. This victory led to similar tenant-farmer controversies throughout HOKKAIDO and even spread to the HACHISUGA Farms which ranked second to the Ministry of the Imperial Household in landholdings, possessing 150,000 CHOBUR (Translator's Note: 367,500 acres). Later, however, during the time when I was imprisoned, these tenant farmers paid dearly.

The Ministry of the Imperial Household asked these tenant farmers if they wouldn't be interested in buying the land. The tenants cajoled by interested brokers, agreed to do so. This was an extremely sly move on the part of the Ministry of the Imperial Household and resulted in the tenant farmers being duped completely. The reason is that although it would have been more profitable for the tenant farmers to have continued to farm on cheaply rented land, they were taken in by the prestige of becoming landowners, and bought land by borrowing huge sums from the Hypothec Bank. And after these interested brokers ran off with 60,000 or 70,000 yen remuneration, the tenant farmers became slaves of the Hypothec Bank since they could not pay the interest and failed in the management of the farms. This is how the Ministry of the Imperial Household took advantage of the psychology of these farmers who desired land, and sold lands at a profit under the guise of bestowing favors. In the same vein, the Government's programs for the establishment of the owner-farmer system has always been aimed at similar objectives. In short, monetary profits derived from playing upon the psychology of the people whose desire was to become owner-farmers had been their actual motive. The ones who profited were not the farmers but the Hypothec and the Agricultural and Industrial Banks. These banks loaned out money, assessing the land at an extremely low price, and when the farmers failed to pay their debts - such situations occurring much too often - the banks recovered these lands at the appraised value and resold them at a profit. The Hypothec and Agricultural Bank and the Industrial Bank have prospered through such operations, and along with them the landowners and bourgeois politicians have lined their pockets.

ORGANIZING THE JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Socialist League was soon dissolved and with its dissolution many groups of Socialists and Communists sprang into existence. These were the Wednesday Club (SUIYOKAI), the Thursday Club (MOKUYO KAI), the GYOMINKAI, the SHINJINKAI, among others. The Wednesday Club was organized by youths with YAMAKAWA Hitoshi and ARAHATA Kanson as its leaders. Those who were members at that time and who are still living include YAMAKAWA, ARAHATA, INOKUCHI Masao, and myself. And, although they subsequently fell completely from grace, INAMURA Ryuichi and YOKOTA Sengen were then members. Those now deceased include NISHI Masao, TADOKORO Teruaki, UEDA Shigeki, TAKAHASHI Sadaki, and SUGIURA Keiichi. The Thursday Club had SAKAI Toshihiko and NAKASONE Motokazu; the GYOMINKAI

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had TAKATSU Masamichi, TAKASE Kiyoshi, KAWASAKI Etsuyuki, KONDO Eizo, and TAKANO Minoru; and the SHINJINKAI had SHIGA Yoshio. In addition, there was the Anarchist Organization to which OSUGI Sakae and WADA Kyutaro belonged.

In 1921, the Conference of the Far East Peoples was held in MOSCOW to counteract the Washington Conference, and I attended as a representative of the Wednesday Club. Among those participating in the conference were TAKASE Kiyoshi, from the GYOMINKAI, YOSHIDA Hajime and WADA Kiichiro from the Anarchist Organization; and two workers in the printing and publishing field. In addition to these people, many persons from AMERICA participated including KATAYAMA Hisomu and SUZUKI Mosaburo, the latter being on the staff of the YOMIURI SHIMBUN in those days.

This conference provided the first opportunity since the Anti-War Convention held in AMSTERDAM during the Russo-Japanese War, at which time KATAYAMA Hisomu made the acquaintance of PLEKHONOV of the Social Democratic Labor Party of RUSSIA, for the Japanese people to resume their long-interrupted international relations of laborers. Delegates from Korea, China, Mongolia, Java and Japan gathered for the conference. At this meeting, the importance of organizing a Communist Party in JAPAN and of taking concerted action was stressed. The futility of scattered and independent action by Communists in small circles and groups was emphasized.

The JAPAN Communist Party was initiated on 5 Jul 22 following our return to Japan after having received this baptism. The Communist Party was to be organized with the Wednesday Club, the Thursday Club, and the GYOMINKAI as its core and with small groups of Communists and individual Communists participating. Comrades NOZAKA and YAMAMOTO Kenzo, who were in the All-Japan Trade Union Federation (SODO MEI); ICHIKAWA Masakazu and his brother Yoshio, SANO Fumio and AONO Suikichi - the group which organized the proletarian class; WATANABE Manzo of the Watchmakers' Union; as well as HASHIURA Tokio and YOSHIKAWA Morikuni; and HANAOKA Kiyoshi; NABEYAMA Sadachika and NAKAMURA Yoshiaki from OSAKA; TSUJII Taminosuke, KOKURIO Goichiro, TANIGUCHI Zentaro, and HANYA Tamazo from KYOTO; KISHINO Shigeharu of the SUIHEISHA; and SHIGA Yoshio, KURODA Hisao, ASANUMA Inajiro, ARAI Kuninosuke, SANO Manabu, INOMATA Tsunao, HIRABAYASHI Hatsunosuke, and KURODA Reiji, representing the instructors and the students responded immediately.

The first meeting was held on the second floor of a house in SHIBUYA Ku, TOKYO. On this occasion, only a brief set of regulations and the more urgent business of the Party was decided. We next met in November of the same year at a restaurant situated in ISHIGAMII at which time we discussed the general principles and policies. Out of this deliberation was born a set of principles, the first of which called for the abolition of the Emperor system, and the second of which advocated the abolition of the Privy Council, the House of Peers, and General Staff Headquarters. Other general principles included advocacy of the eight-hour day, confiscation of large estates, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, and the abolition of the standing army. The main theme throughout was the stamping out of all vestiges of feudalism and feudalistic practices. The abolition of the Emperor system became a major issue on that occasion and SANO Manabu opposed it. This incident clearly shows that he was fundamentally on the wrong side from that time on.

At the first meeting, SAKAI, YAMAKAWA, ARAHATA, TAKATSU, HASHIURA, YOSHIKAWA, and TOKUDA were elected to the central committee and SAKAI was made its chairman. The Party carried on very minor activities using the homes of SAKAI and YAMAKAWA as the headquarters. Thus at the fourth general assembly of the COMINTERN which was held in 1923, the participation

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by a very small JAPAN Communist Party was announced. On that occasion ZINOVIEV declared that this Party, although it was small in size, possessed very strong unity since it was not an outgrowth of the Social Democratic Party, as was the case in a number of other countries, but an organization which, from its very beginning was guided by true Communists.

In December 1922 the Young Communist League was established. At that time it was called the Communist Youth League. Its organizing committee consisted of KAWAI Yoshitora, TAKASE Kiyoshi, SANO Manabu, ARAI Kuninosuke, INOMATA Tsunao, and TOKUDA, with KAWAI as its chairman.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE LABOR FRONT AND THE SECOND PARTY CONFERENCE

Around June 1922, very shortly after my return from MOSCOW, a movement was initiated in JAPAN to unify the nation's labor unions, and a conference was held at TENNOJI in OSAKA in which practically all of the major labor unions participated. At this conference the assertion made by the All-Japan Trade Union Federation that unity should be achieved by centralizing power clashed with the insistence of the OSUGI Sakae faction that it should be accomplished through a loose confederation which would be led by anarchists. This led to heated verbal attacks, until finally the chief of police had to order the disbanding of the meeting. Thus, this meeting which held so much promise was utterly wrecked. During those days the Communist Party supported the doctrine of unifying labor unions through the centralization of power as advocated by the All-Japan Trade Union Federation, and fought vigorously through factions, but failed withal in the end. In the first place, it was unreasonable to hope for centralization and national unity in the labor front when, in those days, the labor union movement had not yet reached the stage where even a single plant was fully organized. In the second place, the guidance of the Communist Party was wrong in that it tended to be too idealistic. These two points are worthy of deep thought and study. I was in a position where I could not show my face in public so I took a room in a small hotel in the NIHON BASHI district of OSAKA and communicated secretly with my comrades.

The second Party conference was held in 1923 at the ITCHOKUEN in ICHIKAWA Shi. The main points on the agenda for this meeting were the revision and amendment of the constitution and the re-election of members of the Central Committee. The election returned SAKAI Toshihiko as the chairman of the Central Committee and ARAHATA Katsuzo, SANO Manabu, KOIWAI Kiyoshi, HASHIURA Tokio and YOSHIKAWA Morikuni as committee members. Neither YAMAKAWA Hitoshi, TAKATSU Masamichi, nor myself (TOKUDA) were elected to the Central Committee at this conference, but there is an interesting story behind this. At that time a major issue arose over whether the Communist Party would approve of a "Diet Struggle" or not, and I got into a heated argument with people from the GYOMINKAI on this subject. We reached a stalemate and the outcome was that both the GYOMINKAI group and myself were removed from the Central Committee. At that time I advocated an aggressive diet struggle, fighting against the disapproval of the resistance voiced by the YAMAKAWA Hitoshi faction and the anti-regular election policy of SANO Manabu on the one hand, and criticizing thoroughly the rightist social democratic parliamentarianism of the SAKAI Toshihiko faction on the other. For this reason, the rank and file of the GYOMINKAI came to the defense of SAKAI Toshihiko and, claiming that I had plotted in MOSCOW to banish SAKAI from the Communist Party, played the matter up as a Party question. Then, while I was away in SHANGHAI, they made a report on the Inaugural Convention of the

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JAPAN Communist Party and pushed through disciplinary action prohibiting me from holding any office for a period of two years. However, I returned to JAPAN shortly thereafter and, learning of this action, I fought bitterly against it. The Party revoked the punishment and compromised by barring the GYOMINKAI group and myself from membership in the Central Committee. Of course, the Party was controlled rigidly under governmental pressure, but the revolution had progressed by leaps and bounds in GERMANY and movements were being carried out actively in ITALY and HUNGARY, so I argued that we must move along with world trends and take positive steps to expand the Party and campaign actively for new Party members. However, many people were afraid of this governmental pressure and did not back my assertion. During those days, the situation in JAPAN was fairly advanced, even to the degree that NISHIO Suchiro, who is now in the Socialist Party, participated actively in the labor union movement which was temporarily under the influence of the Party.

STRUGGLE AGAINST MILITARY EDUCATION AT WASEDA UNIVERSITY

It was in May of that year (1923) that the Waseda University Military Education Incident occurred and was followed on 4 June by a roundup of Communist Party members. The incident started from the fact that AOYAGI Atsutane, who was a professor at Waseda University, conspired with TANAKA Giichi and other militarists who were striving to preserve in substance the power of the military clique in the face of the then prevailing world trend in favor of armament reduction, and embarked on the use of the school system for reserve officer training which was the forerunner of the Reserve Officer Candidate system. They went so far as to have the organization for military education set up within the University and to hold an inauguration program.

The Waseda Cultural League which embraced progressive students belonging to the Waseda Cultural Society and to the Founders League launched an attack against this under the leadership of the Communist Party. The person who led this movement was ITO Ushinosuke, a son born of a concubine of SHIBUSAWA Eiichi. The people openly voiced their disapproval of bringing military education into the school in the presence of Lieutenant General SHIRAKAWA Yoshinori who attended the inauguration program for the Military Education Organization. But when they attempted to launch a struggle by calling a mass meeting of the students of Waseda University, the Waseda JUC Club, a gang of roughs, principally from the Waseda Judo Department, led by KITA Kazuteru, who was assassinated during the 26 February Incident, committed acts of terrorism at the meeting and plunged the school into a bloody fracas. Thereupon, the government authorities, as if they had been waiting for such an opportunity, took advantage of this disturbance and brought more pressure to bear, using as their excuse, documents and materials which purportedly were taken from SANO Manabu's laboratory by SHIBUYA, a spy for the Metropolitan Police Department, who was always hanging around the former. The truth of the matter was that this was in retaliation for the stand taken in the military training issue and was a forcible attempt to militarize the University. SHORIKI Matsutaro, former president of the YOMIURI SHIMBUN, directed this roundup, and the first one to be arrested was SAKAI Toshihiko. As a consequence of this incident, comrade NOZAKA Sanzo, ICHIKAWA Masakazu, SUGIURA Keiichi, NISHI Masao, WATANABE Seinosuke, UEDA Shigeki, TADOKORO Teruaki and myself were imprisoned. But an interesting sidelight was that the Communist Party heard of the roundup from a certain source two days before it was to take place, so it decided to exile immediately such weak-kneed leaders as SANO Manabu, TAKATSU Masamichi and KONDO Eizo, as well as men such as YAMAMOTO Kenzo and TSUJII Taminosuke, who were absolutely indispensable

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in the labor union movement. These persons first fled to CHINA and later sought refuge in SOVIET RUSSIA.

YOUNG SYMPATHIZER

In those days I was staying on the second floor of a friend's house. I don't know how he traced me there, but a plain-clothes man came to the place. Fortunately, there was a neighborhood child of about twelve or thirteen who was very fond of me and he quietly warned me, "Someone from the police has come to arrest you". I hurriedly packed my belongings in a bag and was preparing to flee, when I heard my friend's mother insisting that "there is no one here by the name of TOKUDA Kyuichi." However, he is a friend of my son so he might possibly be at the home of my son's girl". I don't know whether or not the spy believed these words because they were uttered by a woman well over fifty years old, but at any rate, he went away without further ado. I then escaped through the back way.

I had made commitments to go to KYOTO and NAGOYA in connection with the organizing movement about that time, but I was unable to do so because of lack of funds. I called on a man named TAKAYAMA of the Ishikawajima Shipyards to try to raise this money; but in the midst of our conversation, the two TAKAYAMA children - one about seven years old and the other about 10 years old - who were Communist fans, suddenly cried out, "Father, they're here!" Realizing that the police had come after us again, we fled along the rooftops. Fortunately, the home of a laborer I knew was only three doors away, so we hid in the closet. After about one hour, we were told that all was clear, so we left our hiding place with TAKAYAMA leading the way and I following. However, we learned that a policeman was still posted one block ahead, so we hastily turned back and went to the home of an acquaintance where we had a taxi called for us. We got in the taxi and sped past the policeman, making good our escape. I stayed at a friend's home that night, and left for NAGOYA the following morning from SHIMBASHI Station. From there I went to OSAKA. After I had attended to my business, I returned home. When TAKAYAMA saw me, he urged me to go to a friend's place in FUKUSHIMA. However, the final conclusion was that since it was only a matter of one year's imprisonment for me at the very most, it would be better to get it over with instead of dodging the authorities for the rest of my life. Accordingly, I discussed the matter with YAMAZAKI Kesaya, who was a lawyer and decided to report myself to the Public Procurator's Office. The grounds for my arrest at that time was that the dissertation I gave at a certain laborer's meeting concerning the organization of riots in the event of a revolution, instigated rioting. The prosecutor and I engaged in a heated argument, I insisting, "That does not constitute a crime of instigation", and he insisting, "it is instigation". At any rate, I was sent to ICHIGAYA Prison. Shortly after I entered the prison without having had my supper, someone said "eat" and shoved a meal in front of me. It consisted almost entirely of boiled barley and had the merest smattering of vegetables; it was a meal hardly worthy of being called "food". When I ate it all and asked for a second helping, the jailor was surprised beyond words. By the following morning, I was summoned by the Examining Judge and told to appear. In those days, it was customary to wear a deep straw-hat to hide one's face when going outside the prison, but when a jailor tried to put one over my head, I snarled at him, "I'm not guilty of any outrageous crime and so I have no objection whatsoever to showing my face. I won't wear that because I won't be able to see anything if I do", and started to walk rapidly off. The jailor muttered to himself, "what a rough character", and didn't try to interfere. My conviction was that it was essential for a person in prison to be aggressive and assertive from the very first contact, and I was correct. Persons who can't even touch food in the beginning

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like MIZUNO Nario, a figure in the 15 March incident, who became dejected as soon as he entered prison and who later reminisced, "when the door to my cell clanged shut behind me, it seemed as if my life had reached its lowest ebb", always succumb. MIZUNO was so intent on getting out of prison that he lost all conviction in the revolution, and finally joined the faction favoring dissolution of the Party. In fact, he fell so low as to become a spy.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AND ICHIGAYA

I went through the great earthquake of 1 September at ICHIGAYA. Dinners are served early in prison, so when the tremors started that day, we had just finished our noon meal. We in the cells had little to worry about because each cell had a pillar to support it, enabling the rooms to withstand even a shock as great as that one was. However, in the office part, the rooms were more spacious and had fewer supporting pillars so the tremors had more effect. The roof tiles all fell down and a great commotion started at once. My cell was adjacent to the office so I heard all this commotion as well as if I were in the same room. The jailer didn't make a move to open the door to my cell, saying that he hadn't received any orders to do so. I resented this and stormed back at him, asking him if it was necessary to wait for orders in an emergency such as that was. Before long a jailer came along and unlocked my cell door. I leaped out and rushed into the office where I learned that only the Communists had been released and the other convicts were still confined in their cells in the midst of this great earthquake. I yelled, "Get everyone out. It's dangerous so let everyone out!" As a result, they finally decided to let everyone out, and the jailers unlocked the doors. Everyone rushed out with a frightened look on his face, each carrying a summer quilt and a mat.

However, it was shortly after midday and the sun was very strong outside. They had all been shut up in the cells for so long that when they went outside into the strong sunlight, some of them suffered sunstroke. I was not affected very much but my comrades, WATANAKE Seinosuke and TASHIRO Tsuneji, had convulsions because of sunstroke and their faces turned pale instantly. We consulted with the prison officials and had the persons affected by sunstroke transferred to the prison's hospital wards. We, about 800 in all, gathered in the inner courtyard. Apparently the prison officials notified the Army at the same time they released us from our cells, because troops arrived before sundown and surrounded the outer walls of the prison. In the evening they entered the courtyard and surrounded us with bayonets fixed.

Around 1500 hours that day I made a speech to my 800 prisonmates who were gathered in the courtyard. I said, "At this moment there is great confusion outside these prison walls. It is quite probable that many of our loved ones have suffered from the earthquake or the fire. Therefore, since the situation is so extraordinary, let us demand of the prison officials that all of us be released immediately. Let us choose representatives from among ourselves and start negotiations with the officials immediately".

Everyone approved of this suggestion of mine and a representatives' committee composed of one person from each prison block was formed. This was the start of the "Prison Self-governing Committee". From then on this served as the self-governing organization of and by the convicts themselves and through all those troubled days the convicts were able to deal with all matters concerning prison life - from negotiation with prison officials to the food problem - in an exemplary fashion. In other words, we achieved democracy within the prison walls, and I believe that the fact that this self-governing organization was managed so well, despite its being composed of a group of robbers and murderers, is significant in many ways and is worthy of study by all, even today. At any rate the

representatives' committee was formed, and I, as one of its members, went to the officials immediately for the purpose of negotiating over the "demand for release". However, the officials, having obtained the support of the military completely regained their composure and self-assurance and stubbornly refused to grant our request. Therefore, the committee of representatives tried a new approval, and demanded, "If you are determined not to release us, there is little we can do about it. But in that case, allow a few representatives of ours to leave the prison so that they might investigate conditions in the outside world and report to us all upon their return". The prison officials refused to allow even this, but we were firm in our insistence and they finally conceded to let officials of the prison make those reports to us. However, the prison officials, fearful of such action on our part, claimed that there was a feeling of unrest among the prisoners and, backed by the power of the Army, turned the attack against us. The outcome of this was that we were handcuffed once again. Speaking of handcuffs, they weren't prepared to band all 800 of us individually so they committed the outrage of handcuffing two persons together, although I was fortunate enough to have a pair to myself. Inmates were joined together in pairs like in a three-legged race, one man with his left wrist in the handcuffs and the other his right wrist. The most unspeakable outrage was that they even tried to handcuff comrades WATANAKE seinosuke and KAWASAKI Etsuyuki who were confined in the prison hospital ward. When I saw that, I threatened the chief jailer that if patients were handcuffed, I would charge him with intent to kill. Thereupon, he thought better of it and returned the patients to the hospital ward.

It rained on the second day after the earthquake, and we were returned to our cells on that account. I believe it was on the day following that the troops assembled in a fan-shaped formation in the open area in the center of the scattered groups of prison cells and dragged us out one by one and started the process of transferring us to different cells. If there was any sign of resistance, they beat, and kicked and resorted to all sorts of violence. And, as usual, this was done "In the name of the Emperor and in accordance with His Orders". This was a preliminary move to get us accustomed to strict discipline within the prison, a discipline which had been relaxed temporarily because of the earthquake but which they intended to restore. SUGIURA Keiichi was so badly beaten that he suffered for a week.

Shortly thereafter a steady stream of blood-stained persons were brought in by truck. All these people had been arrested for "suspected violence" and, included among their numbers, were Communists, anarchists, and even Koreans and agitators for the labor union movement and the farmers movement.

In a month's time conditions in the prison had been restored to what they had been before. Then, several scores of a new type of young men arrived. They had nothing of the appearance of a convict; they looked like mere amateurs. At the time, the exercise grounds for those in solitary confinement were in ruins because of the earthquake and the corridors adjacent to the cells were being used in their stead. Every time they passed in front of my cell I conversed with them. It turned out that they were reservists. It seems that they were imprisoned because Koreans, Chinese, Communists and anarchists had been killed in various places and these people were suspected of slaughtering them. Being reservists, they had been mobilized by their officers and placed in the massacre group. They claim, however, that all they did was to chase these people through the streets as ordered by their officers and that they did not commit any killings. They were branded as killers and arrested for the mere carrying of rifles. In short, the entire blame was up on these soldiers, and the officers and chapter presidents of the Reservists Association who were the real culprits feigned innocence. I encouraged these persons, telling them, "whatever happens, don't let the prosecutor put anything over on you". At the same time, I contacted the Liberal Bar Association and had them carry on an all-out fight against such detestable maneuvers by the military clique and the police. Of course, these charges were baseless and

most of them were acquitted. Even so I imagine that they were indignant beyond words at having been falsely accused of such a heinous crime as murder so unconscionably.

The Prison as a Place to Study

The prison cannot be called a decent place by any manner of means, but one good thing about it is that, being shut off from the outside world, it gives a person a chance to do some serious study. The outside world is full of hustle and bustle. There people drink and worry about various things. But in prison there is none of that. Since there are no distracting thoughts, a person can really get something out of any book he reads. Of course, in prison one isn't free to read any book he chooses. On the contrary, we were seldom allowed to read the books we really would have liked to read. Fortunately, the value of a book depends, in part, on the way the reader reads it, which means that if one has sound reading habits, he is able to derive something worthwhile out of any book. In this way the value of good books is enhanced and even mediocre ones come to serve a purpose.

I read a wide variety of books during my stay in ICHIGAYA. I read anything I could lay my hands on, including the autobiography of SHIBUSAWA Eiichi, and the vainglorious writings and the teachings of YASUDE Zenjiro. In these works the schemes used by the capitalists to gain maximum profits and to exploit labor most skillfully and thoroughly appear very clearly between the lines which on the surface seem entirely reasonable. In that sense, these books may be called "required reading" for our Party. For instance, YASUDA Zenjiro had an extreme dislike for speculative ventures and absolutely forbade those under him to deal in speculation. He stated that any person who once experiences the feeling of making money by speculating soon becomes a victim of its allure and is likely to go astray. Actually, however, this person who preached such teachings was himself a speculator to the nth degree. Furthermore, his methods were bold to the extreme. In short, his "dislike for speculation" was motivated by the fact that he did not want his employees to become so involved in their speculations that they would forget their duties as employees. Actually, it was nothing more than a lecture calculated to satisfy his own acquisitive nature. This is potently evident to anyone who reads his sermons.

Senior Members' Theories on Party Dissolution and the Strengthening of the Party

Upon being released from prison after the earthquake, I learned that a world-wide wave of counter-revolution has started, as an outgrowth of the defeat of the revolution in GERMANY, LENIN called this set of conditions "a period of temporary equilibrium", while BUKHARIN called it "a period of stability". Some say that this period lasted until the great panic in AMERICA in late 1929, while the COMINTERN claims that the end of this period was marked by the revolution in CHINA which broke out in 1927. At any rate, we were freed during this "period of temporary equilibrium" in world capitalism and at a time when revolutionary influence was weakening and was being defeated all over the world. Nor was JAPAN an exception. Extreme unrest prevailed among the old-timers of the Party like SAKAI and YAMAKAWA and in SANO Fumio's camp. They claimed that it was impossible to have a Communist Party organization in JAPAN and advocated the dissolution of the Party for the time being. Moreover, they adhered to the so-called "spontaneous eruption theory" which claims that a revolution would occur spontaneously when the time came for it. As a matter of fact, there were a number of weak elements within the Party. These elements were disappointed and discouraged by the universal weakening of the revolution and fearful of the possibility of continued arrests. They expressed such opinions to rationalize their discouragement and their fears. Labor interests and young men within the party opposed this and insisted that the Party should be reorganized and allowed to continue.