

Enclosure to Despatch No. 314 dated
May 16, 1949 from the Office of
the Political Adviser for Japan,
Tokyo on the subject "Prime Minister's
Address at Tokyo's Correspondents
Club".

CAUTION CAUTION CAUTION

PLEASE OBSERVE THE RELEASE TIME

FOR AUTOMATIC RELEASE AT 8 P.M. TOKYO TIME, MAY 11, 1949
WHICH IS 1000 GMT MAY 11, 1949

ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER
AT THE FIRST ANNUAL PRIME
MINISTER'S DINNER OF THE
TOKYO CORRESPONDENTS' CLUB.

11 MAY, 1949

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THIS HAS BEEN TO ME A MOST DELIGHTFUL AND MEMORABLE
EVENING. YOU HAVE ACCORDED ME A SIGNAL HONOR BY INVITING ME
TO THIS FIRST ANNUAL PRIME MINISTER'S DINNER OF YOUR CLUB.
I THANK YOU FOR THIS HONOR AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY.

YOU FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS ARE SERVING HERE AS EYES AND
EARS FOR THE WORLD WITH RESPECT TO EVERYTHING THAT HAPPENS
IN TOKYO, IN JAPAN AND IN THE FAR EAST. DURING THE EVENTUAL
YEARS SINCE THE WAR'S END YOU HAVE DONE MONUMENTAL WORK IN
OBSERVING, INTERPRETING AND REPORTING THE POSTWAR DEVELOPMENTS
IN JAPAN.

JAPAN IS AS YET AN OCCUPIED COUNTRY UNDER ALLIED CONTROL
AND TUTELAGE. IT IS ONLY THROUGH THE HELP AND GUIDANCE OF THE
ALLIED POWERS THAT OUR NATION CAN MAKE PROGRESS ON THE ROAD OF
RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION. IT IS ONLY THROUGH YOUR UNDER-
STANDING, SYMPATHY AND COOPERATION THAT WE CAN OBTAIN THE

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UNDERSTANDING, SYMPATHY AND COOPERATION OF THE WORLD OUTSIDE, WHICH ARE SO NECESSARY TO SPEED RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION. YOU HAVE NOT ONLY ACTED AS HELPFUL INTERMEDIARIES BETWEEN JAPAN AND OTHER NATIONS, BUT HAVE ALSO ASSUMED THE ROLE OF FRIENDS AND MONITORS, LIVING IN DIRECT CONTACT AND ASSOCIATION WITH US AND GIVING FREELY YOUR COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS ON THE BEHAVIOR OF THE NATION. IN THAT SENSE, YOU ARE NOT ONLY RECORDERS, BUT ALSO MAKERS OF THE HISTORY OF NEW JAPAN. I DESIRE TO EXPRESS TO YOU MY SINCERE APPRECIATION OF THE SPLENDID ROLE YOU HAVE PLAYED IN THE PAST, AND ASK YOU FOR YOUR CONTINUED COLLABORATION TO THE END THAT JAPAN MAY RISE FROM THE RUINS OF WAR A NEW NATION, CHASTENED AND FREE.

NOW LET ME AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OCCASION TO CORRECT WHAT I CONSIDER A FALSE IMPRESSION OF MYSELF AND MY PARTY, THAT SEEMS TO BE TAKING ROOT IN THE MINDS OF SOME FOREIGN OBSERVERS.

I AND MY FELLOW DEMOCRATIC-LIBERALS ARE OFTEN DESCRIBED IN FOREIGN BOOKS, MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS AS "ULTRA-CONSERVATIVES," "REACTIONARIES" OR "DIE-HARDS." IT SO HAPPENS, THESE ARE THE VERY EPITHETS WHICH ARE HURLED AT US BY OUR ANTAGONISTS IN AND OUT OF THE DIET IN ORDER TO DISCREDIT US AT HOME AND ABROAD.

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IF YOU CHECK UPON HISTORY, YOU WILL FIND THAT MYSELF AND SOME OF MY ASSOCIATES WERE HELD BY THE KEMPEI TAI (MILITARY POLICE) AS RADICALS. THAT WAS BECAUSE WE DID NOT SUBSCRIBE TO THE CREEDS AND DOCTRINES OF THE MILITARY AND THE ULTRA NATIONALISTS WHO WERE IN POWER AND WHO LED THE NATION TO DESTRUCTION. THEY WERE THE RADICALS. WE STOOD FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY WE DESIRED TO CONSERVE THE BEST IN JAPANESE INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES, AND WERE THEREFORE CONSERVATIVES. THE POSITION MY PARTY AND MYSELF OCCUPY TODAY IS DIFFERENT ONLY IN THE SENSE THAT WE ARE THE PARTY IN POWER. WE ARE CONSERVATIVES NOW WITH THE SAME OBJECTIVES. WE HARBOUR NO DESIGNS FOR AGGRESSION OR CONQUEST. NO ONE CAN FAIRLY LEVEL A CHARGE THAT THE PRESENT JAPANESE GOVERNMENT HAS ANY DESIRE OTHER THAN TO FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT THE PROVISIONS OF THE POTSDAM DECLARATION AND THE SURRENDER TERMS. WE ARE STRIVING IN EVERYWAY TO CONFORM TO THE PRINCIPLES WHICH WOULD MAKE THE WORLD A HAPPY FAMILY OF PEACE LOVING NATIONS.

UNFORTUNATELY, JAPAN IS FACED BY OBSTACLES THAT ARE MOST DIFFICULT TO OVERCOME OR REMOVE. FOR US, TODAY, OUR ONLY ALLIES ARE A WILL TO SURVIVE ON OUR PART AND THE BENEVOLENCE AND MUNIFICENCE OF THE UNITED STATES. OUR UNDYING GRATITUDE IS DUE TO THE KINDLY, HELPFUL AND CONSIDERATE SUPPORT AND DIRECTION OF THAT GREAT EMISSARY OF LIGHT AND LIFE, THE SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS AND THE MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF AND HIS COMMANDS.

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WE FEEL AS WE HAVE ALWAYS FELT, THAT GENERAL MACARTHUR WITH HIS FINE INHERENT SENSE OF JUSTICE HAS CONTRIBUTED IMMEASURABLY TO SPEED US ON THE ROAD TO RECOVERY. WITHOUT HIS GUIDANCE, KINDLY WORDS AND FIRMNESS OF PURPOSE OUR PROBLEMS WOULD ALL HAVE PROVED MUCH HARDER AND OUR BURDENS HEAVIER.

IN JUDGING OUR ACTIONS FROM HERE OUT I BELIEVE THAT IT IS ONLY FAIR TO ASK THAT YOU CONSIDER US IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONDITION IN WHICH WE FOUND OURSELVES WHEN MY PARTY CAME INTO POWER.

I REALIZE THAT ONE OF THE FRAILTIES OF THE HUMAN MIND IS ITS CAPACITY TO ENTERTAIN THOUGHTS OF DOUBT, OF REPROACH, REVENGE AND CRITICISM. ALMOST ALL JAPANESE HAVE ALL OF THOSE FEELINGS TOWARDS THE "ULTRAS" WHO IMPOSED UPON THEM DICTATORSHIP, AND LED THEM TO WAR AND TO DEFEAT, DESTRUCTION AND UNSPEAKABLE SHAME AND MISERY. I CAN ONLY ASK THAT THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED FROM JAPANESE AGGRESSION MAY TEMPER THEIR THOUGHTS OF REVENGE AND RETRIBUTION AS OURS ARE TEMPERED BY OUR PITIFUL POSITION BEFORE THE WORLD AND THE NECESSITY TO SURVIVE AS WELL AS THE REALIZATION THAT REVENGE AND RETRIBUTION ARE NEVER CONSTRUCTIVE.

BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND AMONG NATIONS THERE IS AN INHERENT COMPETITION. WE ARE COGNIZANT OF THE CONSTANT RIVALRY IN TRADE AND COMMERCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THERE ARE MANY WHO WOULD FOR THE MOMENT RESTRICT JAPANESE IN MANY FIELDS OF ACTIVITY. THEY OBJECT TO JAPANESE GOODS BEING OFFERED IN WORLD

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MARKET BECAUSE THEY FEAR OUR TRADE EXPANSION WOULD MAKE JAPAN STRONG--THAT IS, MAKE HER AGAIN A THREAT TO PEACE. MAINLY, THOSE WHO OBJECT TO A PROGRAM OF SURVIVAL FOR THE NEW JAPAN ARE THOSE WHO WERE THE VICTIMS OF THE FEAR INPLANTED BY HISTORY. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ARGUE WITH HISTORY, BUT NEITHER CAN WE LIVE IN THE PAST. IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO REVIEW HISTORY OR THE PAST WITHOUT PREJUDICED EYES AS THE HISTORY IS TOO FRESH. HOWEVER TO JUDGE THE PATH JAPAN WILL FOLLOW TODAY BY THE PATTERN FOLLOWED TEN, TWENTY OR THIRTY YEARS AGO IS HARDLY APPROPRIATE.

YOU HAVE A DIFFERENT CONDITION TODAY. JAPANESE FINGERS HAVE BEEN BURNT BECAUSE BY FOLLOWING BLINDLY THEIR MASTERS THEY WERE LEAD LIKE LAMBS TO SLAUGHTER. ALL WE ARE ASKING NOW IS ACCESS TO MATERIALS AND MARKETS SO THAT WE MAY BUY THE FOOD WE NEED TO LIVE. WE MUST PRODUCE AND TRADE TO BE SELF-SUPPORTING. WE DO NOT WANT TO BE INDEFINITELY A PAUPER NATION FORCED TO DEPEND ON THE LARGESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO USE OUR HONEST CAPABILITIES TO PROVIDE OURSELVES WITH AN HONEST LIVING THROUGH FAIR COMPETITION IN A PEACEFUL WORLD.

OUR GROWING POPULATION CONFRONTS US WITH A TREMENDOUS PROBLEM WHICH WE CAN ONLY PARTLY SOLVE BY USING MODERN TECHNIQUES TO EXTRACT THE MAXIMUM OF FOOD FROM OUR LIMITED AREAS. WE MUST PROMOTE INDUSTRY AND EXPAND TRADE WITH OTHER NATIONS. THIS WE AIM TO DO. WE HAVE ACCEPTED THE 9 POINT RECOVERY PROGRAM AND ARE RESOLVED TO RELIGIOUSLY CARRY OUT EACH PHASE OF IT.

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I HOPE I HAVE SUCCEEDED IN SOME MEASURE IN CONVEYING TO YOU THE TREND OF THE THINKING OF MY PARTY AND MYSELF. IF IN THESE THOUGHTS THERE IS ANYTHING "ULTRA CONSERVATIVE" OR ANYTHING "REACTIONARY," THEN I DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE MEANING OF THOSE TERMS.

WE ARE A CONSERVATIVE PARTY, BUT NOT "ULTRA-CONSERVATIVES" IN THE DEROGATORY AND ABUSIVE SENSE THE TERM IS EMPLOYED. WE ONLY STAND FOR SENSE, SANITY, AND MODERATION, SUBSCRIBING TO WHAT GENERAL MACARTHUR CALLS "CONSERVATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT." I HOPE YOU WILL NOT BE DECEIVED BY THE PROPAGANDA OF OUR POLITICAL ENEMIES.

TRUE, WE DO NOT SEE EYE TO EYE WITH THE SOCIALISTS. WE ABHOR COMMUNISM. IN THAT SENSE, WE ARE DEFINITELY OF THE RIGHT. BUT WE HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT WE ARE ALSO IN THE RIGHT.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

FE
NA-File

TO : NA - Mr. Bishop
FROM : NA - M. Green *mg*
SUBJECT: Tokyo's 265 of April 28, 1949

DATE: 5/18/49

Based on the results of the January general elections, the Central Executive of the JCP has publicly announced the party's new struggle principles. These principles emphasize popular-front strategy, being critical of the party's failure so far to achieve progress in that direction. They also attack the Government's plan to introduce foreign ("comprador") capital into Japan and attack all phases of the stabilization program, particularly its taxation and labor rationalization phases.

The JCP announcement includes the statement: "each struggle will emphasize that the choice is between a democratic people's government, in other words seizure of powers by the people, and annihilation". According to Mr. Spinks ~~Spinks~~, this statement signifies that previous JCP concepts of "peaceful revolution" have been discarded in favor of a situation of undisguised revolution by force, but that this strategy will probably be held in check during the occupation. Mr. Spinks regards this change of strategy as based on the election results which encouraged the Communists to become more aggressive and violent.

The JCP announcement recognizes that an effective united front will require a skillful harmonizing under Communist leadership of varied elements of supporters in different occupations. This will require the careful training and education of party members, with emphasis on "working principles" as opposed to theory.

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ADDITIONAL COPY ATTACHED
TO BE INDEXED in lieu
of the record copy.



IN SERVICE

THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

MAY 31 1949

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

United States Political Adviser
for Japan

No. 322

Tokyo, May 19, 1949.

SECRET

(For Department Use Only)

①

Subject: OYAMA Ikuo

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The Chargé d'Affaires ad interim has the honor to refer to the Department's airgram no. A-73 of April 28, 1949, concerning the circumstances which surrounded the return to Japan of Professor OYAMA Ikuo in September 1947, and to transmit a memorandum on this subject prepared by an officer of this Mission who at the time of Professor Oyama's return was in the Military Intelligence Section of General Headquarters and was concerned with this problem.

Due to the sensitive character of the case, this Mission has not approached the Military Intelligence Section for further information on this subject. A detailed report on Professor Oyama's activities with some reference to circumstances surrounding his return to Japan in 1947 is contained in the Military Intelligence Section's Periodical Summary, issue number 39, dated April 15, 1949, Section IV Special Articles.

Enclosure:

Memorandum May 19, 1949,
on Oyama Ikuo by FSO
C. N. Spinks.

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Enclosure to Tokyo's Despatch
No. 322 dated May 19, 1949 from
the United States Political Adviser
for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject
"Oyama Ikuo".

SECRET

(For Department Use Only)

MEMORANDUM

Subject: OYAMA Ikuo

With the exception of the late KATAYAMA Sen and NOSAKA Sanzo, Professor OYAMA Ikuo was without doubt Japan's outstanding political exile during his long sojourn in the United States from 1932 to 1947. Until the middle of the war, he lived quietly at Northwestern University, working in the Political Science Department under the tutelage and patronage of Professor Kenneth COLEGROVE. About 1943-1944, however, as more consideration began to be given to the shape Japan was to assume after the war, attention began to center on Professor Oyama both as a source for information and as a potential postwar leader in Japan. American communists and various left-wingers among Americans and Japanese residing in the United States became convinced that some kind of leftist popular front would emerge in postwar Japan and began to approach Professor Oyama as a possible leader.

There is no doubt that Professor Oyama by this period was himself swinging much further to the left than he had ever been when he engaged in political activities in Japan before 1932, and was highly susceptible to the advances made by communists in the United States.

Shortly after Japan's surrender and the emergence of leftist and communist parties in Japan, considerable agitation began among left-wing Japanese for the purpose of promoting Professor Oyama's return. This agitation embraced a rather wide range of political sentiment from communists and communist sympathizers to such relatively conservative elements as leaders of the Social Democratic Party, including Mr. KATAYAMA Tetsu, later premier, who signed a petition urging his return.

It is obvious that left-wing politicians in Japan hoped Professor Oyama would return primarily because they desired to use him, believing that his reputation would greatly enhance their parties. The Japan Communist Party, however, at no time expressed openly an opinion on Oyama's return. Some communists in a personal capacity welcomed the idea, but available information indicates that the party itself was, at that time, somewhat sceptical of Oyama and considered him a political opportunist. There was also some fear expressed in communist circles that Professor Oyama might be able to organize a new, aggressive left-wing party which would compete with the Japan Communist Party, or that he might head a popular front movement which, because of Oyama's reputation and great appeal, might easily get out of the communists' control. Since his return to Japan, however, the

Japanese

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Enclosure to Tokyo's
Despatch No. 322,
May 19, 1949.

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Japanese Communists have taken a much more favorable attitude toward Oyama for they have apparently found that he can be used effectively for front purposes.

While left-wing agitation for Professor Oyama's return increased during 1946 and 1947, there are indications that personnel of extreme leftist sympathy who were then in the Government Section of General Headquarters began to take a keen interest in having Oyama return to Japan and play a role in leftist politics. At this time also Professor Colegrove was a special assistant to Brigadier General Courtney WHITNEY, chief of the Government Section. While not a communist sympathizer, Professor Colegrove also apparently believed that Oyama would provide Japan with dynamic liberal leadership. In some of his correspondence with academic associates in the United States, photostats of which the undersigned has seen, Professor Colegrove stated that he urged General Whitney to make arrangements for Oyama's return and that the chief of the Government Section was favorable to the suggestion.

The correspondence of Professor Colegrove in reference was written after Colegrove returned to the United States in 1947 before Oyama returned to Japan. In the meantime, Mr. MUKOYAMA Teruo, a Chicago businessman who financed Professor Oyama's activities, had arranged a speaking tour for Oyama on the Pacific West Coast and in Hawaii. During this tour in July and August, 1947, Oyama revealed his sympathies for the communists and was in close touch with Japanese and American communists on the West Coast and in Hawaii. Professor Colegrove was alarmed and apparently disillusioned by these developments, and in his correspondence referred to above expressed regret that he had been in part instrumental in having General Whitney "arrange" for Oyama's return to Japan.

It is not known just what these alleged "arrangements" were. General Whitney has vehemently denied to the Chief of the Military Intelligence Section that he was in any way responsible for Oyama's return. So far as the undersigned can recall, at no time during extensive investigations of Oyama's return to Japan and his subsequent activities was any information developed as to the manner in which arrangements were made for his return, except that financial arrangements were apparently made by Mr. Mukoyama who in subsequent intercepted correspondence has indicated some misgivings on this point.

It is believed that the full story of Professor Oyama's return to Japan must be found in the files of the Department of the Army.

C. N. Spinks
C. N. Spinks
Foreign Service Officer.

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

file

United States Political Adviser
for Japan

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Tokyo, May 23, 1949.

Dear Max:

With reference to your letter of April 15, 1949 addressed to Mr. Sebald, I am transmitting two lists of political prisoners released from Japanese prisons at the end of the war, prepared by the Military Intelligence Section, General Headquarters.

Inadequate records were apparently kept at the time of release of political prisoners in 1945, and it is impossible to indicate the political affiliations of all individuals. Enclosure one, which was originally prepared by the Japanese Government, is believed to be a complete list of all political prisoners released at the time, exclusive of thirty-nine individuals of foreign nationality. Enclosure two is a list of the specific individuals released by General Headquarters directive of October 4, 1945, giving actual or suspected political affiliations.

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Sincerely yours,

Cloyce K. Huston

Enclosures:

1. List of political prisoners prepared by Japanese Government.
2. List of political prisoners released by General Headquarters.

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Max W. Bishop, Esquire,
Chief, Division of Northeast
Asian Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

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CONFIDENTIAL**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS**

Military Intelligence Section, General Staff

POLITICAL PRISONERS RELEASED AFTER THE WAR.

A. Under the Ministry of Justice (439 persons)

Name	Location
MIURA, Nomizo	Tokyo Detention Center
SASAKI, Michio	"
NAKAMURA, Jozo	"
OKABAYASHI, Kiyo	"
MIZUTANI, Nobuo	"
MIZUTANI, Yasuko	"
NAKANISHI, Isao	"
OGURA, Masao	"
NAKANISHI, Sanyo	"
AMATATSU, Tadao	"
KIYOHARA, Michihisa	"
TANAKA, Takashi	"
MAEDA, Hideo	"
KAWANO, Wasaku	"
IKUISHI, Tomoo	"
IKEDA, Hiroshi	"
UCHIYAMA, Hiromasa	"
ANABA, Saburo	"
URABE, Fumi	"
UCHIDA, Tomio	"
GORO, Terao	"
NISHIOKA, Michiko	"
IIMA, Tetsutaro	"
MAEDA, Toyoji	Fuchu Prison
SAEGUSA, Atsuzane	"
SUDO, Seichiro	"
ONO, Seichi	"
MATSUNAGA, Kojiro	"
KOITABASHI, Shoichi	Kosuga Prison
NASUDA, Kei	"

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Political Prisoners released after the War (Page 2)

Name	Location
MIKI, Tokuchika	Kosuga Prison
TAMEGA, Missuo	"
YOSHIKAWA, Yoshitaro	Shibuya Police Station
YOSHIZAWA, Tadabumi	Yotsuya " "
MIYA, Naoji	YOYOGI " "
NOHARA, Shiro	Suginami " "
KAMIYAMA, Shigeo	Tokyo Detention Center
TOMISHIMA, Eiji	Yokohama Prison
Sugiura, Masahiro	"
TANAKA, Gizo	"
TAGUCHI, Toshiro	"
YAMAKAWA, Nobuhiro	"
HARADA, Kaoru	"
YAMAHARA, Shuichi	"
AKITA, Minoru	"
YOSHIKAWA, Tomizo	"
HASEGAWA, Hiroshi	"
SAKAI, Sadakichi	"
MAEZAWA, Kaku	"
RI-Ten	"
MIYAKE, Kenichi	"
KOIKE, Hideo	"
MURAKAMI, Yoshio	"
WATANABE, Konosuke	"
OKUBO, Monzo	Kuki Police Station
OKUBO, Mitsuru	Chiba Prison
NAKAMURA, Sadao	"
MORIYOSHI, Odashima	Mito Prison
TAKAHASHI, Haruyo	"
MORI, Fukuyoshi	"

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Political Prisoners released after the War (Page 3)

Name	Location
HAKOSAKI, Masuo	Mito Prison
TACHIKAWA, Mitsue	"
KURIHARA, Hyakuju	"
NUMATA, Hidesato	"
KASUGA, Shoichi	Utsunomiya Prison
YAMAGISHI, Misao	Tochigi Branch Prison
NISHIOKA, Junko	"
NOSE, Sadako	"
YAMAGISHI, Hiroshi	Maebashi Prison
YOSHIDA, Kenji	"
SATO, Koji	"
YOSHIDA, Yasunobu	Kofu Prison
HAYAKAWA, Tatsusaburo	Nagano Prison
HINO, Miyoshi	"
KOBAYSAHI, Masao	"
SHIMADA, Keichi	"
MIYAZAWA, Kunimatsu	"
HASHIMOTO, Sahichi	"
SATO, Shonosuke	"
NAKAGAMI, Ichisaku	"
KANEMITSU, Gonichi	"
FUTAMURA, Hisaichi	"
MURAI, Wasui	"
TSUNETA, Keijiro	"
Jo-Kyo	"
Ri-Guoku-Ran	"
O-Ko-Sho	"
Cho-Gi-Tei	"
Kan-Mo-Sai	"
KAWAZOE, Takayuki	Niigata Prison
IGARASHI, Chuji	"

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Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 4)

Name	Location
ASHIDA, Haru	Kyoto Prison
IWAMOTO, Iwao	"
OKAMOTO, Hiroaki	"
TSUDA, Kazuhiko	"
TADA, Tamoharu	Osaka Prison
KITAGAWA, Munezo	"
TAGUCHI, Kenichi	"
YASUDA, Mitsuo	"
TAKABAYASHI, Yoshiyuki	"
TAKENAKA, Yoshiro	"
IHARA, Keihin	"
SHIGEMURA, Eiko	"
HIROTA, Heikei	"
NOGUCHI, Toshio	"
KOEZU, Shigemasu	"
TAKAGI, Taku	"
KOSHIKAWA, Masataka	"
MORI, Teiichi	"
YOSHIMOTO, Keicho	"
SATO, Koshaku	"
KIYOI, Sodo	"
HENYA, Togyo	"
NAGATA, Genji	"
NAGASAWA, Muryu	"
TOMURA, Chinji	"
MATSUOKA, Harumoto	"
Go-Shin	"
OTSUBO, Jigon	"
OGAWA, Kiichi	"
HASHIMOTO, Seichi	"

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Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 5)

Name	Location
KADOBAYASHI, Yoshio	Osaka Prison
MIYAJI, Asayasu	"
SAKAI, Toyochi	"
KINOSHITA, Etsuji	"
HAI, Shoji	"
ISHIGURI, Yoshio	"
SAKURAI, Koji	"
ISHIHARA, Jisei	"
OKUJO, Seizo	"
YAMAMOTO, Saijiro	"
MORI, Sakuji	"
KONISHI, Kojiro	"
YASUHARA, Hideharu	"
TOYODA, Rikichi	"
ITONAGA, Motomu	"
IKEDA, Kiyoshi	"
KANEMITSU, Seikei	"
SUDO, Kazumitsu	"
NIIMI, Tsunetoshi	"
MATSUMOTO, Saburo	"
KURIHARA, Hiroshi	"
KANEMITSU, Nemichi	"
YOKOYAMA, TA Takashi	"
KANEMITSU, Hideo	"
SHIMIZU, Munesuke	"
YASUHARA, Hideo	"
OZAKI, Shotaro	"
NAKAGAWA, Ryuichi	"
MINEYAMA, Fumisuke	"
MURASAWA, Sukenori	"
NISHIMURA, Shiro	"
HOSHIYAMA, Hoshun	"
KITAMOTO, Toyosaburo	"

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Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 6)

Name	Location
FUJIMOTO, Zenemon	Osaka Prison.
IWAHARA, Hirohobu	"
OHARA, Taki	"
MATSUYAMA, Shushoku	"
KANAZAWA, Noritsuru	"
ARAI, Renchiku	"
NAKANO, Yoshio	"
TANAKA, Nagahide	"
MATSUBARA, Shiro	"
OOKA, Kinji	"
ONISHI, Aijiro	Osaka Detention Center
IWATA, Genemon	"
KISHIOKA, Satoru	"
KOURA, Yoshio	"
MATSUI, Hatsutarō	Kobe Detention Center
UEMATSU, Isaburo	"
Go-Oh	"
TAMAYAMA, Taro	Nara Prison
HORIUCHI, Nakahatsu	"
MATSUMOTO, Tsunekichi	"
DAIMON, Yoshio	"
OKAMOTO, Yonezo	Shiga Prison
OKAMOTO, Adere	"
MOTO, Ishimatsu	"
SUZUKI, Heijiro	"
ISHII, Ryutarō	"
SASAYA, Gembei	"
NAEMURA, Ichiro	"
IZUMI, Keitarō	"
MASANORI, Ishii (Last Name)	"
KUZUMI, Fusa	Wakayama Branch Prison

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Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 7)

Name	Location
KAGAWA, Tsuma	Wakayama Branch Prison
KOSHIBA, Ruse	"
TANAKA, Keishi	Nagoya Prison
HONDA, Masaichi	"
MITSUDA, Haruji	"
TAKAGI, Kuniharu	"
HANAYAMA, Genkei	"
FUJITA, Toichi	"
OTA, Masayuki	"
Kimbara, Hatsuo	"
TAKAYAMA, Kaijitsu	"
NISHIKIDA, Iwao	"
MIYATA, Shigeru	"
OKAWA, Kashaku	"
Rin-Gen-Ko	"
SHIMIZU, Koichi	"
ISHI, Nobuo	Shizuoka Prison
Ryu-Haku-Fu	"
Seki-Haku-Nan	"
YOSHIDA, Hisao	Mie Prison
NAKANISHI, Goshu	"
KITAGAWA, Yonezo	"
SHINGO, Noro (Last Name)	Gifu Prison
NISHIKUBO, Katsuro	"
SATO, Kakuichi	"
NAKAJIMA, Bunzo	Tsurumi-machi Branch Prison
SUZUKI, Naonobu	"
OKUMURA, Rikichi	Kanazawa Prison
HAMADA, Eiichi	"
Se-Ritsū-Min	"

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Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 8)

Name	Location
MIZUGUCHI, Masashi	Kanazawa Prison
OTO, Ryugen	"
GONDO, Eikan	"
OHARA, Hisao	"
Kiyohara, Yoshinori	"
KANAYAMA, Kiyotake	"
OYAMA, Minehiro	"
YAMAMOTO, Hidenosuke	"
O-Kan-Ketsu	Toyama Branch Prison
Yo-Bun-Ki	"
Chia-Ea-Ko	"
Ko-Ho-Rei	"
U-Zui-Do	"
Kyo-Den-Kyo	"
Ri-Chi-Chu	"
Ba-Goku-Shin	"
Yo-Sen-Tei	"
YAMAMOTO, Mitsunori	"
KIKUKAWA, Kanji	Hiroshima Prison
KADOMINAMI, Katsuhira	Okayama Prison
KANEJIMA, Teruji	Matsue Prison
TAKEUCHI, Takeo	"
NISHIDA, Isao	"
SUGIMOTO, Hiroshi	Miyagi Prison
TAKASHIMA, Shigeru	"
KAMIYAMA, Toshio	"
NISHIOKA, Keizaburo	"
HORIE, Soichi	"
HOSHIYAMA, Mitsuteru	"
KOSHIRO, Yoshinobu	"
YAMADA, Shigeshige	"

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Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 9)

Name	Location
KISHIMOTO, Shigeo	Miyagi Prison
YASUDA, Jouritsu	"
KANEMOTO, Terukuni	"
Rizu-Zai-Ki	"
Kin-Shi-Hitsu	"
MORIYAMA, Mitsumasa	"
KANDA, Omba	"
KUMIMOTO, Masao	"
SHIRAKAWA, Nobumichi	"
KAWAI, Etsuzo	"
AKAMATSU, Hideo	"
AKASHI, Junzo	"
NISHIKAWA, Hikoyoshi	"
KUNIMOTO, Honsaburo	"
ONO, Yoshihiko	"
SATO, Kinzo	"
FUKUDA, Eiji	"
OKA, Kunio	"
HARA, Takeshi	"
KASUGA, Shojiro	"
TAKENAKA, Tsunesaburo	"
UCHINO, Soji	"
KAWAI, Sadakichi	"
KAMIYAMA, Masaharu	"
TAKEDA, Shuro	"
AKIYAMA, Koji	"
AKABA, Hisashi	"
HASE, Kenkichi	"
MIYAZAWA, Hiroyuki	"
CHIBA, Hideo	"
HIJIKATA, Hisataka	"
KOYAMA, Shigesaburo	Morioka Juvenile Prison
KRAUSEN, Max	Akita Prison

CONFIDENTIAL

Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 10)

Name	Location
TAYAMA, Kojun	Akita Prison
ABE, Masao	"
YOSHIOKA, Yoshio	Aomori Prison
ITO, Kaoru	Sapporo Prison
KANEKO, Tadashi	"
RIN-Shu-Moku	"
WARANABE, Seiki	"
CHOHON, Sogen	"
KUMATA, Masago	"
HIROTA, Yoryu	"
NAKAGAWA, Kiichirō	"
MURAKAMI, Yoshi	"
HASEGAWA, Tsuruji	"
Ho-San-Retsu	"
KAWAMURA, Taku	"
SANUKI, Tokuyoshi	"
MOMOKI, Kyoshu	"
TAHARA, Kozo	"
WATANABE, Naritsuna	"
NAKAGAWA, Kazuo	"
KANEKO, Sueichi	"
HIROTANI, Shunji	"
KATO, Masaichi	"
YOSHINAGA, Hokichi	"
TAKASHI, Mantaro	"
YAJIMA, Takeshi	"
Sai-Gen-Tei	"
Sei-Gai-Kyo	"
YAMAZAKI, Sokun	"
KAYAMA, Tan	"
IWAMOTO, Shokoku	"

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Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 11)

Name	Location
Kichi-Gen-Moku	Sapporo Prison
KITA, Yukiaki	"
Ryo-Ko-Ryu	"
Igarashi, Hisaya	"
KAWAGUCHI, Rinzo	"
KIKUYA, Iwasaburo	"
UMEHARA, Tsutomu	"
KOJIMA, Hatsutaro	"
YAMASHITA, Shuichi	"
TANIYAMA, Tomitaro	"
Go-Han-Do	"
KOSHINO, Yoza	"
MATSUBARA, Genkichi	"
YASUKAWA, Yoshio	"
YONEMORI, Chobe	"
SHIRAKAWA, Iyo	"
Tei-Kei-Roku	"
HANAGASAKI, Kaichi	"
HASEGAWA, Arinobu	"
YAMANA, Masami	"
YAMASHITA, Buni	"
YASUNORI, Arinori	Daitsu Branch Prison
Cho-Jun-Sei	"
OSAWA, Shinji	"
SHIBASAKI, Yoshiharu	"
SATO, Akio	Hakodate Juvenile Prison
KANEKO, Naomasa	"
TOKUNO, Eiho	Abashiri Prison
MUROI, Hachiro	"
KASHIWADANI, Katsuo	"
KANAISHI, Takeo	"

CONFIDENTIAL

Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 12)

Name	Location
MATSUDAIRA, Giichi	Abashiri Prison
NAKAMURA, Shuichi	"
TAGUCHI, Ugenta	"
O-Shuku-Shi	"
UENO, Masakichi	"
OKUBO (MIYAZAKI), Gonjiro	"
KIRIHIRA, Taizo	Kushiro Branch Prison
KANAI, Seibai	Obihiro Prison
MIYOSHI, Yoshitaka	Yamaguchi Prison
KIYOSHIGE, Kenichi	"
KAKU, Ei-Kei	"
TOKUYAMA, Hidemoto	"
KAMIE, Hisamoto	"
Boku-Jaku-Yu	"
ISHII, Shojiro	"
NOSAKA, Shizuto	"
TAKEUCHI, Kazumi	"
KINOSHITA, Okiyoshi	"
FUJII, Kanji	"
Je-i-Ko-En	"
Ka-To-Shun	"
Ke-Sei-Chin	"
ISHIHAMA, Yoshinori	"
KATSUMI, Miura (Last Name)	"
SATO, Iwao	Iwakuni Juvenile Prison
YAJIMA, Shyuzo	Nagasaki Prison
YAMAMOTO, Shiei	"
Kin-Hei-Go	"
Ko-Sei-Hi	"
MATOKA, Seikichi	"
FUJII, Higoichi	"

CONFIDENTIAL

Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 13)

NAKAHIRA, Kazuaki	Saga Juvenile Prison
MORI, Tokihiko	Dotemachi"Branch Prison
MORINAGA, Toshio	"
SHIKASHO, Yoshiharu	"
SHIKASHO, Rokuro	"
KUMAGAYA, Ki	"
SHIMA, Shinji	"
HIRAKAWA, Hideo	Fukuoka Police Station
SHIMIZU, Shōzō	Fukuoka Prison
MASAO, Ishida (Last Name)	"
SUGIMOTO, Hiroshi	"
KIYONO, Eikichi	"
HAMATSU, Yoshikatsu	"
TERADA, Mitsugu	"
HAYAMA, Yoshiharu	"
SHIGEOKA, Hideitsu	"
SHIGEMURA, Meisaku	"
MURAMOTO, Kazuo	"
Kin-San-Ju	"
AIZAWA, Matsuichi	"
WATANABE, Masayuki	"
YOSHIMURA, Masatsugu	"
MITSUMORI, Tomeo	"
SATAKE, Kageo	Wakamatsu Branch Prison
ABEMATSU, Katsuo	Fukuoka Prison
Shaku-Zen-In	"
To-Kai-Rin	"
Ri-Jitsu	"
Han-Hyo	"
Ma-Hin-Wa	"
So-Sen-Zei	"
Ryu-Kai-Gi	"
KONNOBI, Takaaki	"
URAKAWA, Tometsugu	"

CONFIDENTIAL

Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 14)

O-Shu-Ki	Fukuoka Prison
Den-To-Kai	"
FUKUOKA, Junjiro	"
YOSHIDA, Keitaro	"
Ri-Chu-Roku	"
Ryu-Fuku-Sei	"
Rin-Ki-Ko	"
Ryu-Sei-Ka	"
Cho-Kei-Jun	"
Cho-Shi-Shi	"
Kan-Mei-Ken	"
Tei-Fu	"
Ryu-Cho-Ei	"
Chō-Shun-Mei	"
Yo-Kan-Shun	"
Chō-Ki-Sei	"
NISHIZATO, Shizuo	Kumamoto Prison
TAKARAMURA, Hiroshi	"
KANEUMI, Arine	"
OZEKI, Takashi	"
Gen-Shin-Sho	"
MIYAMOTO, Kenji	Abashiri Prison
KAMEOKA, Taigen	Matsuyama Prison
FUJIWARA, Mitsuzo	Kochi Prison
ASAI, Soichi	Takamatsu Prison
TSUDA, Minoru	Tokushima Prison
Chin-Yuwa	Tokushima Police Station
Ryu-I-Kei	Wakimachi Police Station

CONFIDENTIAL

Political Prisoners Released after the War (Page 15)

B. Under the Ministry of the Navy (28 persons)

Name	Location
KANEMURA, Inshyu	Sasebo Naval Prison
OHARA, Kensaku	"
KUSABA, Nansho	"
ARAI, Chitoku	"
Ryo-Furi-Shu	Kainan Naval Station
Rai-Zen-Sei	"
So-Ken-Sai	"
O-Sei-O	"
Taku-Ki-Shu	"
O-Yokun	"
SASAKI, Chu	Takao Naval Prison
KAWAHATA, Tsunekichi	Sasebo Naval Prison
HIRANO, Itsusen	"
OSHIRO, Shoko	"
Ko-Iki-Retsu	"
AYAMASU, Kinan	"
NAKAE, Manjissu	"
NIYAMA, Manchin	"
TAKASHIMA, Heijun	"
MIZUHARA, Masaji	"
NISHIOKA, Heikaku	"
SHIMA, Sakutaro	Ominato Naval Prison
ONO, Hisamitsu	"
KITAMURA, Tatsuki	"
KUROTA, Masaaki	"
KATAMOTO, Suehiro	"
YASUOKA, Joshin	"
SAGARA, Meikei	"
C. Under the Ministry of War (1 person)	
KASHII, Chiyoichi	Osaka Military Prison

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Political Prisoners Released by Directive, 4 October, 1945

Name	Reason for arrest
IIBUCHI, Keitaro	Suspected Communist
IMAMURA, Hideo	Communist Party Member
KAMBAYASHI, Teijiro	Liberal professor
KAMEI, Toyoji	Writer of Communist and Socialist articles.
KAMETANI, Eizo	Suspected Communist
KAMIYAMA, Shigeo	CP Member
KAWANO, Wasaku	Labor leader-opposed war
KAWAKAMI, Kenichiro	Suspected Communist
Kin Ten Kai	Head Korean CP in Japan
KISHI, Masaru	CP Member
KITANUKI, Kozo	"
KOUCHI, Kimoto	Suspected Communist
KUMATA, Masago	" "
KURIHARA, Nomoji	" "
CUROKI, Shigenori	CP Member
TOKUDA, Kyuichi	"
MATSUMOTO, Kazumi	"
MITAMURA, Shiso	"
MIZUTANI, Nobuo	Suspected Communist
MIZUTANI, Yasuko (Wife)	"
NAKANISHI, Sanyo	CP Member
NAKANISHI, Tsutomu	Susp. Communist. Charged also with being an espionage agent for Chinese CP. Sentenced to death; reduced to life; release date unknown.
NAKAYAMA, Kumetaro	Suspected Communist
HASEGAWA, Taminosuke	"
IMIYA, Masaichi	CP Member
KAMIYAMA, Toshio	"
KADONO, Shinshi	Suspected Communist
KINOSHITA, Etsuji	"

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KITAGAWA, Sozo	Suspected Communist
KOSHIKAWA, Masahiro	CP Member
KURIHARA, Hakuji	"
MORI, Teichi	Suspected Communist
NOGUCHI, Toshio	"
SHIOMI, Hiromu	CP Member
SHOJI, Maeda	Suspected Communist
SUGIMOTO, Fumio	CP Member
ARA, Ryotaro	"
HAI, Masaji	"
UCHIDA, Jokichi	Socialist
TAMURA, Masaru	Suspected Communist
TATSUNO, Yasuo	"
YOSHIDA, Toshio	"
ANEHA, Saburo	"
HAKOZAKI, Masuo	Labor left wing agitator
HAYASHIDA, Hidetoshi	Socialist
HIJIKATA, Hisayoshi	Leftist. Prob. Communist
HIGUCHI, Hirotochi	Liberal views
HIRAMATSU, Yasuhira	Active in labor movement
HIROSE, Umeji	Suspected Communist
HONDA, Shoichi	"
NAKANISHI, Goshu	"
NAWA, Toichi	"
NISHIZAWA, Takaji	CP Member
NUMATA, Hidesato	Susp. Communist. Liberal Prof.
OGURA, Masao	"
OKAWA, Keizo	"
SHIBAYAMA, Yoshiharu	"
SHIGA, Yoshio	CP Member
SHIRAI, Saben	Socialist
SANUKI, Noriyoshi	Susp. Communist
TADA, Tomeji	CP Member
TORII, Yoshijiro (Kojiro)	Socialist

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3	
TAKAGUCHI, Tetsuo	Suspected Communist
TANAKA, Takashi	"
TASHIMA, Yoshiyuki	CP Member
TERASHIMA, Chikazo	"
TOKUDA, Kyuighi	"
WATADA, Iwao	Susp. Communist
WATANABE, Osamu	"
YAMABE, Kentaro	"
YAMAGUCHI, Takaki	"
YAMAMOTO, Hiroji	"
YAMAUCHI, Jiro	CP Member
HAKAMADA, Satomi	"
ISHIKAWA, Atsushi	Susp. Communist
KAMEYA, Katsuo	"
KAWAI, Etsuzo	"
KAWAI, Teikichi	"
KITAGAWA, Yonezo	CP Member
KUMAGAE, Takashi	Communist sympathizer
MORI, Fukuyoshi	CP Member
MORINAGA, Toshio	Labor movement
NISHIKAWA, Hideyoshi	Suspected Communist
ODAJIMA, Moriyoshi	Socialist
OKA, Kunio	Communist sympathizer
ONO, Junzo	Susp. Communist
ONO, Yoshihiko	" Liberal prof.
SOJI, Uchino	Communist sympathizer
SUDO, Wako	Susp. Communist
TAKADA, Shuro	Labor movement
AKABANE, Hisashi	Susp. Communist
AKIYAMA, Koji (Frank)	"
ABE, Tsurumatsu	"

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IGARASHI, Kyuya
KUWABARA, Hajime
KURIHARA, Daizo
MISHIMURA, Shiro
KUIRHARA, Taisaku
MIYATA, Shigen
MORITA, Michisuke
MURAKAMI, Yukari

CP Member

Labor movement

" "

CP Member

"

Susp. Communist

CP Member

Labor movement

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M. Carl
28



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

United States Political Adviser
for Japan

No. 329

Tokyo, May 23, 1949.

SECRET

Subject: Japan Communist Party Organizational Terminology.

1/

The Chargé d'Affaires ad interim has the honor to transmit eight copies of a special article from the Military Intelligence Section's Periodical Summary, issue number 39 of April 15, 1949, entitled "Japan Communist Party Organizational Terminology".

Most of the terms listed represent standard communist nomenclature; some of the terms, however, are peculiar only to the Japan Communist Party. Attention is especially invited to section seven of the enclosed article which discusses the importance of standardized terminology in dealing with communist party organization and activities. This problem has been considerably complicated in Japan by the peculiarities of the Japanese language and the general lack of understanding among Japanese of the organizational structure of the communist party.

Enclosure:

"Japan Communist Party Organizational Terminology" issue no. 39 of Periodical Summary, prepared by Military Intelligence Section, GHQ, SCAP (eight copies).

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Enclosure to Tokyo's Despatch No. 329
May 23, 1949.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

No. 39

JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL TERMINOLOGY*

-
1. Introduction
 2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party
 3. Communist Position Titles
 4. Central Headquarters Departments and Bureaus
 5. Publications and Documents of Japan Communist Party
 6. Congresses, Conferences and Meetings
 7. Importance of a Standard JCP Terminology
-

1. Introduction:

The organizational complexity of the Japan Communist Party (JCP) has produced a wide variation of terminology peculiar only to the JCP. Added to this large number of new terms employed by the Communist Party is the necessity for translating these terms into English. This article is designed to establish a standard terminology with the Romaji (Japanese written in Roman letters) translations which will end the present confusion concerning terms used by the JCP and to standardize their usage.

To facilitate the use of this article as a reference work, the definitions of terms have been placed under major classifications. The standard Romaji names and translations of the most important Party terms are listed with brief explanations. A basic chart, "Command Echelons of the Japan Communist Party" is presented (page SPA -) to serve as an aid in finding the Romaji and English translations of JCP organizational terminology. The standard JCP terms in this article may have other good translations but for the sake of uniformity, these standard terms are recommended.

The most frequently used mis-translations of JCP terms are described in order to emphasize the undesirability of the use of such terms. The standard terminology established in an appendix to the CIS Periodical Summary No. 34, 15 Nov 48, entitled "Alphabetical Index of Leftist Organizations in Japan" is not repeated in this article and should be consulted for that phase of Communist activity.

2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party:

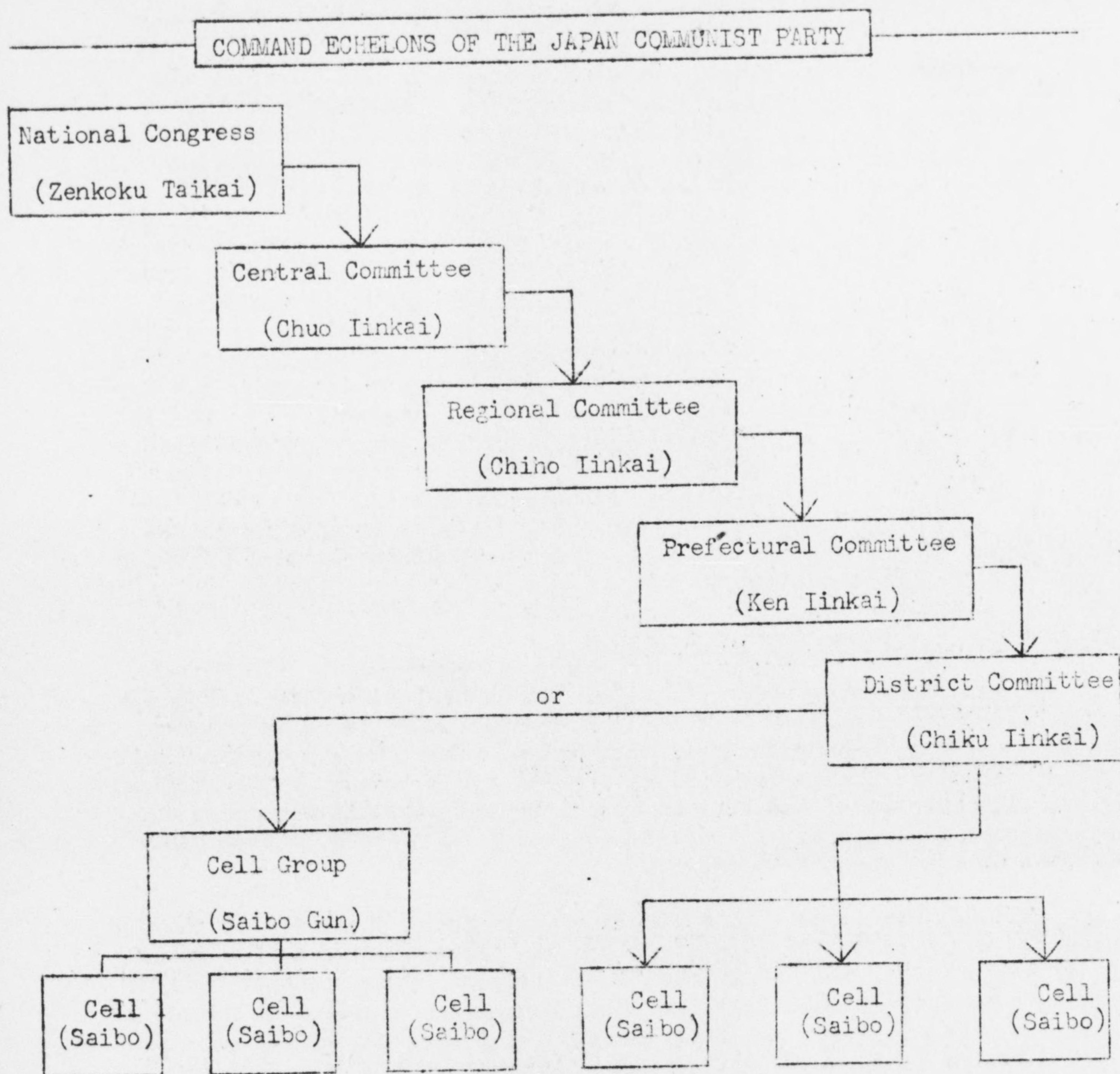
a. Central Committee (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee of the JCP is the national organ charged with the implementation of policies decided by the National Congress or National Convention. This committee also formulates and executes all necessary policy between the sessions of the National Congress. All members of the Central Committee are publicly announced and it is incorrect to refer to all representatives from the JCP Central Headquarters as Central Committee members.

b. Regional Committee (Chiho Iinkai): A Regional Committee of the JCP embraces several Prefectural Committees and can be considered to be operational in scope rather than administrative. Regional Committees were first officially authorized by the Sixth National Congress of the JCP in Japan. The Party Constitution provides that the head of a Regional Committee will be elected by the Regional Committee but at present each of the chiefs of the Regional Committees is a Central Committee Organizer who is a member of either the Central Committee or of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. Each Regional Committee has a Standing Committee (Jonin Iinkai) which exercises the power of the Regional Committee when this committee is not meeting. Some of the most common misnomers for the Regional Committee are: District Committee, Great District Committee or Large District Committee.

* Note: The basic reference for this article is "Guide to Communist Terminology," 11 Feb 49, prepared by the Fourth CIC District. References also have been made to CIS files for the purpose of checking and making amplifications.

In Hokkaido, the JCP has a Greater Regional Committee (Dai Chiho Iinkai) which corresponds to the standard Regional Committee. Under the Hokkaido Greater Regional Committee are Regional Committees which are parallel to the standard Prefectural Committees in the rest of Japan.

c. Prefectural Committee (Ken Iinkai): The Prefectural Committees of the JCP are directly under the Regional Committees and are headed by a Chairman. Erroneous designations of the Prefectural Committee are: District Committee, Regional Committee, Branch of the JCP, Prefectural Central Committee or Prefectural Council. The Chairman of a Prefectural Committee should not be referred to as Chief Communist or leading Communist.



d. District Committee (Chiku Iinkai): The immediate supervisory organ over Cells or Squads is known as the District Committee. This Committee is responsible for the direction of local propaganda activities and for insuring the participation of all subordinate organs in the various Party campaigns. The person in charge of the District Committee is called a Chairman. Frequent errors used in reporting on this Committee include: Regional Committee, Branch of a Prefectural Committee or Area Committee.

e. Cell Group (Saibo Gun): The Cell Group or Squad Group is not a standard JCP echelon but is often organized when there are three or more Cells or Squads closely together and joint control of the individual Cells' activities is desirable. A Cell Group is authorized to have a Cell Group or Squad Group Committee. Cell Groups are often misnamed Joint Cells or Cell Group Squads.

f. Cell (Saibo) or Squad (Han): The lowest official echelon of the Communist Party is the Cell or Squad. At the Sixth National Convention of the JCP it was decided that the name Cell would be changed to Squad for the purpose of creating a better public impression by avoiding the use of the internationally used communistic term of Cell. Recently, the Party has reverted to the use of Cell and both terms are in common usage. A Cell is formed with a minimum of three members who are living or working close enough for mutual communication. No maximum size has been established for Cells and some Cells report as many as 80 members. A common erroneous designation for Cells is Local Franch.

g. Fraction (Furaku) (Written in Katakana): The most confusing of Communist terms are the words Fraction and Faction. A Fraction is an important Party term and means a group of JCP members who may also be organized into one or more cells who are placed into or recruited from a target organization over which the Party wishes to establish control. Thus, a Fraction is the unit of infiltration of the Party. In Japan, a Fraction may be either revealed or it may operate under cover. In Japanese labor unions, there are instances of both a concealed and open Fraction in the same union. An open Fraction generally operates under the name of Management Cell and issues orders and publications in the name of the Cell. A Fraction is not an actual echelon in the Party organization but can be attached to the formal structure at any level. In certain large target groups such as the Japan Farmers Union, the Fractions are pyramided into echelons with the various levels of the echelon maintaining liaison and contact with the corresponding echelon of the Party. The revised term for Fraction is Group (Gurupu) (Written in Katakana) but Fraction still remains in general use.

The word Faction has no particular meaning in Communist terminology and it has the normal meaning of two or more groups with opposing ideas in the same organization. This term is used in many types of organizations, both Communist and non-Communist. Followers of the several cliques in the JCP or partisans of certain leaders are properly known as Factions, such as the Yenan Faction, the Nosaka Faction or the Prison Faction.

3. Communist Position Titles:

a. Secretary General (Shoki Cho): The standard international Communist term for the executive head of the Party within each country is Secretary General. Chief Clerk or Head Clerk are not correct interpretations of this position title.

b. Members of Committees: The best usage in referring to the positions of members of any Communist Committee is to say member of the Central Committee, Kanto Regional Committeeman or member of the Control Committee. The use of such terms as Prefectural Executive or District Director for members of committees is erroneous and confusing.

c. Organizers or Org (Orugu) (Written in Katakana): The term Organizer refers to a specific position in the Communist Party and certain persons are designated as Organizers. Although every Party member has the duty of recruiting new members and organizing new groups, they are not officially considered as Organizers and every Communist agitator should not be referred to as an Organizer. Organizers are normally officially assigned to echelons

as far down as District Committees but are also found operating at the Cell level.

4. Central Headquarters Departments and Bureaus:

The Departments and Bureaus of the JCP Central Headquarters are partly duplicated in the lower echelon headquarters of the Party. There is no fixed organization of these Departments and Bureaus in the various Regional, Prefectural or District headquarters and they are established when the local situation makes them necessary. The same names and translations are generally used.

a. Secretariat (Shoki Kyoku): The central administrative agency for the JCP is the Secretariat. The main duties of the Secretariat are to issue official Directives and Notifications in the name of the Central Committee; to keep official statistics on the internal affairs of the Party; and to provide an accounting of finances on a national basis. Most frequently the Secretariat is misnamed the Clerk Bureau, Clerical Bureau, Clerk Section, Secretary Department of Secretary's Pool.

b. Political Bureau or Politburo (Seiji Kyoku): The Political Bureau is the Party agency authorized to decide general and political policies for the Party's activities. These decisions are subject to a theoretical review and approval by the Central Committee when in session. The Political Bureau has been misnamed the Political Board, the Political Affairs Section and the Political Department.

c. Organization and Activities Bureau (Soshiki Katsudo Shido Bu): The Organization and Activities Bureau of Central Headquarters makes general daily decisions on tactical measures and also aids in the formulation of propaganda keynotes and tactical guides. Although other translations of this term may be correct, the title of Organization and Activities Bureau best describes this agency. Incorrect translations are Organization Action and Leadership Department and the Formation and Activity Guidance Section.

d. Control Committee (Tosei Iinkai): The Control Committee of the JCP Central Headquarters is the watchdog of the headquarters. Its duties include inspection and supervision of the implementation of decisions of the National Congress and the Central Committee, enforcement of Party regulations and defense against anti-Communist elements who seek to destroy the Party. The Committee holds regular general meetings at least once a month and conducts joint meetings with the Political Bureau when important urgent matters arise. It is composed of not more than 10 members who are elected by the National Congress.

e. Central Committee Candidate Pool (Chuo Iin Koho): Members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool are elected by the JCP National Congress. Provisions are made for a total of 25 persons to be held in this pool and whenever a vacancy occurs in the Central Committee, a Central Committee Candidate is selected for that position.

f. Administrative and Specialized Departments:

- (1) Propaganda and Education Department (Senden Kyoiku Bu)
- (2) Publications Department (Shuppan Bu)
- (3) Cultural Affairs Department (Bunka Bu)
- (4) Investigation Department (Chosa Bu)
- (5) Financial Affairs Department (Zaisei Bu)
- (6) Regional Affairs Department (Chiho Bu)
- (7) Science and Technology Department (Kagaku Gijutsu Bu)
- (8) Personnel Affairs Department (Jinji Bu)

SPECIAL ARTICLES

No. 39

- (9) General Affairs Department (Somu Bu)
- (10) Akahata (Red Flag) Department (Akahata Shuhitsu)
- (11) Zenei (Vanguard) Department (Zenei Shukan)
- (12) Youth Affairs Department (Seinen Taisaku Bu)
- (13) Regional Administration Affairs Department (Chiho Gyosei Taisaku Bu)
- (14) Urban Peoples Department (Shimin Taisaku Bu)
- (15) Agrarian Peoples Department (Nomin Bu)
- (16) Women's Department (Fujin Bu)
- (17) Election Affairs Department (Senkyo Taisaku Bu)
- (18) Soviet Culture Propaganda Department (Sovieto Bunka Senden Bu)

5. Publications and Documents of the JCP:

a. Directives (Shirei) and Notifications (Tsutatsu): The Secretariat normally issues all Party orders in the form of Directives or Notifications although the Political Bureau and the Control Committee occasionally publish Directives and Notifications. The majority of these orders are numbered serially to facilitate filing but at times are published without numbers. These terms of Directives and Notifications are to be used instead of Instruction or Notice.

b. Organization and Propaganda Guide (Soshiki Senden Shishin): The Organization and Propaganda Guide is a joint publication of the Organization and Activities Bureau and the Propaganda and Education Departments. It appears irregularly every 10 or 15 days and is considered to be a registered and classified document by the JCP.

c. Organization and Activity Emergency Bulletin (Soshiki Katsudo Sokuho): This bulletin is published by the Organization and Activities Bureau at weekly intervals at present. It is a relatively new publication which contains news and instructions concerning the pending Communist "struggles." The Organization and Activity Emergency Bulletin is reportedly another JCP registered document.

d. Guide to Party Activity (To Katsudo Shishin): The Propaganda and Education Department of the JCP headquarters publishes the Guide to Party Activity. This guide is a new Party publication and is a registered JCP document. It is reportedly published to supplement the Organization and Propaganda Guide.

e. Official Party Publications: (For detailed information on JCP publications see CIS Periodical Summary No. 31, 15 Aug 48, Page SUM - 23)

(1) Akahata (Red Flag): The official daily newspaper organ of the JCP is Akahata. This newspaper is published for both public and Party member consumption. The term Akahata is generally used without the translation.

(2) Zenei (Vanguard): Zenei is the official monthly publication of the Communist Party and is for public consumption. Similarly to Akahata, the term Zenei is usually used without the translation.

(3) Other Party Organs and Publications: All echelons of the JCP publish organ papers for education of members and public propaganda. Translation of these titles will normally produce standard and easily understood names.

Central Headquarters Departments of the JCP also publish a large number of pamphlets and leaflets which are prepared for public newsstand distribution for the purpose of propaganda and fund raising campaigns. Most of these publications are issued by the Publications Department of the JCP but other Central Headquarters Departments also issue such publications.

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6. Congresses, Conferences and Meetings:a. National Level:

(1) National Congress or National Convention (Zenkoku Taikai): A regular JCP National Congress or National Convention must be held at least once each year according to Party regulations. Emergency sessions may be called when more than one-third of the members of the Central Committee or one-half of the delegates to the previous National Congress so demand. The National Congress is the highest policy-making body of the JCP and is empowered to decide basic policies which continue in effect until the next meeting of the Congress. It also selects members of the Central Committee, the Central Committee Candidate Pool and the Control Committee. The National Congress is attended by members of the Central Committee, the Central Committee Candidate Pool and the Control Committee together with representatives from the Prefectural Committees. National Congress is preferred, rather than National Convention.

(2) National Conference (Zenkoku Kaigi): The Central Committee of the JCP headquarters has the authority to call a National Conference to discuss urgent Party policies and issues which may arise in between sessions of the National Congress. A National Conference is composed of the Central Committee plus representatives selected by the Prefectural Committees. The National Conference has the authority to remove up to one-fifth of the total membership of the Central Committee for cause, to elevate members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies created in the Central Committee created by expulsion of undesirable members and then to select additional members for the Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies in that group.

(3) General Meeting (Sokai): The regulations of the JCP provide that a General Meeting will be held at least once every four months. This General Meeting is composed of the Central Committee plus members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. The meeting has the power to select members for the Political Bureau and for the Secretariat from among the Central Committee membership and also conducts discussions on national strategy and tactics of the Party.

(4) Central Committee Meeting (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee is required to hold regular meetings at least once a month according to JCP regulations. At these meetings decisions are made relative to routine Party affairs but due to the presence of many influential members on the committee, policy decisions of great importance may be decided at regular Central Committee Meetings.

b. Regional Level:

(1) Regional Party Conference (Chiho To Kaigi): The supreme policy-making body on the regional level is the Regional Party Conference. This conference is attended by members of the Regional Committee, the Regional Committee Candidate Pool, representatives of the Prefectural Committees within the region and representatives of the Central Committee. The Regional Party Conference establishes plans based on the policies of the Central Committee and selects members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. Held once each year, the Regional Party Conference may be called into emergency session upon direction of the Regional Committee or by request of more than one-third of the Prefectural Committees.

(2) Regional Committee General Meeting (Chiho Iin Sokai): A Regional Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting has the authority to fill vacancies in the Regional Committee by selecting replacements from the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. All such selections are subject to approval by the Central Committee.

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(3) Regional Committee Meeting (Chiho Iinkai): The term Regional Committee Meeting refers to the regular monthly meeting of this committee. The group discusses routine Regional Party affairs and has the power to select a standing committee to oversee the daily business of the regional headquarters. Specialized departments may also be established.

c. Prefectural Level:

(1) Prefectural Party Conference (Ken To Kaigi): The Prefectural Party Conference corresponds to the National Congress or Regional Party Conference and must be convened once a year. Members of the Prefectural Committee, Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool and representatives of subordinate District Committees make up the Prefectural Party Conference. This conference elects members of the Prefectural Committee subject to Central Committee approval and establishes plans for the prefecture following policies set by the Central and Regional Committees. An emergency session of the Prefectural Party Conference may be called upon decision of the Prefectural Committee or upon request of more than one-third of the District Committees.

(2) Prefectural Committee General Meeting (Ken Iin Sokai): The Prefectural Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Prefectural Committee and the Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting discusses future plans and progress of its subordinate echelons and selects replacements for vacancies in the Prefectural Committee.

(3) Prefectural Committee Meeting (Ken Iinkai): Held at least once a month the Prefectural Committee Meeting is charged with the general supervision of Party activities in the prefecture. The Prefectural Committee selects a standing committee to handle daily affairs of the Party and may also establish special departments to supervise specific Party functions. The terminology of these departments usually is the same as for the Central Headquarters' Departments.

d. District Level: The highest body of the JCP Districts is the District Party Conference (Chiku To Kaigi) which meets twice each year by order of the District Committee. Special sessions may be called by either the direction of the District Committee or by request of over one-third of the Party members under the jurisdiction of the District. In between meetings of the District Party Conference, business is carried on by meetings of the District Committee. Meetings of Cell Groups and Cells are held as needed but are usually convened at regular intervals. Fractions or Group Meetings normally termed as Gurupu Kaigi are held when their business dictates. A frequent mis-translation for this term is Group Council.

7. Importance of a Standard JCP Terminology:

The adoption of a standard organizational terminology for the Japan Communist Party has many advantages and a definite importance. First, in order to increase the comprehensibility of intelligence reports, a fixed and uniform method of reporting Communist terms becomes necessary. At times a well prepared report is rendered less valuable by confusing and erroneous Party terms which are only understood by the person preparing the report. An added difficulty is the fact that the Japanese language has produced a wide variation of names for Communist terms so that there may be several possible translations for one such term.

In this report an attempt also has been made to establish a standard terminology which will conform as much as possible to the common international usage of Communist terms which are employed by Communist Parties in countries all over the world. The use of this article as a reference work for official standard organizational terminology of the JCP should contribute to a greater clarification and ease of comprehension of all articles and reports pertaining to the JCP.

Enclosure to Tokyo's Despatch No. 329
May 23, 1949.

No. 39

SPECIAL ARTICLES

JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL TERMINOLOGY*

1. Introduction
2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party
3. Communist Position Titles
4. Central Headquarters Departments and Bureaus
5. Publications and Documents of Japan Communist Party
6. Congresses, Conferences and Meetings
7. Importance of a Standard JCP Terminology

1. Introduction:

The organizational complexity of the Japan Communist Party (JCP) has produced a wide variation of terminology peculiar only to the JCP. Added to this large number of new terms employed by the Communist Party is the necessity for translating these terms into English. This article is designed to establish a standard terminology with the Romaji (Japanese written in Roman letters) translations which will end the present confusion concerning terms used by the JCP and to standardize their usage.

To facilitate the use of this article as a reference work, the definitions of terms have been placed under major classifications. The standard Romaji names and translations of the most important Party terms are listed with brief explanations. A basic chart, "Command Echelons of the Japan Communist Party" is presented (page SPA -) to serve as an aid in finding the Romaji and English translations of JCP organizational terminology. The standard JCP terms in this article may have other good translations but for the sake of uniformity, these standard terms are recommended.

The most frequently used mis-translations of JCP terms are described in order to emphasize the undesirability of the use of such terms. The standard terminology established in an appendix to the CIS Periodical Summary No. 34, 15 Nov 48, entitled "Alphabetical Index of Leftist Organizations in Japan" is not repeated in this article and should be consulted for that phase of Communist activity.

2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party:

a. Central Committee (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee of the JCP is the national organ charged with the implementation of policies decided by the National Congress or National Convention. This committee also formulates and executes all necessary policy between the sessions of the National Congress. All members of the Central Committee are publicly announced and it is incorrect to refer to all representatives from the JCP Central Headquarters as Central Committee members.

b. Regional Committee (Chiho Iinkai): A Regional Committee of the JCP embraces several Prefectural Committees and can be considered to be operational in scope rather than administrative. Regional Committees were first officially authorized by the Sixth National Congress of the JCP in Japan. The Party Constitution provides that the head of a Regional Committee will be elected by the Regional Committee but at present each of the chiefs of the Regional Committees is a Central Committee Organizer who is a member of either the Central Committee or of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. Each Regional Committee has a Standing Committee (Jenin Iinkai) which exercises the power of the Regional Committee when this committee is not meeting. Some of the most common misnomers for the Regional Committee are: District Committee, Great District Committee or Large District Committee.

* Note: The basic reference for this article is "Guide to Communist Terminology," 11 Feb 49, prepared by the Fourth CIC District. References also have been made to CIS files for the purpose of checking and making amplifications.

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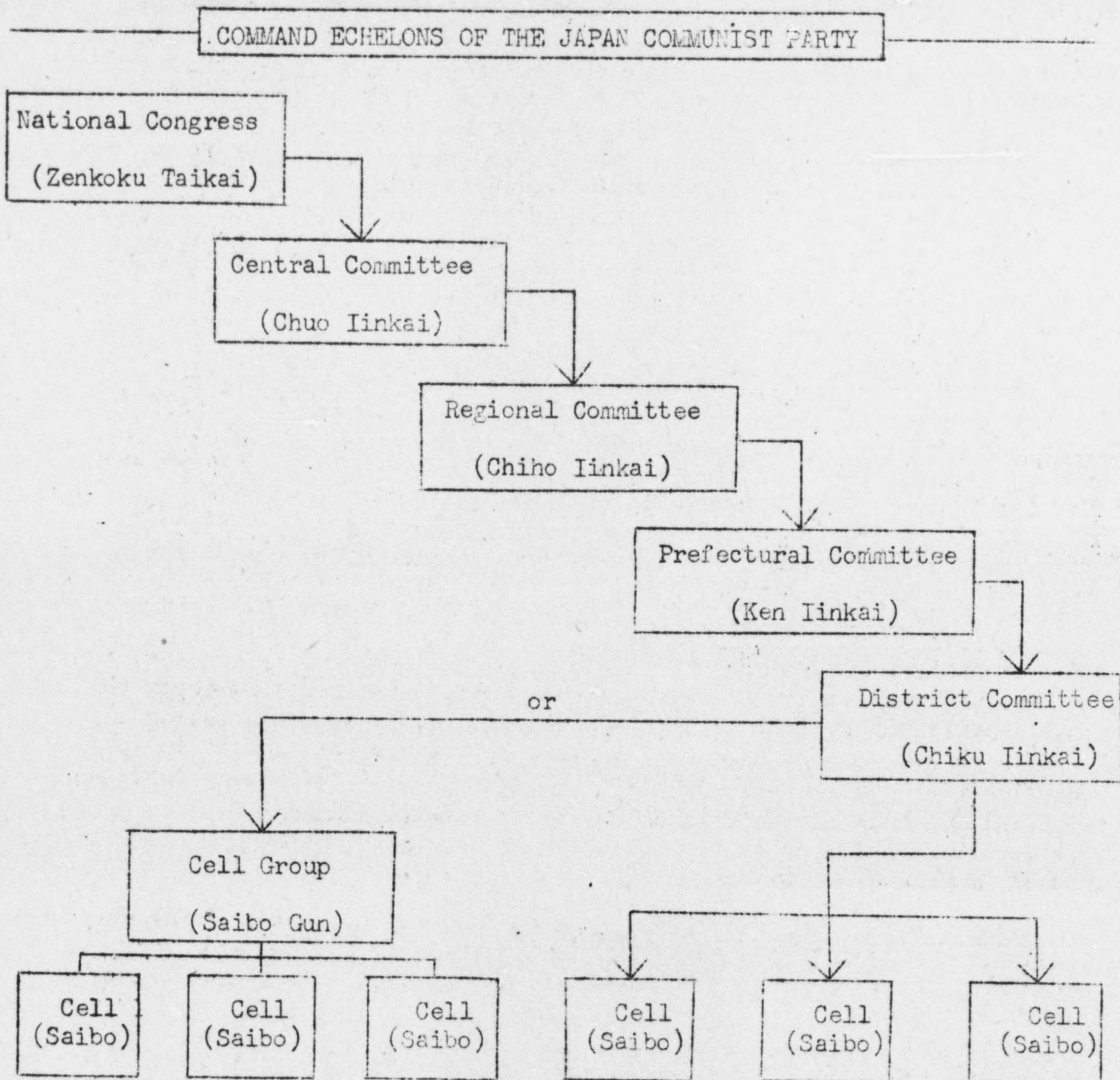
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In Hokkaido, the JCP has a Greater Regional Committee (Dai Chiho Iinkai) which corresponds to the standard Regional Committee. Under the Hokkaido Greater Regional Committee are Regional Committees which are parallel to the standard Prefectural Committees in the rest of Japan.

c. Prefectural Committee (Ken Iinkai): The Prefectural Committees of the JCP are directly under the Regional Committees and are headed by a Chairman. Erroneous designations of the Prefectural Committee are: District Committee, Regional Committee, Branch of the JCP, Prefectural Central Committee or Prefectural Council. The Chairman of a Prefectural Committee should not be referred to as Chief Communist or leading Communist.



d. District Committee (Chiku Iinkai): The immediate supervisory organ over Cells or Squads is known as the District Committee. This Committee is responsible for the direction of local propaganda activities and for insuring the participation of all subordinate organs in the various Party campaigns. The person in charge of the District Committee is called a Chairman. Frequent errors used in reporting on this Committee include: Regional Committee, Branch of a Prefectural Committee or Area Committee.

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e. Cell Group (Saibo Gun): The Cell Group or Squad Group is not a standard JCP echelon but is often organized when there are three or more Cells or Squads closely together and joint control of the individual Cells' activities is desirable. A Cell Group is authorized to have a Cell Group or Squad Group Committee. Cell Groups are often misnamed Joint Cells or Cell Group Squads.

f. Cell (Saibo) or Squad (Han): The lowest official echelon of the Communist Party is the Cell or Squad. At the Sixth National Convention of the JCP it was decided that the name Cell would be changed to Squad for the purpose of creating a better public impression by avoiding the use of the internationally used communistic term of Cell. Recently, the Party has reverted to the use of Cell and both terms are in common usage. A Cell is formed with a minimum of three members who are living or working close enough for mutual communication. No maximum size has been established for Cells and some Cells report as many as 80 members. A common erroneous designation for Cells is Local Franch.

g. Fraction (Furaku) (Written in Katakana): The most confusing of Communist terms are the words Fraction and Faction. A Fraction is an important Party term and means a group of JCP members who may also be organized into one or more cells who are placed into or recruited from a target organization over which the Party wishes to establish control. Thus, a Fraction is the unit of infiltration of the Party. In Japan, a Fraction may be either revealed or it may operate under cover. In Japanese labor unions, there are instances of both a concealed and open Fraction in the same union. An open Fraction generally operates under the name of Management Cell and issues orders and publications in the name of the Cell. A Fraction is not an actual echelon in the Party organization but can be attached to the formal structure at any level. In certain large target groups such as the Japan Farmers Union, the Fractions are pyramided into echelons with the various levels of the echelon maintaining liaison and contact with the corresponding echelon of the Party. The revised term for Fraction is Group (Gurupu) (Written in Katakana) but Fraction still remains in general use.

The word Faction has no particular meaning in Communist terminology and it has the normal meaning of two or more groups with opposing ideas in the same organization. This term is used in many types of organizations, both Communist and non-Communist. Followers of the several cliques in the JCP or partisans of certain leaders are properly known as Factions, such as the Yenan Faction, the Nosaka Faction or the Prison Faction.

3. Communist Position Titles:

a. Secretary General (Shoki Cho): The standard international Communist term for the executive head of the Party within each country is Secretary General. Chief Clerk or Head Clerk are not correct interpretations of this position title.

b. Members of Committees: The best usage in referring to the positions of members of any Communist Committee is to say member of the Central Committee, Kanto Regional Committeeman or member of the Control Committee. The use of such terms as Prefectural Executive or District Director for members of committees is erroneous and confusing.

c. Organizers or Org (Orugu) (Written in Katakana): The term Organizer refers to a specific position in the Communist Party and certain persons are designated as Organizers. Although every Party member has the duty of recruiting new members and organizing new groups, they are not officially considered as Organizers and every Communist agitator should not be referred to as an Organizer. Organizers are normally officially assigned to echelons

as far down as District Committees but are also found operating at the Cell level.

4. Central Headquarters Departments and Bureaus:

The Departments and Bureaus of the JCP Central Headquarters are partly duplicated in the lower echelon headquarters of the Party. There is no fixed organization of these Departments and Bureaus in the various Regional, Prefectural or District headquarters and they are established when the local situation makes them necessary. The same names and translations are generally used.

a. Secretariat (Shoki Kyoku): The central administrative agency for the JCP is the Secretariat. The main duties of the Secretariat are to issue official Directives and Notifications in the name of the Central Committee; to keep official statistics on the internal affairs of the Party; and to provide an accounting of finances on a national basis. Most frequently the Secretariat is misnamed the Clerk Bureau, Clerical Bureau, Clerk Section, Secretary Department of Secretary's Pool.

b. Political Bureau or Politburo (Seiji Kyoku): The Political Bureau is the Party agency authorized to decide general and political policies for the Party's activities. These decisions are subject to a theoretical review and approval by the Central Committee when in session. The Political Bureau has been misnamed the Political Board, the Political Affairs Section and the Political Department.

c. Organization and Activities Bureau (Soshiki Katsudo Shido Bu): The Organization and Activities Bureau of Central Headquarters makes general daily decisions on tactical measures and also aids in the formulation of propaganda keynotes and tactical guides. Although other translations of this term may be correct, the title of Organization and Activities Bureau best describes this agency. Incorrect translations are Organization Action and Leadership Department and the Formation and Activity Guidance Section.

d. Control Committee (Tosei Iinkai): The Control Committee of the JCP Central Headquarters is the watchdog of the headquarters. Its duties include inspection and supervision of the implementation of decisions of the National Congress and the Central Committee, enforcement of Party regulations and defense against anti-Communist elements who seek to destroy the Party. The Committee holds regular general meetings at least once a month and conducts joint meetings with the Political Bureau when important urgent matters arise. It is composed of not more than 10 members who are elected by the National Congress.

e. Central Committee Candidate Pool (Chuo Iin Koho): Members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool are elected by the JCP National Congress. Provisions are made for a total of 25 persons to be held in this pool and whenever a vacancy occurs in the Central Committee, a Central Committee Candidate is selected for that position.

f. Administrative and Specialized Departments:

- (1) Propaganda and Education Department (Senden Kyoiku Bu)
- (2) Publications Department (Shuppan Bu)
- (3) Cultural Affairs Department (Bunka Bu)
- (4) Investigation Department (Chosa Bu)
- (5) Financial Affairs Department (Zaisei Bu)
- (6) Regional Affairs Department (Chiho Bu)
- (7) Science and Technology Department (Kagaku Gijutsu Bu)
- (8) Personnel Affairs Department (Jinji Bu)

- (9) General Affairs Department (Somu Bu)
- (10) Akahata (Red Flag) Department (Akahata Shuhitsu)
- (11) Zenei (Vanguard) Department (Zenei Shukan)
- (12) Youth Affairs Department (Seinen Taisaku Bu)
- (13) Regional Administration Affairs Department (Chiho Gyosei Taisaku Bu)
- (14) Urban Peoples Department (Shimin Taisaku Bu)
- (15) Agrarian Peoples Department (Nomin Bu)
- (16) Women's Department (Fujin Bu)
- (17) Election Affairs Department (Senkyo Taisaku Bu)
- (18) Soviet Culture Propaganda Department (Sovieta Bunka Senden Bu)

5. Publications and Documents of the JCP:

a. Directives (Shirei) and Notifications (Tsutatsu): The Secretariat normally issues all Party orders in the form of Directives or Notifications although the Political Bureau and the Control Committee occasionally publish Directives and Notifications. The majority of these orders are numbered serially to facilitate filing but at times are published without numbers. These terms of Directives and Notifications are to be used instead of Instruction or Notice.

b. Organization and Propaganda Guide (Soshiki Senden Shishin): The Organization and Propaganda Guide is a joint publication of the Organization and Activities Bureau and the Propaganda and Education Departments. It appears irregularly every 10 or 15 days and is considered to be a registered and classified document by the JCP.

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(1) Regional Party Conference (Chiho To Kaigi): The supreme policy-making body on the regional level is the Regional Party Conference. This conference is attended by members of the Regional Committee, the Regional Committee Candidate Pool, representatives of the Prefectural Committees within the region and representatives of the Central Committee. The Regional Party Conference establishes plans based on the policies of the Central Committee and selects members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. Held once each year, the Regional Party Conference may be called into emergency session upon direction of the Regional Committee or by request of more than one-third of the Prefectural Committees.

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d. District Level: The highest body of the JCP Districts is the District Party Conference (Chiku To Kaigi) which meets twice each year by order of the District Committee. Special sessions may be called by either the direction of the District Committee or by request of over one-third of the Party members under the jurisdiction of the District. In between meetings of the District Party Conference, business is carried on by meetings of the District Committee. Meetings of Cell Groups and Cells are held as needed but are usually convened at regular intervals. Fractions or Group Meetings normally termed as Gurupu Kaigi are held when their business dictates. A frequent mis-translation for this term is Group Council.

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Enclosure to Tokyo's Despatch No. 329,
May 23, 1949.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

No. 39

JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL TERMINOLOGY*

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1. Introduction
 2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party
 3. Communist Position Titles
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1. Introduction:

The organizational complexity of the Japan Communist Party (JCP) has produced a wide variation of terminology peculiar only to the JCP. Added to this large number of new terms employed by the Communist Party is the necessity for translating these terms into English. This article is designed to establish a standard terminology with the Romaji (Japanese written in Roman letters) translations which will end the present confusion concerning terms used by the JCP and to standardize their usage.

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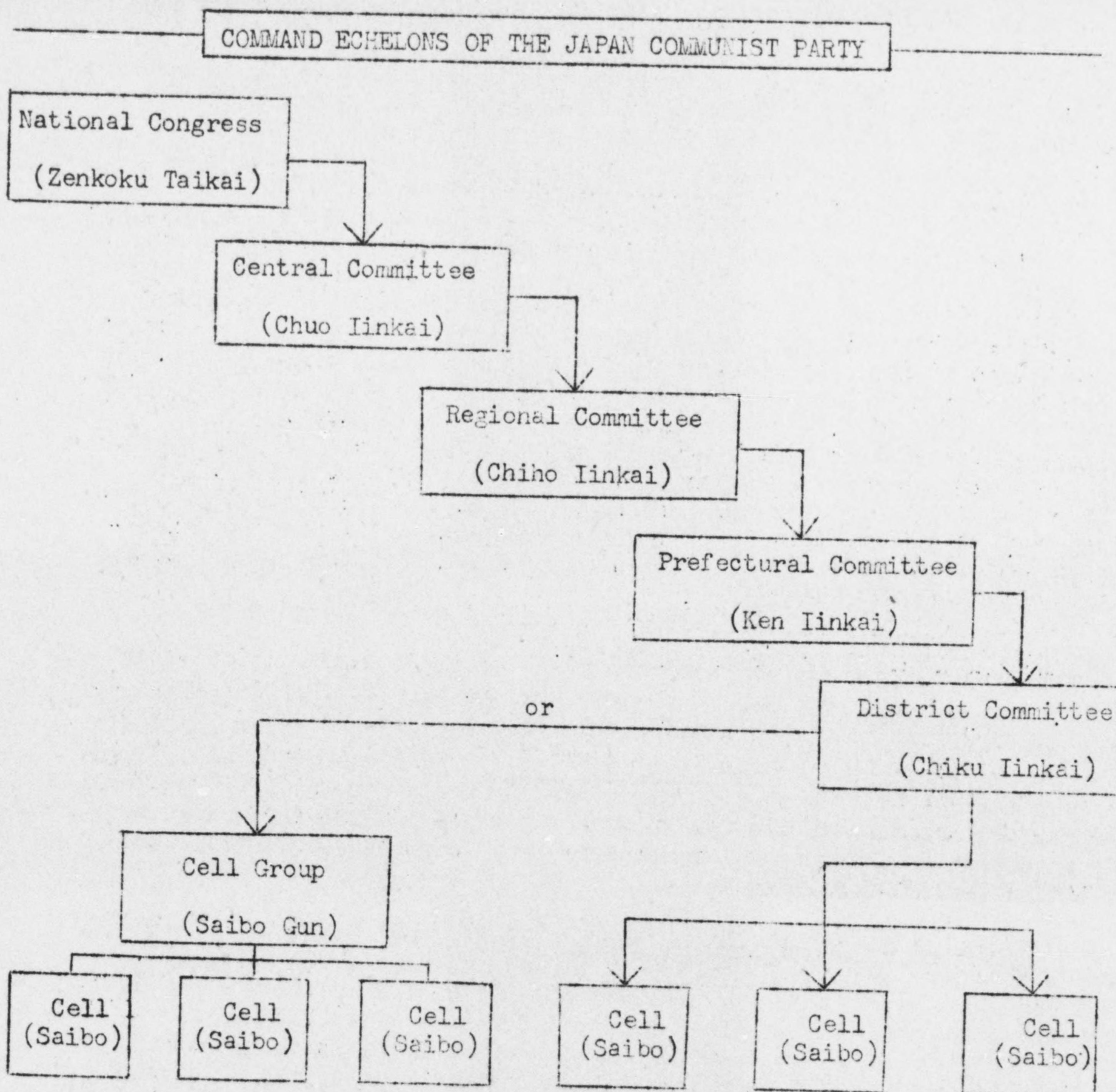
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f. Cell (Saibo) or Squad (Han): The lowest official echelon of the Communist Party is the Cell or Squad. At the Sixth National Convention of the JCP it was decided that the name Cell would be changed to Squad for the purpose of creating a better public impression by avoiding the use of the internationally used communistic term of Cell. Recently, the Party has reverted to the use of Cell and both terms are in common usage. A Cell is formed with a minimum of three members who are living or working close enough for mutual communication. No maximum size has been established for Cells and some Cells report as many as 80 members. A common erroneous designation for Cells is Local Franch.

g. Fraction (Furaku) (Written in Katakana): The most confusing of Communist terms are the words Fraction and Faction. A Fraction is an important Party term and means a group of JCP members who may also be organized into one or more cells who are placed into or recruited from a target organization over which the Party wishes to establish control. Thus, a Fraction is the unit of infiltration of the Party. In Japan, a Fraction may be either revealed or it may operate under cover. In Japanese labor unions, there are instances of both a concealed and open Fraction in the same union. An open Fraction generally operates under the name of Management Cell and issues orders and publications in the name of the Cell. A Fraction is not an actual echelon in the Party organization but can be attached to the formal structure at any level. In certain large target groups such as the Japan Farmers Union, the Fractions are pyramided into echelons with the various levels of the echelon maintaining liaison and contact with the corresponding echelon of the Party. The revised term for Fraction is Group (Gurupu) (Written in Katakana) but Fraction still remains in general use.

The word Faction has no particular meaning in Communist terminology and it has the normal meaning of two or more groups with opposing ideas in the same organization. This term is used in many types of organizations, both Communist and non-Communist. Followers of the several cliques in the JCP or partisans of certain leaders are properly known as Factions, such as the Yenan Faction, the Nosaka Faction or the Prison Faction.

3. Communist Position Titles:

a. Secretary General (Shoki Cho): The standard international Communist term for the executive head of the Party within each country is Secretary General. Chief Clerk or Head Clerk are not correct interpretations of this position title.

b. Members of Committees: The best usage in referring to the positions of members of any Communist Committee is to say member of the Central Committee, Kanto Regional Committeeman or member of the Control Committee. The use of such terms as Prefectural Executive or District Director for members of committees is erroneous and confusing.

c. Organizers or Org (Orugu) (Written in Katakana): The term Organizer refers to a specific position in the Communist Party and certain persons are designated as Organizers. Although every Party member has the duty of recruiting new members and organizing new groups, they are not officially considered as Organizers and every Communist agitator should not be referred to as an Organizer. Organizers are normally officially assigned to echelons

as far down as District Committees but are also found operating at the Cell level.

4. Central Headquarters Departments and Bureaus:

The Departments and Bureaus of the JCP Central Headquarters are partly duplicated in the lower echelon headquarters of the Party. There is no fixed organization of these Departments and Bureaus in the various Regional, Prefectural or District headquarters and they are established when the local situation makes them necessary. The same names and translations are generally used.

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b. Political Bureau or Politburo (Seiji Kyoku): The Political Bureau is the Party agency authorized to decide general and political policies for the Party's activities. These decisions are subject to a theoretical review and approval by the Central Committee when in session. The Political Bureau has been misnamed the Political Board, the Political Affairs Section and the Political Department.

c. Organization and Activities Bureau (Soshiki Katsudo Shido Bu): The Organization and Activities Bureau of Central Headquarters makes general daily decisions on tactical measures and also aids in the formulation of propaganda keynotes and tactical guides. Although other translations of this term may be correct, the title of Organization and Activities Bureau best describes this agency. Incorrect translations are Organization Action and Leadership Department and the Formation and Activity Guidance Section.

d. Control Committee (Tosei Iinkai): The Control Committee of the JCP Central Headquarters is the watchdog of the headquarters. Its duties include inspection and supervision of the implementation of decisions of the National Congress and the Central Committee, enforcement of Party regulations and defense against anti-Communist elements who seek to destroy the Party. The Committee holds regular general meetings at least once a month and conducts joint meetings with the Political Bureau when important urgent matters arise. It is composed of not more than 10 members who are elected by the National Congress.

e. Central Committee Candidate Pool (Chuo Iin Koho): Members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool are elected by the JCP National Congress. Provisions are made for a total of 25 persons to be held in this pool and whenever a vacancy occurs in the Central Committee, a Central Committee Candidate is selected for that position.

f. Administrative and Specialized Departments:

- (1) Propaganda and Education Department (Senden Kyoiku Bu)
- (2) Publications Department (Shuppan Bu)
- (3) Cultural Affairs Department (Bunka Bu)
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- (8) Personnel Affairs Department (Jinji Bu)

- (9) General Affairs Department (Somu Bu)
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- (17) Election Affairs Department (Senkyo Taisaku Bu)
- (18) Soviet Culture Propaganda Department (Sovieta Bunka Senden Bu)

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a. Directives (Shirei) and Notifications (Tsutatsu): The Secretariat normally issues all Party orders in the form of Directives or Notifications although the Political Bureau and the Control Committee occasionally publish Directives and Notifications. The majority of these orders are numbered serially to facilitate filing but at times are published without numbers. These terms of Directives and Notifications are to be used instead of Instruction or Notice.

b. Organization and Propaganda Guide (Soshiki Senden Shishin): The Organization and Propaganda Guide is a joint publication of the Organization and Activities Bureau and the Propaganda and Education Departments. It appears irregularly every 10 or 15 days and is considered to be a registered and classified document by the JCP.

c. Organization and Activity Emergency Bulletin (Soshiki Katsudo Sokuho): This bulletin is published by the Organization and Activities Bureau at weekly intervals at present. It is a relatively new publication which contains news and instructions concerning the pending Communist "struggles." The Organization and Activity Emergency Bulletin is reportedly another JCP registered document.

d. Guide to Party Activity (To Katsudo Shishin): The Propaganda and Education Department of the JCP headquarters publishes the Guide to Party Activity. This guide is a new Party publication and is a registered JCP document. It is reportedly published to supplement the Organization and Propaganda Guide.

e. Official Party Publications: (For detailed information on JCP publications see CIS Periodical Summary No. 31, 15 Aug 48, Page SUM - 23)

(1) Akahata (Red Flag): The official daily newspaper organ of the JCP is Akahata. This newspaper is published for both public and Party member consumption. The term Akahata is generally used without the translation.

(2) Zenei (Vanguard): Zenei is the official monthly publication of the Communist Party and is for public consumption. Similarly to Akahata, the term Zenei is usually used without the translation.

(3) Other Party Organs and Publications: All echelons of the JCP publish organ papers for education of members and public propaganda. Translation of these titles will normally produce standard and easily understood names.

Central Headquarters Departments of the JCP also publish a large number of pamphlets and leaflets which are prepared for public newsstand distribution for the purpose of propaganda and fund raising campaigns. Most of these publications are issued by the Publications Department of the JCP but other Central Headquarters Departments also issue such publications.

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6. Congresses, Conferences and Meetings:a. National Level:

(1) National Congress or National Convention (Zenkoku Taikai): A regular JCP National Congress or National Convention must be held at least once each year according to Party regulations. Emergency sessions may be called when more than one-third of the members of the Central Committee or one-half of the delegates to the previous National Congress so demand. The National Congress is the highest policy-making body of the JCP and is empowered to decide basic policies which continue in effect until the next meeting of the Congress. It also selects members of the Central Committee, the Central Committee Candidate Pool and the Control Committee. The National Congress is attended by members of the Central Committee, the Central Committee Candidate Pool and the Control Committee together with representatives from the Prefectural Committees. National Congress is preferred, rather than National Convention.

(2) National Conference (Zenkoku Kaigi): The Central Committee of the JCP headquarters has the authority to call a National Conference to discuss urgent Party policies and issues which may arise in between sessions of the National Congress. A National Conference is composed of the Central Committee plus representatives selected by the Prefectural Committees. The National Conference has the authority to remove up to one-fifth of the total membership of the Central Committee for cause, to elevate members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies created in the Central Committee created by expulsion of undesirable members and then to select additional members for the Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies in that group.

(3) General Meeting (Sokai): The regulations of the JCP provide that a General Meeting will be held at least once every four months. This General Meeting is composed of the Central Committee plus members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. The meeting has the power to select members for the Political Bureau and for the Secretariat from among the Central Committee membership and also conducts discussions on national strategy and tactics of the Party.

(4) Central Committee Meeting (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee is required to hold regular meetings at least once a month according to JCP regulations. At these meetings decisions are made relative to routine Party affairs but due to the presence of many influential members on the committee, policy decisions of great importance may be decided at regular Central Committee Meetings.

b. Regional Level:

(1) Regional Party Conference (Chiho To Kaigi): The supreme policy-making body on the regional level is the Regional Party Conference. This conference is attended by members of the Regional Committee, the Regional Committee Candidate Pool, representatives of the Prefectural Committees within the region and representatives of the Central Committee. The Regional Party Conference establishes plans based on the policies of the Central Committee and selects members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. Held once each year, the Regional Party Conference may be called into emergency session upon direction of the Regional Committee or by request of more than one-third of the Prefectural Committees.

(2) Regional Committee General Meeting (Chiho Iin Sokai): A Regional Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting has the authority to fill vacancies in the Regional Committee by selecting replacements from the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. All such selections are subject to approval by the Central Committee.

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(3) Regional Committee Meeting (Chiho Iinkai): The term Regional Committee Meeting refers to the regular monthly meeting of this committee. The group discusses routine Regional Party affairs and has the power to select a standing committee to oversee the daily business of the regional headquarters. Specialized departments may also be established.

c. Prefectural Level:

(1) Prefectural Party Conference (Ken To Kaigi): The Prefectural Party Conference corresponds to the National Congress or Regional Party Conference and must be convened once a year. Members of the Prefectural Committee, Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool and representatives of subordinate District Committees make up the Prefectural Party Conference. This conference elects members of the Prefectural Committee subject to Central Committee approval and establishes plans for the prefecture following policies set by the Central and Regional Committees. An emergency session of the Prefectural Party Conference may be called upon decision of the Prefectural Committee or upon request of more than one-third of the District Committees.

(2) Prefectural Committee General Meeting (Ken Iin Sokai): The Prefectural Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Prefectural Committee and the Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting discusses future plans and progress of its subordinate echelons and selects replacements for vacancies in the Prefectural Committee.

(3) Prefectural Committee Meeting (Ken Iinkai): Held at least once a month the Prefectural Committee Meeting is charged with the general supervision of Party activities in the prefecture. The Prefectural Committee selects a standing committee to handle daily affairs of the Party and may also establish special departments to supervise specific Party functions. The terminology of these departments usually is the same as for the Central Headquarters' Departments.

d. District Level: The highest body of the JCP Districts is the District Party Conference (Chiku To Kaigi) which meets twice each year by order of the District Committee. Special sessions may be called by either the direction of the District Committee or by request of over one-third of the Party members under the jurisdiction of the District. In between meetings of the District Party Conference, business is carried on by meetings of the District Committee. Meetings of Cell Groups and Cells are held as needed but are usually convened at regular intervals. Fractions or Group Meetings normally termed as Gurupu Kaigi are held when their business dictates. A frequent mis-translation for this term is Group Council.

7. Importance of a Standard JCP Terminology:

The adoption of a standard organizational terminology for the Japan Communist Party has many advantages and a definite importance. First, in order to increase the comprehensibility of intelligence reports, a fixed and uniform method of reporting Communist terms becomes necessary. At times a well prepared report is rendered less valuable by confusing and erroneous Party terms which are only understood by the person preparing the report. An added difficulty is the fact that the Japanese language has produced a wide variation of names for Communist terms so that there may be several possible translations for one such term.

In this report an attempt also has been made to establish a standard terminology which will conform as much as possible to the common international usage of Communist terms which are employed by Communist Parties in countries all over the world. The use of this article as a reference work for official standard organizational terminology of the JCP should contribute to a greater clarification and ease of comprehension of all articles and reports pertaining to the JCP.

Enclosure to Tokyo's Despatch No. 329
May 23, 1949.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

No. 39

JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL TERMINOLOGY*

1. Introduction
2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party
3. Communist Position Titles
4. Central Headquarters Departments and Bureaus
5. Publications and Documents of Japan Communist Party
6. Congresses, Conferences and Meetings
7. Importance of a Standard JCP Terminology

1. Introduction:

The organizational complexity of the Japan Communist Party (JCP) has produced a wide variation of terminology peculiar only to the JCP. Added to this large number of new terms employed by the Communist Party is the necessity for translating these terms into English. This article is designed to establish a standard terminology with the Romaji (Japanese written in Roman letters) translations which will end the present confusion concerning terms used by the JCP and to standardize their usage.

To facilitate the use of this article as a reference work, the definitions of terms have been placed under major classifications. The standard Romaji names and translations of the most important Party terms are listed with brief explanations. A basic chart, "Command Echelons of the Japan Communist Party" is presented (page SPA -) to serve as an aid in finding the Romaji and English translations of JCP organizational terminology. The standard JCP terms in this article may have other good translations but for the sake of uniformity, these standard terms are recommended.

The most frequently used mis-translations of JCP terms are described in order to emphasize the undesirability of the use of such terms. The standard terminology established in an appendix to the CIS Periodical Summary No. 34, 15 Nov 48, entitled "Alphabetical Index of Leftist Organizations in Japan" is not repeated in this article and should be consulted for that phase of Communist activity.

2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party:

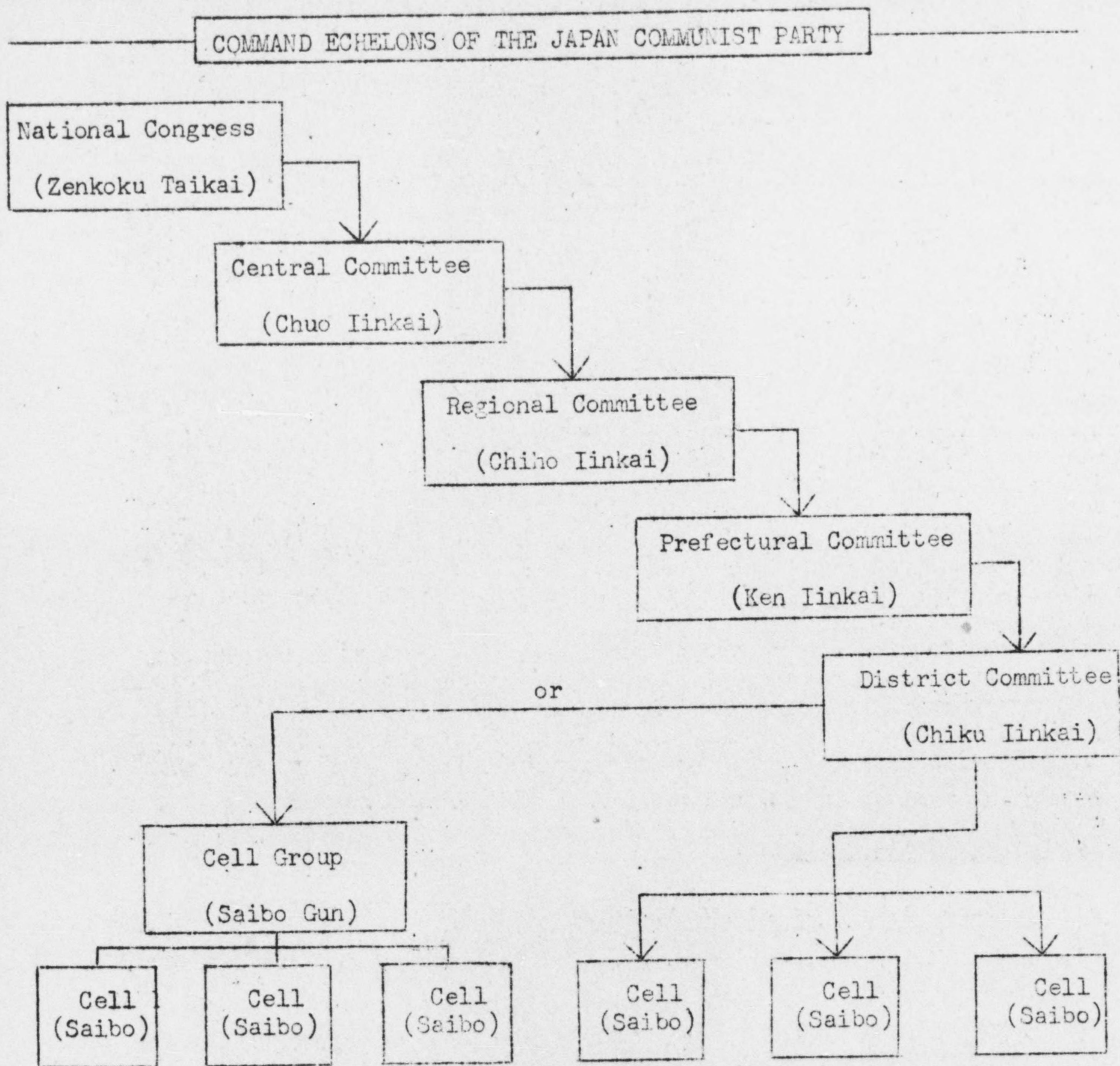
a. Central Committee (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee of the JCP is the national organ charged with the implementation of policies decided by the National Congress or National Convention. This committee also formulates and executes all necessary policy between the sessions of the National Congress. All members of the Central Committee are publicly announced and it is incorrect to refer to all representatives from the JCP Central Headquarters as Central Committee members.

b. Regional Committee (Chiho Iinkai): A Regional Committee of the JCP embraces several Prefectural Committees and can be considered to be operational in scope rather than administrative. Regional Committees were first officially authorized by the Sixth National Congress of the JCP in Japan. The Party Constitution provides that the head of a Regional Committee will be elected by the Regional Committee but at present each of the chiefs of the Regional Committees is a Central Committee Organizer who is a member of either the Central Committee or of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. Each Regional Committee has a Standing Committee (Jochin Iinkai) which exercises the power of the Regional Committee when this committee is not meeting. Some of the most common misnomers for the Regional Committee are: District Committee, Great District Committee or Large District Committee.

* Note: The basic reference for this article is "Guide to Communist Terminology," 11 Feb 49, prepared by the Fourth CIC District. References also have been made to CIS files for the purpose of checking and making amplifications.

In Hokkaido, the JCP has a Greater Regional Committee (Dai Chiho Iinkai) which corresponds to the standard Regional Committee. Under the Hokkaido Greater Regional Committee are Regional Committees which are parallel to the standard Prefectural Committees in the rest of Japan.

c. Prefectural Committee (Ken Iinkai): The Prefectural Committees of the JCP are directly under the Regional Committees and are headed by a Chairman. Erroneous designations of the Prefectural Committee are: District Committee, Regional Committee, Branch of the JCP, Prefectural Central Committee or Prefectural Council. The Chairman of a Prefectural Committee should not be referred to as Chief Communist or leading Communist.



d. District Committee (Chiku Iinkai): The immediate supervisory organ over Cells or Squads is known as the District Committee. This Committee is responsible for the direction of local propaganda activities and for insuring the participation of all subordinate organs in the various Party campaigns. The person in charge of the District Committee is called a Chairman. Frequent errors used in reporting on this Committee include: Regional Committee, Branch of a Prefectural Committee or Area Committee.

e. Cell Group (Saibo Gun): The Cell Group or Squad Group is not a standard JCP echelon but is often organized when there are three or more Cells or Squads closely together and joint control of the individual Cells' activities is desirable. A Cell Group is authorized to have a Cell Group or Squad Group Committee. Cell Groups are often misnamed Joint Cells or Cell Group Squads.

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g. Fraction (Furaku) (Written in Katakana): The most confusing of Communist terms are the words Fraction and Faction. A Fraction is an important Party term and means a group of JCP members who may also be organized into one or more cells who are placed into or recruited from a target organization over which the Party wishes to establish control. Thus, a Fraction is the unit of infiltration of the Party. In Japan, a Fraction may be either revealed or it may operate under cover. In Japanese labor unions, there are instances of both a concealed and open Fraction in the same union. An open Fraction generally operates under the name of Management Cell and issues orders and publications in the name of the Cell. A Fraction is not an actual echelon in the Party organization but can be attached to the formal structure at any level. In certain large target groups such as the Japan Farmers Union, the Fractions are pyramided into echelons with the various levels of the echelon maintaining liaison and contact with the corresponding echelon of the Party. The revised term for Fraction is Group (Gurupu) (Written in Katakana) but Fraction still remains in general use.

The word Faction has no particular meaning in Communist terminology and it has the normal meaning of two or more groups with opposing ideas in the same organization. This term is used in many types of organizations, both Communist and non-Communist. Followers of the several cliques in the JCP or partisans of certain leaders are properly known as Factions, such as the Yenan Faction, the Nosaka Faction or the Prison Faction.

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as far down as District Committees but are also found operating at the Cell level.

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- (9) General Affairs Department (Somu Bu)
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- (15) Agrarian Peoples Department (Nomin Bu)
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(2) National Conference (Zenkoku Kaigi): The Central Committee of the JCP headquarters has the authority to call a National Conference to discuss urgent Party policies and issues which may arise in between sessions of the National Congress. A National Conference is composed of the Central Committee plus representatives selected by the Prefectural Committees. The National Conference has the authority to remove up to one-fifth of the total membership of the Central Committee for cause, to elevate members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies created in the Central Committee created by expulsion of undesirable members and then to select additional members for the Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies in that group.

(3) General Meeting (Sokai): The regulations of the JCP provide that a General Meeting will be held at least once every four months. This General Meeting is composed of the Central Committee plus members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. The meeting has the power to select members for the Political Bureau and for the Secretariat from among the Central Committee membership and also conducts discussions on national strategy and tactics of the Party.

(4) Central Committee Meeting (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee is required to hold regular meetings at least once a month according to JCP regulations. At these meetings decisions are made relative to routine Party affairs but due to the presence of many influential members on the committee, policy decisions of great importance may be decided at regular Central Committee Meetings.

b. Regional Level:

(1) Regional Party Conference (Chiho To Kaigi): The supreme policy-making body on the regional level is the Regional Party Conference. This conference is attended by members of the Regional Committee, the Regional Committee Candidate Pool, representatives of the Prefectural Committees within the region and representatives of the Central Committee. The Regional Party Conference establishes plans based on the policies of the Central Committee and selects members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. Held once each year, the Regional Party Conference may be called into emergency session upon direction of the Regional Committee or by request of more than one-third of the Prefectural Committees.

(2) Regional Committee General Meeting (Chiho Iin Sokai): A Regional Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting has the authority to fill vacancies in the Regional Committee by selecting replacements from the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. All such selections are subject to approval by the Central Committee.

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c. Prefectural Level:

(1) Prefectural Party Conference (Ken To Kaigi): The Prefectural Party Conference corresponds to the National Congress or Regional Party Conference and must be convened once a year. Members of the Prefectural Committee, Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool and representatives of subordinate District Committees make up the Prefectural Party Conference. This conference elects members of the Prefectural Committee subject to Central Committee approval and establishes plans for the prefecture following policies set by the Central and Regional Committees. An emergency session of the Prefectural Party Conference may be called upon decision of the Prefectural Committee or upon request of more than one-third of the District Committees.

(2) Prefectural Committee General Meeting (Ken Iin Sokai): The Prefectural Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Prefectural Committee and the Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting discusses future plans and progress of its subordinate echelons and selects replacements for vacancies in the Prefectural Committee.

(3) Prefectural Committee Meeting (Ken Iinkai): Held at least once a month the Prefectural Committee Meeting is charged with the general supervision of Party activities in the prefecture. The Prefectural Committee selects a standing committee to handle daily affairs of the Party and may also establish special departments to supervise specific Party functions. The terminology of these departments usually is the same as for the Central Headquarters' Departments.

d. District Level: The highest body of the JCP Districts is the District Party Conference (Chiku To Kaigi) which meets twice each year by order of the District Committee. Special sessions may be called by either the direction of the District Committee or by request of over one-third of the Party members under the jurisdiction of the District. In between meetings of the District Party Conference, business is carried on by meetings of the District Committee. Meetings of Cell Groups and Cells are held as needed but are usually convened at regular intervals. Fractions or Group Meetings normally termed as Gurupu Kaigi are held when their business dictates. A frequent mis-translation for this term is Group Council.

7. Importance of a Standard JCP Terminology:

The adoption of a standard organizational terminology for the Japan Communist Party has many advantages and a definite importance. First, in order to increase the comprehensibility of intelligence reports, a fixed and uniform method of reporting Communist terms becomes necessary. At times a well prepared report is rendered less valuable by confusing and erroneous Party terms which are only understood by the person preparing the report. An added difficulty is the fact that the Japanese language has produced a wide variation of names for Communist terms so that there may be several possible translations for one such term.

In this report an attempt also has been made to establish a standard terminology which will conform as much as possible to the common international usage of Communist terms which are employed by Communist Parties in countries all over the world. The use of this article as a reference work for official standard organizational terminology of the JCP should contribute to a greater clarification and ease of comprehension of all articles and reports pertaining to the JCP.

Enclosure to Tokyo 's Despatch No. 329
May 23, 1949.

No. 39

SPECIAL ARTICLES

JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL TERMINOLOGY*

1. Introduction
2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party
3. Communist Position Titles
4. Central Headquarters Departments and Bureaus
5. Publications and Documents of Japan Communist Party
6. Congresses, Conferences and Meetings
7. Importance of a Standard JCP Terminology

1. Introduction:

The organizational complexity of the Japan Communist Party (JCP) has produced a wide variation of terminology peculiar only to the JCP. Added to this large number of new terms employed by the Communist Party is the necessity for translating these terms into English. This article is designed to establish a standard terminology with the Romaji (Japanese written in Roman letters) translations which will end the present confusion concerning terms used by the JCP and to standardize their usage.

To facilitate the use of this article as a reference work, the definitions of terms have been placed under major classifications. The standard Romaji names and translations of the most important Party terms are listed with brief explanations. A basic chart, "Command Echelons of the Japan Communist Party" is presented (page SPA -) to serve as an aid in finding the Romaji and English translations of JCP organizational terminology. The standard JCP terms in this article may have other good translations but for the sake of uniformity, these standard terms are recommended.

The most frequently used mis-translations of JCP terms are described in order to emphasize the undesirability of the use of such terms. The standard terminology established in an appendix to the CIS Periodical Summary No. 34, 15 Nov 48, entitled "Alphabetical Index of Leftist Organizations in Japan" is not repeated in this article and should be consulted for that phase of Communist activity.

2. Echelons of the Japan Communist Party:

a. Central Committee (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee of the JCP is the national organ charged with the implementation of policies decided by the National Congress or National Convention. This committee also formulates and executes all necessary policy between the sessions of the National Congress. All members of the Central Committee are publicly announced and it is incorrect to refer to all representatives from the JCP Central Headquarters as Central Committee members.

b. Regional Committee (Chiho Iinkai): A Regional Committee of the JCP embraces several Prefectural Committees and can be considered to be operational in scope rather than administrative. Regional Committees were first officially authorized by the Sixth National Congress of the JCP in Japan. The Party Constitution provides that the head of a Regional Committee will be elected by the Regional Committee but at present each of the chiefs of the Regional Committees is a Central Committee Organizer who is a member of either the Central Committee or of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. Each Regional Committee has a Standing Committee (Jonin Iinkai) which exercises the power of the Regional Committee when this committee is not meeting. Some of the most common misnomers for the Regional Committee are: District Committee, Great District Committee or Large District Committee.

* Note: The basic reference for this article is "Guide to Communist Terminology," 11 Feb 49, prepared by the Fourth CIC District. References also have been made to CIS files for the purpose of checking and making amplifications.

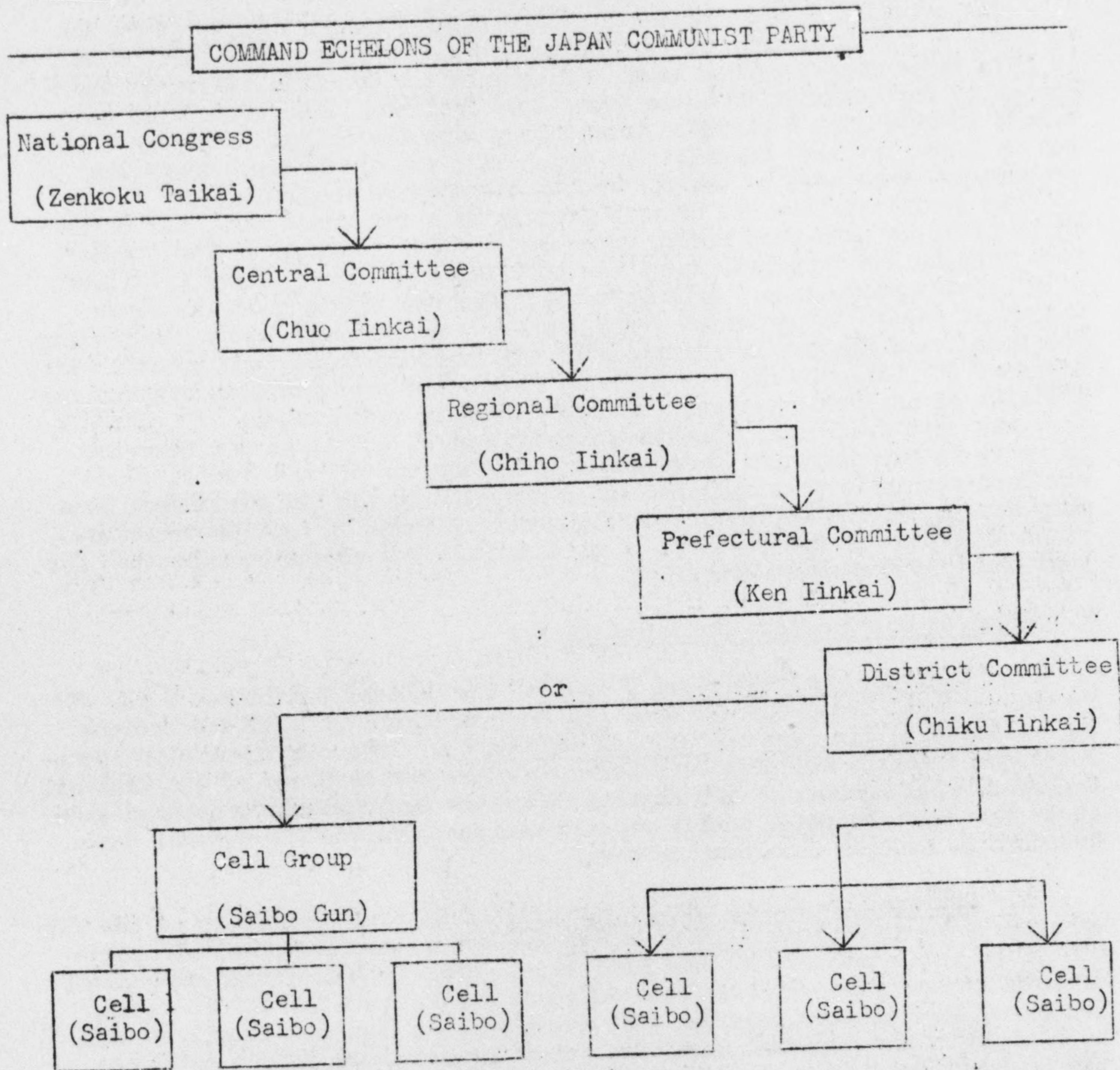
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In Hokkaido, the JCP has a Greater Regional Committee (Dai Chiho Iinkai) which corresponds to the standard Regional Committee. Under the Hokkaido Greater Regional Committee are Regional Committees which are parallel to the standard Prefectural Committees in the rest of Japan.

c. Prefectural Committee (Ken Iinkai): The Prefectural Committees of the JCP are directly under the Regional Committees and are headed by a Chairman. Erroneous designations of the Prefectural Committee are: District Committee, Regional Committee, Branch of the JCP, Prefectural Central Committee or Prefectural Council. The Chairman of a Prefectural Committee should not be referred to as Chief Communist or leading Communist.



d. District Committee (Chiku Iinkai): The immediate supervisory organ over Cells or Squads is known as the District Committee. This Committee is responsible for the direction of local propaganda activities and for insuring the participation of all subordinate organs in the various Party campaigns. The person in charge of the District Committee is called a Chairman. Frequent errors used in reporting on this Committee include: Regional Committee, Branch of a Prefectural Committee or Area Committee.

e. Cell Group (Saibo Gun): The Cell Group or Squad Group is not a standard JCP echelon but is often organized when there are three or more Cells or Squads closely together and joint control of the individual Cells' activities is desirable. A Cell Group is authorized to have a Cell Group or Squad Group Committee. Cell Groups are often misnamed Joint Cells or Cell Group Squads.

f. Cell (Saibo) or Squad (Han): The lowest official echelon of the Communist Party is the Cell or Squad. At the Sixth National Convention of the JCP it was decided that the name Cell would be changed to Squad for the purpose of creating a better public impression by avoiding the use of the internationally used communistic term of Cell. Recently, the Party has reverted to the use of Cell and both terms are in common usage. A Cell is formed with a minimum of three members who are living or working close enough for mutual communication. No maximum size has been established for Cells and some Cells report as many as 80 members. A common erroneous designation for Cells is Local Branch.

g. Fraction (Furaku) (Written in Katakana): The most confusing of Communist terms are the words Fraction and Faction. A Fraction is an important Party term and means a group of JCP members who may also be organized into one or more cells who are placed into or recruited from a target organization over which the Party wishes to establish control. Thus, a Fraction is the unit of infiltration of the Party. In Japan, a Fraction may be either revealed or it may operate under cover. In Japanese labor unions, there are instances of both a concealed and open Fraction in the same union. An open Fraction generally operates under the name of Management Cell and issues orders and publications in the name of the Cell. A Fraction is not an actual echelon in the Party organization but can be attached to the formal structure at any level. In certain large target groups such as the Japan Farmers Union, the Fractions are pyramided into echelons with the various levels of the echelon maintaining liaison and contact with the corresponding echelon of the Party. The revised term for Fraction is Group (Gurupu) (Written in Katakana) but Fraction still remains in general use.

The word Faction has no particular meaning in Communist terminology and it has the normal meaning of two or more groups with opposing ideas in the same organization. This term is used in many types of organizations, both Communist and non-Communist. Followers of the several cliques in the JCP or partisans of certain leaders are properly known as Factions, such as the Yenan Faction, the Nosaka Faction or the Prison Faction.

3. Communist Position Titles:

a. Secretary General (Shoki Cho): The standard international Communist term for the executive head of the Party within each country is Secretary General. Chief Clerk or Head Clerk are not correct interpretations of this position title.

b. Members of Committees: The best usage in referring to the positions of members of any Communist Committee is to say member of the Central Committee, Kanto Regional Committeeman or member of the Control Committee. The use of such terms as Prefectural Executive or District Director for members of committees is erroneous and confusing.

c. Organizers or Org (Oragu) (Written in Katakana): The term Organizer refers to a specific position in the Communist Party and certain persons are designated as Organizers. Although every Party member has the duty of recruiting new members and organizing new groups, they are not officially considered as Organizers and every Communist agitator should not be referred to as an Organizer. Organizers are normally officially assigned to echelons

as far down as District Committees but are also found operating at the Cell level.

4. Central Headquarters Departments and Bureaus:

The Departments and Bureaus of the JCP Central Headquarters are partly duplicated in the lower echelon headquarters of the Party. There is no fixed organization of these Departments and Bureaus in the various Regional, Prefectural or District headquarters and they are established when the local situation makes them necessary. The same names and translations are generally used.

a. Secretariat (Shoki Kyoku): The central administrative agency for the JCP is the Secretariat. The main duties of the Secretariat are to issue official Directives and Notifications in the name of the Central Committee; to keep official statistics on the internal affairs of the Party; and to provide an accounting of finances on a national basis. Most frequently the Secretariat is misnamed the Clerk Bureau, Clerical Bureau, Clerk Section, Secretary Department of Secretary's Pool.

b. Political Bureau or Politburo (Seiji Kyoku): The Political Bureau is the Party agency authorized to decide general and political policies for the Party's activities. These decisions are subject to a theoretical review and approval by the Central Committee when in session. The Political Bureau has been misnamed the Political Board, the Political Affairs Section and the Political Department.

c. Organization and Activities Bureau (Soshiki Katsudo Shido Bu): The Organization and Activities Bureau of Central Headquarters makes general daily decisions on tactical measures and also aids in the formulation of propaganda keynotes and tactical guides. Although other translations of this term may be correct, the title of Organization and Activities Bureau best describes this agency. Incorrect translations are Organization Action and Leadership Department and the Formation and Activity Guidance Section.

d. Control Committee (Tosei Iinkai): The Control Committee of the JCP Central Headquarters is the watchdog of the headquarters. Its duties include inspection and supervision of the implementation of decisions of the National Congress and the Central Committee, enforcement of Party regulations and defense against anti-Communist elements who seek to destroy the Party. The Committee holds regular general meetings at least once a month and conducts joint meetings with the Political Bureau when important urgent matters arise. It is composed of not more than 10 members who are elected by the National Congress.

e. Central Committee Candidate Pool (Chuo Iin Koho): Members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool are elected by the JCP National Congress. Provisions are made for a total of 25 persons to be held in this pool and whenever a vacancy occurs in the Central Committee, a Central Committee Candidate is selected for that position.

f. Administrative and Specialized Departments:

- (1) Propaganda and Education Department (Senden Kyoiku Bu)
- (2) Publications Department (Shuppan Bu)
- (3) Cultural Affairs Department (Bunka Bu)
- (4) Investigation Department (Chosa Bu)
- (5) Financial Affairs Department (Zaisei Bu)
- (6) Regional Affairs Department (Chiho Bu)
- (7) Science and Technology Department (Kagaku Gijutsu Bu)
- (8) Personnel Affairs Department (Jinji Bu)

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- (9) General Affairs Department (Somu Bu)
- (10) Akahata (Red Flag) Department (Akahata Shuhitsu)
- (11) Zenei (Vanguard) Department (Zenei Shukan)
- (12) Youth Affairs Department (Seinen Taisaku Bu)
- (13) Regional Administration Affairs Department (Chiho Gyosei Taisaku Bu)
- (14) Urban Peoples Department (Shimin Taisaku Bu)
- (15) Agrarian Peoples Department (Nomin Bu)
- (16) Women's Department (Fujin Bu)
- (17) Election Affairs Department (Senkyo Taisaku Bu)
- (18) Soviet Culture Propaganda Department (Sovieto Bunka Senden Bu)

5. Publications and Documents of the JCP:

a. Directives (Shirei) and Notifications (Tsutatsu): The Secretariat normally issues all Party orders in the form of Directives or Notifications although the Political Bureau and the Control Committee occasionally publish Directives and Notifications. The majority of these orders are numbered serially to facilitate filing but at times are published without numbers. These terms of Directives and Notifications are to be used instead of Instruction or Notice.

b. Organization and Propaganda Guide (Soshiki Senden Shishin): The Organization and Propaganda Guide is a joint publication of the Organization and Activities Bureau and the Propaganda and Education Departments. It appears irregularly every 10 or 15 days and is considered to be a registered and classified document by the JCP.

c. Organization and Activity Emergency Bulletin (Soshiki Katsudo Sokuho): This bulletin is published by the Organization and Activities Bureau at weekly intervals at present. It is a relatively new publication which contains news and instructions concerning the pending Communist "struggles." The Organization and Activity Emergency Bulletin is reportedly another JCP registered document.

d. Guide to Party Activity (To Katsudo Shishin): The Propaganda and Education Department of the JCP headquarters publishes the Guide to Party Activity. This guide is a new Party publication and is a registered JCP document. It is reportedly published to supplement the Organization and Propaganda Guide.

e. Official Party Publications: (For detailed information on JCP publications see CIS Periodical Summary No. 31, 15 Aug 48, Page SUM - 23)

(1) Akahata (Red Flag): The official daily newspaper organ of the JCP is Akahata. This newspaper is published for both public and Party member consumption. The term Akahata is generally used without the translation.

(2) Zenei (Vanguard): Zenei is the official monthly publication of the Communist Party and is for public consumption. Similarly to Akahata, the term Zenei is usually used without the translation.

(3) Other Party Organs and Publications: All echelons of the JCP publish organ papers for education of members and public propaganda. Translation of these titles will normally produce standard and easily understood names.

Central Headquarters Departments of the JCP also publish a large number of pamphlets and leaflets which are prepared for public newsstand distribution for the purpose of propaganda and fund raising campaigns. Most of these publications are issued by the Publications Department of the JCP but other Central Headquarters Departments also issue such publications.

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6. Congresses, Conferences and Meetings:a. National Level:

(1) National Congress or National Convention (Zenkoku Taikai): A regular JCP National Congress or National Convention must be held at least once each year according to Party regulations. Emergency sessions may be called when more than one-third of the members of the Central Committee or one-half of the delegates to the previous National Congress so demand. The National Congress is the highest policy-making body of the JCP and is empowered to decide basic policies which continue in effect until the next meeting of the Congress. It also selects members of the Central Committee, the Central Committee Candidate Pool and the Control Committee. The National Congress is attended by members of the Central Committee, the Central Committee Candidate Pool and the Control Committee together with representatives from the Prefectural Committees. National Congress is preferred, rather than National Convention.

(2) National Conference (Zenkoku Kaigi): The Central Committee of the JCP headquarters has the authority to call a National Conference to discuss urgent Party policies and issues which may arise in between sessions of the National Congress. A National Conference is composed of the Central Committee plus representatives selected by the Prefectural Committees. The National Conference has the authority to remove up to one-fifth of the total membership of the Central Committee for cause, to elevate members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies created in the Central Committee created by expulsion of undesirable members and then to select additional members for the Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies in that group.

(3) General Meeting (Sokai): The regulations of the JCP provide that a General Meeting will be held at least once every four months. This General Meeting is composed of the Central Committee plus members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. The meeting has the power to select members for the Political Bureau and for the Secretariat from among the Central Committee membership and also conducts discussions on national strategy and tactics of the Party.

(4) Central Committee Meeting (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee is required to hold regular meetings at least once a month according to JCP regulations. At these meetings decisions are made relative to routine Party affairs but due to the presence of many influential members on the committee, policy decisions of great importance may be decided at regular Central Committee Meetings.

b. Regional Level:

(1) Regional Party Conference (Chiho To Kaigi): The supreme policy-making body on the regional level is the Regional Party Conference. This conference is attended by members of the Regional Committee, the Regional Committee Candidate Pool, representatives of the Prefectural Committees within the region and representatives of the Central Committee. The Regional Party Conference establishes plans based on the policies of the Central Committee and selects members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. Held once each year, the Regional Party Conference may be called into emergency session upon direction of the Regional Committee or by request of more than one-third of the Prefectural Committees.

(2) Regional Committee General Meeting (Chiho Iin Sokai): A Regional Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting has the authority to fill vacancies in the Regional Committee by selecting replacements from the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. All such selections are subject to approval by the Central Committee.

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(3) Regional Committee Meeting (Chiho Iinkai): The term Regional Committee Meeting refers to the regular monthly meeting of this committee. The group discusses routine Regional Party affairs and has the power to select a standing committee to oversee the daily business of the regional headquarters. Specialized departments may also be established.

c. Prefectural Level:

(1) Prefectural Party Conference (Ken To Kaigi): The Prefectural Party Conference corresponds to the National Congress or Regional Party Conference and must be convened once a year. Members of the Prefectural Committee, Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool and representatives of subordinate District Committees make up the Prefectural Party Conference. This conference elects members of the Prefectural Committee subject to Central Committee approval and establishes plans for the prefecture following policies set by the Central and Regional Committees. An emergency session of the Prefectural Party Conference may be called upon decision of the Prefectural Committee or upon request of more than one-third of the District Committees.

(2) Prefectural Committee General Meeting (Ken Iin Sokai): The Prefectural Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Prefectural Committee and the Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting discusses future plans and progress of its subordinate echelons and selects replacements for vacancies in the Prefectural Committee.

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d. District Level: The highest body of the JCP Districts is the District Party Conference (Chiku To Kaigi) which meets twice each year by order of the District Committee. Special sessions may be called by either the direction of the District Committee or by request of over one-third of the Party members under the jurisdiction of the District. In between meetings of the District Party Conference, business is carried on by meetings of the District Committee. Meetings of Cell Groups and Cells are held as needed but are usually convened at regular intervals. Fractions or Group Meetings normally termed as Gurupu Kaigi are held when their business dictates. A frequent mis-translation for this term is Group Council.

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The adoption of a standard organizational terminology for the Japan Communist Party has many advantages and a definite importance. First, in order to increase the comprehensibility of intelligence reports, a fixed and uniform method of reporting Communist terms becomes necessary. At times a well prepared report is rendered less valuable by confusing and erroneous Party terms which are only understood by the person preparing the report. An added difficulty is the fact that the Japanese language has produced a wide variation of names for Communist terms so that there may be several possible translations for one such term.

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Enclosure to Tokyo's Despatch No. 329
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SPECIAL ARTICLES

No. 39

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b. Regional Committee (Chiho Iinkai): A Regional Committee of the JCP embraces several Prefectural Committees and can be considered to be operational in scope rather than administrative. Regional Committees were first officially authorized by the Sixth National Congress of the JCP in Japan. The Party Constitution provides that the head of a Regional Committee will be elected by the Regional Committee but at present each of the chiefs of the Regional Committees is a Central Committee Organizer who is a member of either the Central Committee or of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. Each Regional Committee has a Standing Committee (Jonin Iinkai) which exercises the power of the Regional Committee when this committee is not meeting. Some of the most common misnomers for the Regional Committee are: District Committee, Great District Committee or Large District Committee.

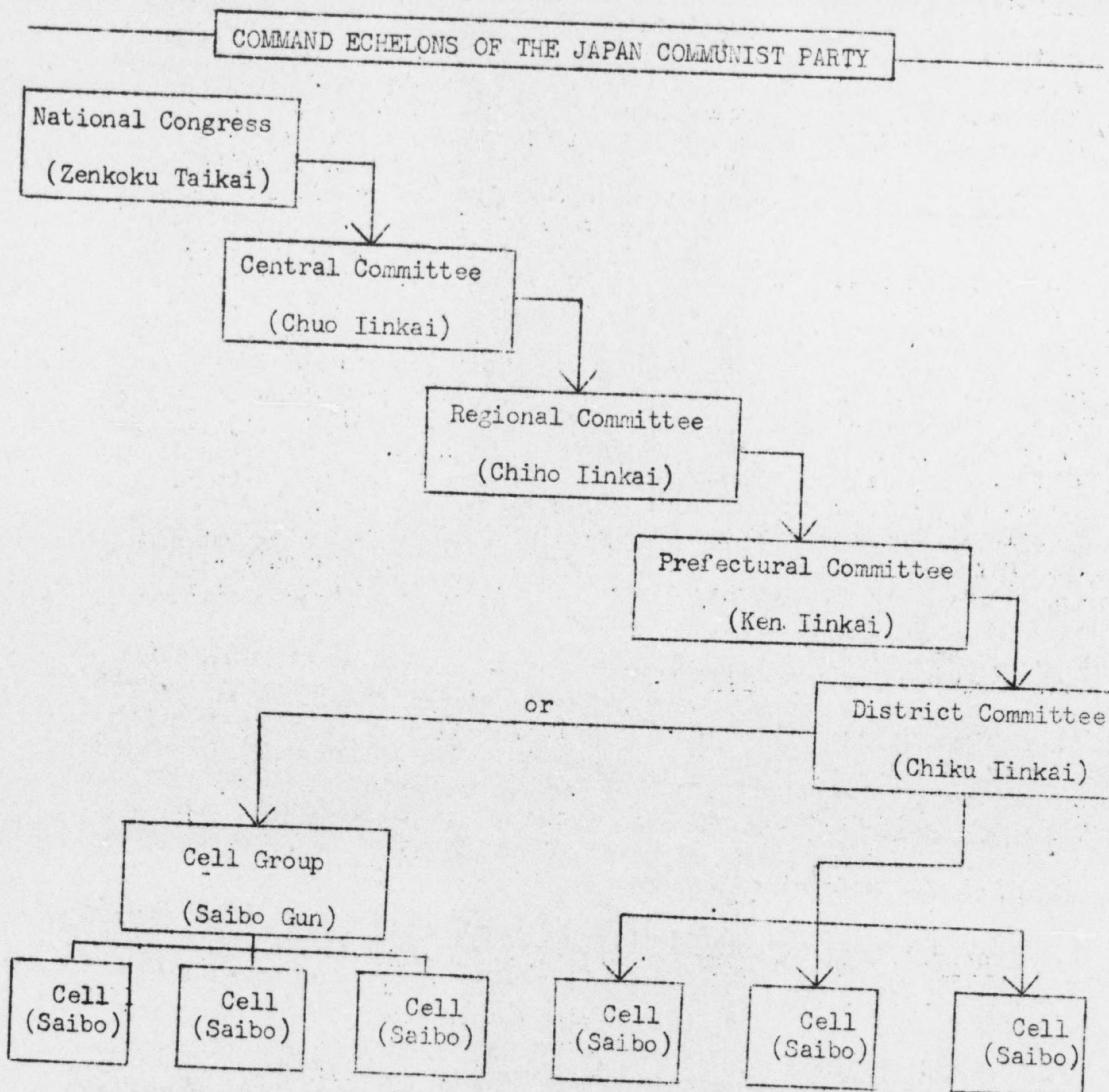
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The word Faction has no particular meaning in Communist terminology and it has the normal meaning of two or more groups with opposing ideas in the same organization. This term is used in many types of organizations, both Communist and non-Communist. Followers of the several cliques in the JCP or partisans of certain leaders are properly known as Factions, such as the Yenan Faction, the Nosaka Faction or the Prison Faction.

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a. Secretary General (Shoki Cho): The standard international Communist term for the executive head of the Party within each country is Secretary General. Chief Clerk or Head Clerk are not correct interpretations of this position title.

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c. Organizers or Org (Orgu) (Written in Katakana): The term Organizer refers to a specific position in the Communist Party and certain persons are designated as Organizers. Although every Party member has the duty of recruiting new members and organizing new groups, they are not officially considered as Organizers and every Communist agitator should not be referred to as an Organizer. Organizers are normally officially assigned to echelons

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e. Central Committee Candidate Pool (Chuo Iin Koho): Members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool are elected by the JCP National Congress. Provisions are made for a total of 25 persons to be held in this pool and whenever a vacancy occurs in the Central Committee, a Central Committee Candidate is selected for that position.

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- (6) Regional Affairs Department (Chiho Bu)
- (7) Science and Technology Department (Kagaku Gijutsu Bu)
- (8) Personnel Affairs Department (Jinji Bu)

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- (9) General Affairs Department (Somu Bu)
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- (14) Urban Peoples Department (Shimin Taisaku Bu)
- (15) Agrarian Peoples Department (Nomin Bu)
- (16) Women's Department (Fujin Bu)
- (17) Election Affairs Department (Senkyo Taisaku Bu)
- (18) Soviet Culture Propaganda Department (Sovieto Bunka Senden Bu)

5. Publications and Documents of the JCP:

a. Directives (Shirei) and Notifications (Tsutatsu): The Secretariat normally issues all Party orders in the form of Directives or Notifications although the Political Bureau and the Control Committee occasionally publish Directives and Notifications. The majority of these orders are numbered serially to facilitate filing but at times are published without numbers. These terms of Directives and Notifications are to be used instead of Instruction or Notice.

b. Organization and Propaganda Guide (Soshiki Senden Shishin): The Organization and Propaganda Guide is a joint publication of the Organization and Activities Bureau and the Propaganda and Education Departments. It appears irregularly every 10 or 15 days and is considered to be a registered and classified document by the JCP.

c. Organization and Activity Emergency Bulletin (Soshiki Katsudo Sokuho): This bulletin is published by the Organization and Activities Bureau at weekly intervals at present. It is a relatively new publication which contains news and instructions concerning the pending Communist "struggles." The Organization and Activity Emergency Bulletin is reportedly another JCP registered document.

d. Guide to Party Activity (To Katsudo Shishin): The Propaganda and Education Department of the JCP headquarters publishes the Guide to Party Activity. This guide is a new Party publication and is a registered JCP document. It is reportedly published to supplement the Organization and Propaganda Guide.

e. Official Party Publications: (For detailed information on JCP publications see CIS Periodical Summary No. 31, 15 Aug 48, Page SUM - 23)

(1) Akahata (Red Flag): The official daily newspaper organ of the JCP is Akahata. This newspaper is published for both public and Party member consumption. The term Akahata is generally used without the translation.

(2) Zenei (Vanguard): Zenei is the official monthly publication of the Communist Party and is for public consumption. Similarly to Akahata, the term Zenei is usually used without the translation.

(3) Other Party Organs and Publications: All echelons of the JCP publish organ papers for education of members and public propaganda. Translation of these titles will normally produce standard and easily understood names.

Central Headquarters Departments of the JCP also publish a large number of pamphlets and leaflets which are prepared for public newsstand distribution for the purpose of propaganda and fund raising campaigns. Most of these publications are issued by the Publications Department of the JCP but other Central Headquarters Departments also issue such publications.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

No. 39

6. Congresses, Conferences and Meetings:a. National Level:

(1) National Congress or National Convention (Zenkoku Taikai): A regular JCP National Congress or National Convention must be held at least once each year according to Party regulations. Emergency sessions may be called when more than one-third of the members of the Central Committee or one-half of the delegates to the previous National Congress so demand. The National Congress is the highest policy-making body of the JCP and is empowered to decide basic policies which continue in effect until the next meeting of the Congress. It also selects members of the Central Committee, the Central Committee Candidate Pool and the Control Committee. The National Congress is attended by members of the Central Committee, the Central Committee Candidate Pool and the Control Committee together with representatives from the Prefectural Committees. National Congress is preferred, rather than National Convention.

(2) National Conference (Zenkoku Kaigi): The Central Committee of the JCP headquarters has the authority to call a National Conference to discuss urgent Party policies and issues which may arise in between sessions of the National Congress. A National Conference is composed of the Central Committee plus representatives selected by the Prefectural Committees. The National Conference has the authority to remove up to one-fifth of the total membership of the Central Committee for cause, to elevate members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies created in the Central Committee created by expulsion of undesirable members and then to select additional members for the Candidate Pool to fill the vacancies in that group.

(3) General Meeting (Sokai): The regulations of the JCP provide that a General Meeting will be held at least once every four months. This General Meeting is composed of the Central Committee plus members of the Central Committee Candidate Pool. The meeting has the power to select members for the Political Bureau and for the Secretariat from among the Central Committee membership and also conducts discussions on national strategy and tactics of the Party.

(4) Central Committee Meeting (Chuo Iinkai): The Central Committee is required to hold regular meetings at least once a month according to JCP regulations. At these meetings decisions are made relative to routine Party affairs but due to the presence of many influential members on the committee, policy decisions of great importance may be decided at regular Central Committee Meetings.

b. Regional Level:

(1) Regional Party Conference (Chiho To Kaigi): The supreme policy-making body on the regional level is the Regional Party Conference. This conference is attended by members of the Regional Committee, the Regional Committee Candidate Pool, representatives of the Prefectural Committees within the region and representatives of the Central Committee. The Regional Party Conference establishes plans based on the policies of the Central Committee and selects members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. Held once each year, the Regional Party Conference may be called into emergency session upon direction of the Regional Committee or by request of more than one-third of the Prefectural Committees.

(2) Regional Committee General Meeting (Chiho Iin Sokai): A Regional Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Regional Committee and the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting has the authority to fill vacancies in the Regional Committee by selecting replacements from the Regional Committee Candidate Pool. All such selections are subject to approval by the Central Committee.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

No. 39

(3) Regional Committee Meeting (Chiho Iinkai): The term Regional Committee Meeting refers to the regular monthly meeting of this committee. The group discusses routine Regional Party affairs and has the power to select a standing committee to oversee the daily business of the regional headquarters. Specialized departments may also be established.

c. Prefectural Level:

(1) Prefectural Party Conference (Ken To Kaigi): The Prefectural Party Conference corresponds to the National Congress or Regional Party Conference and must be convened once a year. Members of the Prefectural Committee, Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool and representatives of subordinate District Committees make up the Prefectural Party Conference. This conference elects members of the Prefectural Committee subject to Central Committee approval and establishes plans for the prefecture following policies set by the Central and Regional Committees. An emergency session of the Prefectural Party Conference may be called upon decision of the Prefectural Committee or upon request of more than one-third of the District Committees.

(2) Prefectural Committee General Meeting (Ken Iin Sokai): The Prefectural Committee General Meeting is held at least once every three months and is composed of members of the Prefectural Committee and the Prefectural Committee Candidate Pool. The General Meeting discusses future plans and progress of its subordinate echelons and selects replacements for vacancies in the Prefectural Committee.

(3) Prefectural Committee Meeting (Ken Iinkai): Held at least once a month the Prefectural Committee Meeting is charged with the general supervision of Party activities in the prefecture. The Prefectural Committee selects a standing committee to handle daily affairs of the Party and may also establish special departments to supervise specific Party functions. The terminology of these departments usually is the same as for the Central Headquarters' Departments.

d. District Level: The highest body of the JCP Districts is the District Party Conference (Chiku To Kaigi) which meets twice each year by order of the District Committee. Special sessions may be called by either the direction of the District Committee or by request of over one-third of the Party members under the jurisdiction of the District. In between meetings of the District Party Conference, business is carried on by meetings of the District Committee. Meetings of Cell Groups and Cells are held as needed but are usually convened at regular intervals. Fractions or Group Meetings normally termed as Gurupu Kaigi are held when their business dictates. A frequent mis-translation for this term is Group Council.

7. Importance of a Standard JCP Terminology:

The adoption of a standard organizational terminology for the Japan Communist Party has many advantages and a definite importance. First, in order to increase the comprehensibility of intelligence reports, a fixed and uniform method of reporting Communist terms becomes necessary. At times a well prepared report is rendered less valuable by confusing and erroneous Party terms which are only understood by the person preparing the report. An added difficulty is the fact that the Japanese language has produced a wide variation of names for Communist terms so that there may be several possible translations for one such term.

In this report an attempt also has been made to establish a standard terminology which will conform as much as possible to the common international usage of Communist terms which are employed by Communist Parties in countries all over the world. The use of this article as a reference work for official standard organizational terminology of the JCP should contribute to a greater clarification and ease of comprehension of all articles and reports pertaining to the JCP.



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

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JUN 10 1949 United States Political Adviser
for Japan

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 332

Tokyo, May 23, 1949.

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(For Department Use Only)

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Action Assigned to *NA*

Action Taken *in action*

Subject: Future of the Social Democratic Party.

Date of Action _____

Action Office Symbol *NA*

Name of Officer *W. Green*

Direction to DC/R *file*

894.00/5-2349

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

594.00/3-249
594.00/1-2149
With reference to this Mission's despatches nos. 146 and 242 of March 12 and April 21, 1949, I have the honor to transmit a memorandum of a conversation which took place on May 10, 1949 between Mrs. Jane M. ALDEN (presently assigned to this Mission by the Department) and Mr. YONEKUBO Mitsusuke, prominent Social Democratic Party member of the House of Representatives, and formerly Minister of Labor in the Katayama Cabinet.

With thirty years' experience in the labor movement and socialist political activity, Mr. Yonekubo is now affiliated with the center faction of the Social Democratic Party. Although the party has been torn by internal dissension since the general election of January 23, Mr. Yonekubo believes that for the present the left wing and its labor supporters will prefer to continue working within the party. Eventually, however, he is convinced that the party will split into two groups. If and when the split comes, Mr. Yonekubo says that he will go with the left wing. He is convinced that the left wing is firmly anti-communist and is increasing its strength, especially as a result of the entry into the party of leaders of the Democratization League. In the event of a split, Mr. Yonekubo does not believe that the socialist right wing will merge with any of the conservative parties but will attempt to function as a small independent group with whatever strength it can muster.

Mr. Yonekubo in discussing younger party members as potential leaders particularly mentioned Messrs. KATSUMATA Seiichi and INAMURA Junzo of the left wing faction and Mr. MIYAKE Shoichi of the right wing. In Mr. Yonekubo's opinion, Mr. Katsumata is the most promising leader. It

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Tokyo's Despatch No. 332,
May 23, 1949.

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may be noted that Mr. Katsumata was involved in the famous Cabinet Planning Board Incident just before the outbreak of the Pacific War, when police investigations indicated that he was a member of the then underground Communist Party. It is believed that his rise to leadership in a left-wing dominated socialist party would very likely facilitate some form of socialist-communist cooperation under a popular front. Mr. Yonekubo's enthusiasm for Mr. Katsumata's ability as a potential leader also overlooks other important considerations. While Mr. Katsumata is unquestionably a man of exceptional intelligence and ability, his career has been confined primarily to the left-wing intelligentsia and government service. He lacks firm connections with the labor movement. The recent gain in strength of the left wing in the Social Democratic Party has been made possible largely by the increased influence of the labor unions and especially the followers of the Democratization League. If this trend continues, the Social Democratic Party, and particularly its left wing, will become more and more dominated by labor. That the labor union element will follow a man without a real labor background is doubtful.

Mr. Yonekubo commented at some length on the Social Democratic Party's loss of such old-line leaders as KONO Mitsu, NISHIO Suehiro, and MATSUMOTO Jiichiro. These losses of experienced leadership and the serious reverses in the January 23 election have brought the Social Democratic Party to the nadir of its postwar career. There are now beginning to take place, therefore, various re-groupings and re-alignments out of which he believes that a new leadership will unquestionably emerge. Mr. Yonekubo feels that the party will regain considerable strength by this process. He does not appear to be too sure, however, as to how this process of revival will be accomplished without a definitive left-right split.

Unless factional differences and personal rivalries completely disrupt the party, it appears that the most promising source of strength today is the growing influence of the labor union element and the apparent intention of the Democratization League to take over the party and revitalize it as a real labor party. This effort will unquestionably meet with serious opposition from what might be called the professional socialists in the party, the old-line leaders, among whom Mr. Yonekubo should be included, who have heretofore been primarily concerned with efforts to build the Social Democratic Party along traditional political party lines. Their efforts have only to a small degree looked toward a labor party in the sense of a party solidly supported if not controlled by organized labor. The leaders of the Democratization League unquestionably hope to convert the Social Democratic Party into such an organization. If they are successful,

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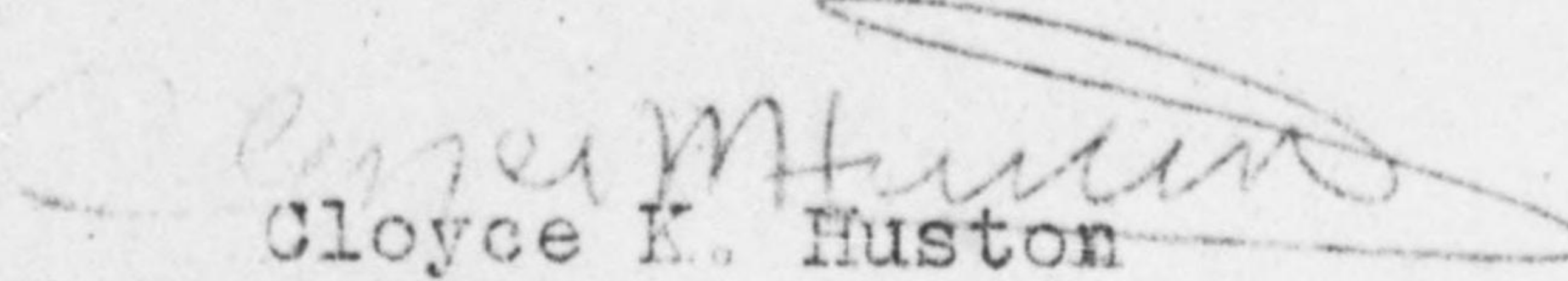
May 23, 1949


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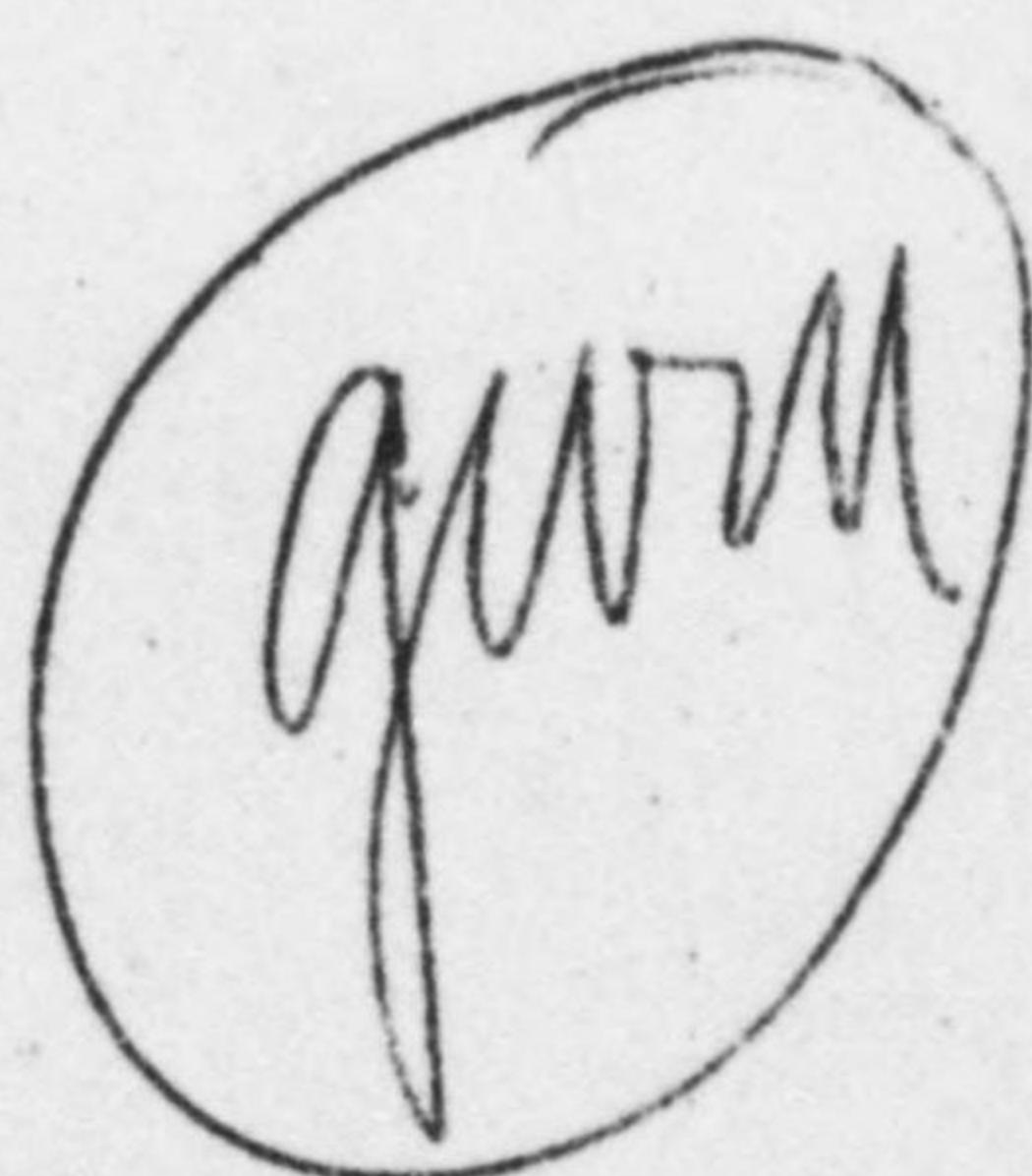
the party will not only gain measurably in strength but will acquire a dependable following in the labor movement. Solid labor union support alone may not be sufficient to bring the party again into power, but it would make the socialists a much more powerful and effective opposition.

Respectfully yours,


Cloyce K. Huston
Charge d'Affaires ad interim

Enclosure: 

✓ Memorandum of conversation of
May 10, 1949, Yonekubo Mitsusuke
and J. M. Alden.



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Enclosure to Despatch No. 332
May 23, 1949 from the United
States Political Adviser for
Japan, Tokyo, on the subject
"Future of the Social Democratic
Party".

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

CONFIDENTIAL

May 10, 1949

SUBJECT: Future of the Social Democratic Party.

PARTICIPANTS: YONEKUBO Mitsusuke

Mrs. Jane M. ALDEN

YONEKUBO Mitsusuke, Socialist Party member of the House of Representatives, is associated with the center faction of the Party. He was formerly Minister of Labor in the Katayama Cabinet, and for thirty years has been associated with the Seamen's Union. In the prewar period he was a member of the Shakai Taishuto (Social Mass Party) predecessor of the present Socialist Party.

Mr. Yonekubo expressed his views on conditions within the Socialist Party, its relations with labor and farmer groups, and the party's prospects for the future.

In Mr. Yonekubo's opinion, the Socialist Party will probably split into two groups within the next year or two. He did not think that the split would come earlier than this because the left wing and its labor support would attempt to work from within the party for the time being. He personally would continue to work to avoid a split in the party but he was not hopeful that party unity could be maintained. He himself would go with the left wing of the party in the event the party split into two groups. He has refrained to date from associating himself with the left wing because of his desire to conciliate the differences between the right and left within the party. Although Mr. Yonekubo did not say so, he implied that his decision to throw in his lot with the left wing in the event of a split was a recent decision, and that for a long time he had remained undecided on a course of action. He believes that the left wing is firmly anti-communist, and that is is

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Enclosure to Tokyo's
Despatch No. 332,
May 23, 1949.

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increasing its strength within the party, especially with the entrance into the party of the leaders of the Democratization League and the increasing strength of the left wing of the Japan Federation of Labor (Solmei' under Secretary-General Takano. On the other hand, in the event of a division of the party into two separate groups, Mr. Yonekubo does not think that the right wing will join with the conservative parties but that it will remain as a small independent political group.

In the recent Socialist Party convention Mr. Yonekubo supported SUZUKI Mosaburo, the left-wing candidate for Secretary-General of the party against ASANUMA Inajiro, the right wing candidate. Yonekubo thinks that Suzuki will make a good Secretary-General, that he is far more capable than Asanuma whom Mr. Yonekubo considers not very intelligent.

Mr. Yonekubo was asked to comment on the younger party members and the ones he considered the best potential leaders. He considers KATSUMATA Seiichi, socialist member from Shizuoka, as the outstanding younger party leader and the one who will probably rise to a position of top leadership in the party. In addition to Katsumata he selected INAMURA Junzo, Socialist from Niigata, and MIYAKE Shoichi, also of Niigata, as promising future leaders. Both Inamura and Miyake he considered especially well versed in farm problems. Katsumata and Inamura are members of the left wing faction in the party, while Miyake is associated with the right wing faction.

The singling out by Yonekubo of Katsumata as the strongest candidate for a position of leadership in the party in the future is interesting in view of Katsumata's background. Katsumata was a member of the group surrounding WADA Hiroo in the Cabinet Investigation Bureau and its successor the Cabinet Planning Board in the period 1935-40. The Wada faction was the chief exponent within both organizations of internal economic reforms and the establishment of planned economy. At the time of the Cabinet Planning Board Incident in 1938 and in subsequent Japanese police investigations it was established that there were close connections between members of the Wada faction and the Showa Kenkyukai, a research group, under the influence of OZAKI Hozumi of the now famous Sorge case. While members of the Wada faction, among them Katsumata, were unquestionably unaware of Ozaki's espionage activities, they were also obviously influenced by Soviet economic planning and concepts. Japanese police investigations in later years concluded that Katsumata was at this time a member of the underground Communist Party. In the postwar period Katsumata has continued to be closely associated

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Despatch No. 332,
May 23, 1949.

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with Wada in the postwar counterpart to the Cabinet Planning Board, the Economic Stabilization Board. He left this organization to run for the House of Representatives in 1947 and was elected then and again in 1949.

Mr. Yonekubo commented on the leadership of the Democratization League (Mindō) and the Sodomei. He spoke very highly of Hosoya, leader of the Democratization League, who was prior to the war a member of the Seamen's Union, of which Mr. Yonekubo was a leader. Although Hosoya has risen to a position of responsibility in the labor union movement only since the close of the war, Mr. Yonekubo thought he was well versed in trade union problems. Hosoya was until the spring of 1947 a member of the Communist Party, and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist-dominated National Congress of Industrial Unions (Sanbetsu). Another labor leader that drew the praise of Mr. Yonekubo was Takano, present Secretary General of Sodomei and leader of its left-wing group. Takano had long prewar experience in the textile unions. Takano's influence in the Sodomei and that of the left wing of the Sodomei under his leadership is becoming stronger. Takano and Hosoya are cooperating closely in the development of a strong non-communist labor union movement.

The situation in the farmers' unions will improve in so far as the Socialist Party is concerned, according to Mr. Yonekubo. He believes that SATAKE Shinichi, leader of the Socialist faction of the Japan Farmers Union, is increasing his influence among the farmers in general, while that of HIRANO Rikizo and his National Farmers Union is on the decline. The leadership of both factions of the Japan Farmers Union, on a national and local level, is professional and has no real connection with or real knowledge of farmer's problems, and therefore has failed to gain the confidence of the farmers. The Socialist Party, is therefore, planning to develop local farmer leadership that will take an interest in farm problems, especially the tax issue. He considers that both Miyake and Inamura, as well as Satake, are well versed in farm problems and capable of directing Socialist Party policies in regard to farm matters.

Mr. Yonekubo was asked to comment on the effect in terms of the Socialist Party organization of the loss to the party, for various reasons, of such former leaders as KONO Mitsu, NISHIO Suehiro, and MATSUMOTO Jiichiro. Mr. Yonekubo was of the opinion that of these men the loss of Kono was the most serious to the party because of Kono's organizational ability. He implied that the loss of Nishio was of some possible advantage to the party, since the presence of Nishio made it more difficult to reconcile the right and left wings of the party. The loss of Matsumoto, while a blow to the party's prestige, was not a serious loss to its leadership group since Matsumoto had

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Enclosure to Tokyo's
Despatch No. 332,
May 23, 1949.

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always pursued an independent line. Mr. Yonekubo, who is a close friend of Matsumoto's, felt it necessary to point out that Matsumoto was not a communist, and only on the question of the elimination of the emperor system did Matsumoto and the communists agree. Yonekubo considered the purge of Matsumoto as an example of the underhandedness of the Yoshida Cabinet.

As to the Socialist Party's prospects for the future, Mr. Yonekubo considered that the party was now reduced to its lowest possible point, that the forty-eight House of Representatives seats it now holds represent the solid strength of the party. In the next election he thinks that the party will double its lower house seats. Meanwhile, he thinks that there is some possibility that various former Socialist party members may return to the party. For example, he thought that KURODA Hisao, now in the Labor Farmer Party, would return with some of his associates to the Socialist Party. On the other hand, some of the Labor Farmer Party members, such as OKADA Haruo, would not return to the Socialists, but would probably go over to the Communist Party. In the recent election Mr. Yonekubo is of the opinion that only the intelligentsia supported the Socialists to the same extent as they had in 1947; labor, farmers, and small businessmen deserted the party in great numbers in 1949. The program of the Socialist Party as adopted at the recent convention emphasizes the need to develop working level relationships between the party on the one hand and the farmers and laborers on the other. In the future the party will emphasize local organization and programs that will appeal to these groups.

Jane M. Alden
Jane M. Alden

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

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Action Assigned to *NA*

Action Taken *No Action*

Date of Action

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Direction to DC/R *file*

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

JUN 15 1949

Office of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

JUN 15 1949

DIRECTOR
Department of State

DEPARTMENT OF STATE USFO, LD, Tokyo

Date of
mailing: June 8, 1949.

Rec'd:

June 14, 1949 3:23p.m

Secretary of State,

Washington.

A-138, June 4, 1949.

Various municipal administrations throughout Japan have recently undertaken to revise regulations governing parades, demonstrations, and meetings. The necessity for such action is the increasing tendency for parades and demonstrations to become disorderly.

On May 30 the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly began discussion of proposed new regulations which would require a 72-hour rather than a 48-hour advance notice before permits are granted for labor or political parades and meetings. A crowd of approximately 1500 labor union members and students led by known Communists stormed the Metropolitan Assembly Hall in an effort to disrupt discussion. The Tokyo Metropolitan Governor called on the police to clear the hall of demonstrators. A serious riot followed during which one union member was killed (falling from a window to the pavement) and a number injured. The following day over 3000 union members with students again demonstrated at the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly. When the demonstrators failed to disperse at the time specified, 1,055 police, with 2,000 extra police in reserve, physically dispersed the angry crowd and arrested 66 demonstrators. Several hundred demonstrators and 67 police were injured.

While the Tokyo riots of May 30-31 were of exceptionally serious proportions, other disorderly demonstrations against revision of municipal regulations governing parades and demonstrations have taken place throughout Japan.

The Tokyo riots, involving one death of a demonstrator, have touched off a violent campaign of recrimination in the communist press. One entire issue of Akahata was devoted to the incident, described as a "police ambush" and "Fascist

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Tokyo's Office,
June 4, 1949.

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oppression. Demands have been raised for the dissolution of the Metropolitan Assembly and the removal of the Chief of the Metropolitan Police. Communist members attempted to raise the issue at the close of the Diet session, and a number of protest strikes by labor unions have been called.

The attempt of communist-led demonstrators to stop the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly is indicative of an increasingly aggressive and truculent attitude on the part of the Japanese Communists and labor and student elements under communist influence. With increasing unemployment as a result of elimination of government subsidies to industry and personnel retrenchment, communist-inspired labor strife of more serious proportions may be expected. It is believed that the attempt to block consideration of a municipal regulation is merely incidental to a much more deep-seated and serious movement on the part of the Japanese Communists and labor elements under their influence. That the incident of May 30 resulted in the death of a labor union member will, of course, provide the kind of cause celebre that gives more dramatic appeal to the ultimate goal of keeping such labor unrest active. According to the new "struggle principles" adopted by the Japan Communist Party this spring, the Communists have admitted that "all struggles are now meaningless unless they are struggles against the regime in power," namely, the Yoshida Cabinet (this Mission's despatch no. 265 of April 28, 1949).

The Chief of this Mission in his capacity as United States Member, Allied Council for Japan, has already received one petition from the Kyoto Chapter, National Congress of Industrial Unions, protesting against consideration of similar regulations governing parades and demonstrations by the Kobe and Kyoto municipalities. It is believed that the Communists are likely to attempt to arouse the interest of the Soviet Member in this matter in an effort to have it brought before the Allied Council for Japan.

HUSTON

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

6 DIVISION OF *W* United States Political Adviser
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS for Japan

JUN 20 1949 Tokyo, June 6, 1949.

No. 360

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Action Assigned to *NA*
Action Taken *no action*

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ACTION
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Subject: Local Political Party Organization

Date of Action _____

Action Office Symbol *NA*

Name of Officer *M. Green*

Direction to DC/R *file*

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit a memorandum dated May 31, 1949, on local organization and activities of the major Japanese political parties prepared by Mrs. Jane M. ALDEN who is temporarily assigned to this Mission from the Department. The memorandum is the result of interviews and observations made during an extensive field trip.

Heretofore only the Japanese Communists have successfully concentrated efforts on building up local party organization through which it has been possible to appeal directly to the electorate on such issues of immediate concern to voters as food, clothing, houses, and taxes. The conservative parties, on the other hand, have neglected their local organizations which have been characterized by serious structural deficiencies, the absence of initiative on party of the local leadership, and an almost complete dependence upon and orientation toward national party headquarters. Their membership is exceedingly small in comparison with the voting and parliamentary strength of the major parties. What membership actually exists is also of loose character with full-time or enthusiastic party workers the exception rather than the rule. Combined with the absence of any broad basis for support in the local field, local party organization is also handicapped by insufficient funds and the marked tendency of the national headquarters to ignore the local organization's financial and other problems. Investigation has shown that the primary connection between the local and national levels is the party's representatives in the Diet. This connection is for the most part tenuous, since Diet members spend most of their time between

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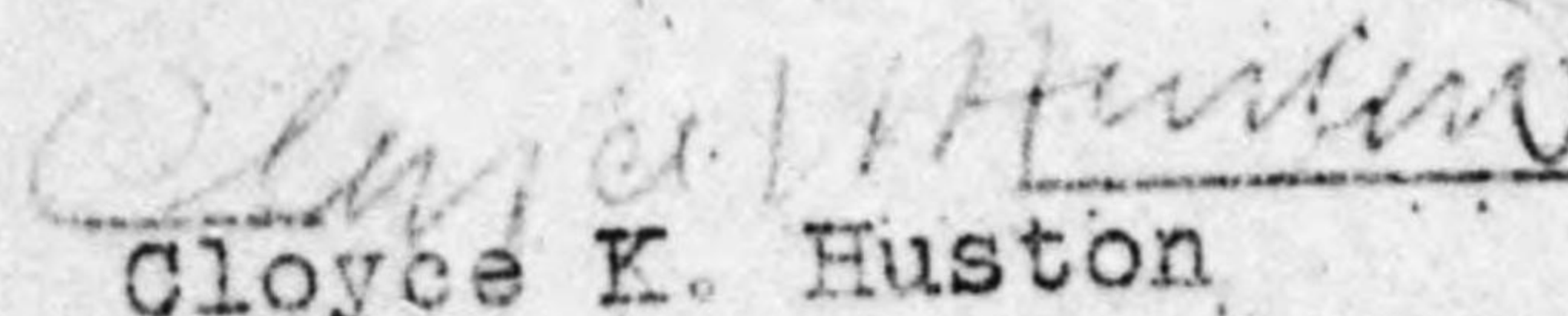
elections in Tokyo. In cases where a party has no representation from a prefecture, party organization in that area generally lacks effective contact with national headquarters.

Another significant deficiency found in local party organization is the general unwillingness of leaders to identify the party with local politics and political issues. With the exception of prefectural politics, party organization serves primarily the purpose of electing candidates to the National Diet. Municipal, town, and village politics function within an almost totally separate sphere. This situation has retarded the growth of local party organization, for there is little incentive for voters to become regular party members when the major parties are only remotely if at all concerned with local political problems. Some party leaders are attempting to develop more interest in local affairs, but thus far only the local organization of the Japan Communist Party has successfully identified the party's national program with local politics.

In many areas the local organizations of the major parties have little or no real party character. Instead, they are the personal followings of political figures, usually representatives in the Diet. A personal following of this kind is concerned primarily with keeping its leader in office. It has for the most part its own non-party agencies and channels for this work, all of which are in turn based primarily upon personal rather than political associations. In some cases, this ramified personal structure may reach into local politics, but not under the aegis of a political party, and while it may provide a strong basis for political support it is essentially a personal machine serving a particular leader who may incidentally be a member of a political party. It is apparent, therefore, that any development of local party organization must compete with highly personalized, non-party organizations and relationships. The more impersonal character of political party organization is still apparently something alien and without appeal to the Japanese mind.

As the enclosed memorandum plainly indicates, only the Japanese Communists have successfully overcome the traditional system of personal relationships in building their local party organization. The advance the Communists have made has begun to alarm the local leaders of other parties. Thus far, however, only the Socialists have given evidence of sufficient ability to rebuild local party organization in a manner which will enable it to compete with the traditional system of personal loyalties.

Respectfully yours,



Cloyce K. Huston
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

Tokyo's Despatch No.
360, June 6, 1949.

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Enclosure: *att.*

✓ Local Organization and Activities
of the Democratic Liber, Democratic,
and Socialist Parties, May 31, 1949,
Jane M. Alden.

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 360
dated June 6, 1949 from the United
States Political Adviser for Japan,
Tokyo, on the subject "Local Political
Party Organization".

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MEMORANDUM

May 31, 1949.

Subject: Local Organization and Activities of the
Democratic Liberal, Democratic, and Socialist
Parties.

The Democratic Liberal and Democratic Parties on a local level are characterized by a lack of structural organization, the absence of initiative on the part of the local leadership and an almost complete dependence on and orientation toward national party headquarters. At the same time there is very little interest in local problems or local political activity. The strength of the party is measured in terms of the number of representatives in the Diet, not in terms of the local political situation, and the local leadership has no conception that the party as a whole might be in need of or could utilize a strong local base. To a limited extent the recent Communist successes in both the House of Representatives and local by-elections have stimulated local party leaders to think in terms of altering their traditional concept of local party organization and activity, but they are not taking the initiative and are waiting instead direction from national party headquarters.

The local organization of the conservative parties exists primarily on paper. As a general rule the membership is small, including individuals who register their membership with the party and a few party leaders. There are no membership dues, no party newspapers, newsheets or the like, and no party meetings open to the general membership. In short, an ordinary citizen who is interested in participating in political activity or in community affairs would not find any incentive to join either of the conservative parties. The strength of the conservative parties lies in a personal type of party organization which depends on the influence and position of an individual leader in the community who has a personal following. This individual leader may in turn belong to one of the parties, but his followers belong to him rather than to the party.

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The local branches of the conservative parties look to the party headquarters for direction in terms of both party policies and party organization. The suggestion that the local chapters might benefit by more independence in dealing with local problems was countered by one party leader with the statement that since the political and economic life of the country was centralized in Tokyo it would be of no advantage to decentralize party organization. The local chapters seek approval from Tokyo for the organization of their local branch, and any changes in the paper organization are first approved by the national headquarters. Candidates for the Diet are recommended by the local chapter and approved by the headquarters. Even candidates for important prefectural offices, such as governors, mayors of large cities, and even candidates for prefectural assemblies are frequently approved by party headquarters. In the case of both Diet members and local executives, the party headquarters has felt free to act against the recommendations of the local chapter.

This centralized control over the activities of the local branches is not carried out by a well organized party machine. The only link between the local and national organizations for all practical purposes is the party's prefectural representatives in the Diet. The Diet members are responsible for conveying the policies and plans of the national headquarters to the local branches and conversely for representing the local chapters at national headquarters. This method of maintaining party organization is entirely dependent upon the individual Diet member, who spends most of his time in Tokyo, and who may or may not be an effective leader of the local branch. In effect, the local branches spend most of their time waiting for their Diet members to return from Tokyo to provide leadership and direction. When a prefectural branch does not have representatives in the Diet, it is virtually cut off from party headquarters and is severely handicapped in rebuilding its local strength.

The party headquarters does not give any financial assistance to its local chapters which must finance all local activities out of their own sources of revenue. The chapters of the conservative parties do not as a rule collect dues from their members and their only regular source of income is an assessment on their representatives in the prefectural and municipal assemblies. In a few cases a party's Diet members also contribute regularly to the local chapter, but in general Diet members make a fixed contribution to the national party treasury. Private contributions to the local branch represent the main source of income. The local branches do not give financial support to their candidates, and in at least

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one instance candidates were obligated to make a fixed contribution to the local chapter and the national headquarters in return for obtaining official party endorsement. This lack of steady financial support means that the local branches are limited in their ability to strengthen their organization by employing full- or part-time party workers, or carrying out year-round activities. At the present time the local conservative leaders are aware that they must seek some means of increasing their sources of income if they are to broaden the scope of their local activities. In some instances, plans are underway to begin membership drives designed to recruit active, dues-paying members.

The local organization of the conservative parties is active only during the time of a national election. The one field of political activity that might serve as a stimulus to local party organization is local politics and in this field the party leaders are generally apathetic. Party leaders even expressed their opposition to the introduction of party politics into city and town government, contending that it was in the interests of better government to keep partisan politics out of this level. This attitude is further borne out in the recent by-elections when it was the exception rather than the rule for the conservative parties to sponsor a candidate for town mayor, town assembly seats, or the corresponding positions in the smaller cities. Only in contests for governor, the prefectural assembly, or the offices in the large cities have the conservative parties made any effort to compete for offices. The conservative parties said that the party supported the independent candidates for the minor local offices, but this support did not involve any activity on the part of the party as a group. In contrast, virtually no election is too small for the Communists to compete. In one town in Shimane Prefecture where the entire town assembly was to be chosen in a by-election there was no contest since the number of candidates equaled the number of seats to be filled. The candidates, and consequently the elected assemblymen, were divided between independents and Communists.

Without exception, the local conservative leaders are extremely concerned with the advances of the Communist Party in their prefectures. They seem to be aware of the fact that the Communists have introduced new tactics into political campaigning. That the Communists' appeal to voters on the tax issue, to take one example, has had a direct bearing on communist gains. The conservative leaders appear to realize that they too must change their tactics and appeal to voters on issues which effect daily life. But these leaders lack imagination in directing a counter-campaign. They have very little initiative in planning activities to meet the situation in their local area. Or, if they have plans, they are unable to carry them out, either because the local chapter lacks money, or more important, because they lack

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enthusiastic party workers. Actually, whether the local leaders had plans or not, they were waiting for their Diet members to return from Tokyo to furnish the necessary leadership.

The Democratic Liberal Party

In the five prefectures visited, the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) won resounding victories in three prefectures, namely, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Hyogo, but failed to make substantial gains in Kyoto and Shimane. In the latter two prefectures, especially Shimane, the Democrats were able to maintain their position in view of the personal hold of two of their leaders.

In Kyoto the DLP is well organized on paper with branches in each of the 16 gun in the prefecture and the 7 wards of Kyoto city. The party claims 3,000 members in the prefecture, but admits that membership is very loosely defined and does not represent active party workers. The local chapter has recently started a youth corps and has plans to hold lecture meetings for its younger members. In Shimane the DLP has virtually no party organization, even on paper. The party had two candidates in the recent election, one of whom was elected. This candidate received no support from the party and his victory was due to his personal appeal to the voters.

In Hyogo, on the other hand, the DLP has a fairly extensive and active organization and claims a membership of 30,000. The chapter has attempted to collect dues from its members at the rate of 100 yen a month, but admits that its only regular source of income is from party members in the prefectural assembly and in the Kobe Municipal Assembly. The DLP chapter here has drawn up a very extensive youth corps organization which will, after approval by national headquarters, become the basis for the DLP's organization of youth corps in other prefectures. The DLP headquarters has instituted a policy to activate local youth corps to combat the spread of communism. To date, the Hyogo chapter of the youth corps has not gone much beyond the planning stage, but the party branch has printed circulars explaining the purpose of the corps with blanks attached for membership application. Youth is, of course, defined very broadly to include men between the ages of 20 and 40 and women between 20 and 35 years of age. The women's and men's corps are parallel organizations. The originator of the youth corps organization in Hyogo was among those leaders of the DLP present at the discussion and he was somewhat more alert and enthusiastic than the usual conservative politician encountered on the trip. However, in discussing the planned activities for the youth corps he apparently had nothing in mind except monthly lecture meetings to inform the youth of the dangers of communism.

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Beyond that, because of lack of funds, he did not see what the youth corps could do to attract a large, active membership. He had not given any consideration to local politics as a means of developing interest in the corps and training new leadership. This absence of interest in local politics as a field of activity for the youth corps was particularly striking in view of the fact that the leader of this group admitted that the corps was more successful in recruiting members in the rural rather than in the urban areas, and it is in the rural areas that there appears to be a dearth of candidates for the numerous elective offices.

The Democratic Liberal Party in Hiroshima Prefecture elected 7 candidates out of a total of 12 seats in this prefecture. Here as elsewhere party membership figures are low, numbering only 2000 who are not all active in party affairs. The DLP leaders admitted that the party did very little for its candidates in the election and gave them no financial support. The leaders were of the opinion that in Hiroshima people in the rural areas voted primarily for the candidate, while in the urban centers the party was more important than the individual candidate in drawing votes. The party leaders estimated that the candidates spent at least 500,000 yen on the campaign, although the legal maximum expenditure was between 85,000 and 110,000 yen.

Osaka has been the traditional stronghold of the Minseito and its successor, the Democratic Party, and also of the Socialist Party. This year the DLP made notable gains, electing 10 candidates, while the Democrats failed to elect any. In Osaka as elsewhere the DLP has a loose organization and a small membership. The party attributes its victory here to the unpopularity of the Socialists and the Democrats, and considered that the party label rather than the candidate was more important in electing the DLP members. The party leaders in Osaka are more alive to the fact that they must become more active if they are to hold the gains made in the recent election since both the Democrats and the Socialists are potentially stronger than the DLP in Osaka. The DLP leaders are talking of initiating an active program on taxes, housing, and procurement of capital for small businessmen, but even here the leaders are waiting for their Diet members to return in order to start the program.

The Democratic Party

The Democratic Party's organization on a local level had virtually disintegrated even before the election due to the unpopularity of the coalition cabinets in which it participated and the defection from the party of local members as well as Diet members. In the post election period the division of what remained of the party between

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the Ashida and Inukai factions has seriously handicapped the local chapters in rebuilding their organization. Further, the local chapters are in a critical financial situation since they are unable to obtain large contributions due to their lack of national and local prestige. On the other hand, in instances where local party organization has been synonymous with the personal following of an individual leader the party has managed to maintain some local strength.

Kyoto prefecture and more especially the second district is the stronghold of Ashida, and despite his personal involvement in political scandals he had no difficulty in being reelected. The Democrats, under Ashida's leadership, elected three members to the lower house from Kyoto. In Shimane much the same situation obtains. KIMURA Kozaemon inherited the political mantle of former Premier MATSUOKI who had been throughout the late 1920's and 1930's boss of the Minseito. Kimura's control in Shimane is virtually complete, and there is no party organization outside his personal following. The party, or rather Kimura, elected its only two candidates to the Diet.

In contrast to the personal type of party organization in Kyoto and Shimane, is the Democratic Party organization in Hiroshima. Here the party organization was dissipated by secessions of members and the party failed to elect any candidates in the recent election for the House of Representatives. This failure to elect anyone to the Diet will make it all the more difficult for the party to rebuild its strength in Hiroshima since it will be cut off from national party headquarters and will be unable to draw financial assistance from local members. The party attributed its lack of public support in part to the fact that in the rural areas voters are attracted to candidates with important offices or titles which the Democratic party candidates did not have. The Democrats also claim that the DLP candidates prior to the announcement of their candidacy contributed large sums of money to leaders of various local organizations and in return these leaders delivered the votes of their members to the DLP.

In Hyogo the Democratic Party elected three candidates. Party organization has since become divided on the Inukai-Ashida split--about two thirds of the local membership supports Ashida, while the rest supports Inukai. On the other hand, the prefectural assembly membership of the party has been merged with the DLP membership ever since the first Yoshida Cabinet in 1946. This tends to weaken the local organization of the party and to limit its ability to pursue an independent course.

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It was in Osaka which has heretofore been the stronghold of the Democratic Party's predecessor, the Minseito, that the Democrats suffered a disastrous defeat. The Democrats failed to elect a single member to the Diet although they competed for 7 of the 19 seats. On the other hand, it was in Osaka that the only paid, professional party organizer was found. TADOKORO Kyuichi, until about a year ago a purgee, joined the Democratic Party around September 1948, and sometime since then he has been hired by the party to fill the full-time paid position of Secretary General of the local chapter.

Tadokoro started his career in the Salvation Army in Kobe in 1919. For the next 7 years he worked for KAGAWA Toyohiko organizing Salvation Army drives in and around Kobe. After that he operated a fuel business in Osaka until about 1937 and it was there that he became interested in the establishment of the Commercial-Industrial League, which was a national organization of about 12,000 small industrialists who banded together to avoid being swallowed up by the Zaibatsu. During the war the League was abolished and replaced by the Society for Commercial Service to the State which in turn was strictly controlled and utilized by the government as part of its plan to centralize economic organization. This latter organization was disbanded in April 1945, and it was apparently for his connection with it that Tadokoro was barred from holding public office. He was cleared about a year ago and immediately joined the People's Cooperative Party. In September 1948, when the Osaka chapter of that party was dissolved, Tadokoro joined the Democratic Party.

Tadokoro apparently succeeded in convincing the old line Democratic Party bosses that what the party needed was a strong local organization, and more than that he appears to have the support of some prominent national members. He did not become Secretary General of the Osaka chapter until just after the election, having previously served as a paid employee of the party in charge of organization. His task now is to draw up a table of organization for the Osaka chapter which will in turn be submitted to national headquarters for adoption in other local chapters. Tadokoro is apparently connected with the Ashida faction of the party, and he may possibly have the support of NARAHASHI Wataru.

At the present time Tadokoro is studying communist techniques of party organization and activity. He believes that the Democrats should have a daily struggle campaign, emphasizing clothing, food, housing and taxes. He was the only party leader who frankly spoke of the problems created by the unwillingness of the Democratic Party to criticize the Occupation's policies, while at the

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same time feeling the need to criticize policies which effected the daily life of the people. According to Tadokoro, it is necessary to be critical of the policies of the government if the party is to have any popular following, but just where the policies of the government end and those of the Occupation begin presents a difficult problem. The Democratic Party in Osaka apparently suffered acutely from charge made by the Communists that the Democrats were tools of the Occupation, and, as Tadokoro explained, it is only natural that the people should react against the suppressive aspects of the Occupation or for that matter of any power which was beyond their control, but which, at the same time, controlled their daily livelihood.

Tadokoro's plans are in many instances far from being activated. He has encountered opposition from the old-line party bosses and has been forced to compromise with them at every turn. On the other hand, his plans for local party organization are at least drawn up to meet the requirements of the existing political situation, and show a marked tendency to bring the Democratic Party down to a working level where it will have some basis for appealing to the people in terms they can understand.

The Socialist Party

The Socialist Party declined in strength in the year prior to the 1949 election, but since the election there has been a notable increase in its membership and evidence of local branch reorganization. The primary source of this new found strength is in the ranks of labor.

At the time of the election the leadership of the unions affiliated with the Japan Federation of Labor (Sodomei), in the prefectures visited on this trip, supported the Socialist Party but the rank and file union members, who were not members of the party, did not support the Socialists at the polls. Party leaders attribute this situation to several factors. In the first place, the Sodomei convention in the fall of 1948 passed a resolution stating that members of Sodomei unions were free to support a political party of their own choosing. Prior to this there had been an unwritten rule that Sodomei union members supported the Socialists. Party leaders feel that in the past Sodomei members supported the Socialists more or less out of force of habit, but in 1949, in view of the statement at the convention, many former supporters

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turned to other parties. Secondly, the Socialists admit that they made a serious tactical error in concentrating their political activities only on the leaders of the union, assuming that these leaders would carry their union membership with them in support of the party. The Socialists also admitted that there was very little reason in the recent election for labor to support the party, since the party had not done an effective job of explaining its position to labor.

Since the election, the Socialists have been active among the ranks of labor in all prefectures visited, with the possible exception of Kyoto. In Hiroshima, for example, the Socialist Party and the leaders of the Democratization League (Mindō) have formed the Shakaito Saiken Iinkai, to coordinate party and labor activities. This committee is currently running the local party branch, since the branch leaders resigned following the election. The committee will determine when a general meeting of the party will be held to elect new branch officers. Although Hiroshima is the home prefecture of MORITA Tatsuo, right-wing Socialist leader, it appears that the left wing of the party is coming into control of the local chapter. The local leaders here complained that prior to the election the party headquarters opposed the policy of political activity among the labor unions, although many members of the Hiroshima branch desired closer relations with labor and, conversely, to give labor a larger role in the leadership of the local chapter. The present trend in Hiroshima is to bring the labor leaders, especially the Mindō group, into the ranks of party leadership.

In Hyogo the Socialist branch has begun to organize "workshop councils" which are actually party cells in factories and plants. Mindō leaders are apparently cooperating with this movement and encouraging their adherents to participate in political activity through these Socialist Party cells. In Hyogo the Seamen's Union, formerly under the leadership of YONEKUBO Mitsusuke, is very strong and is the nucleus of labor support received by other Socialists.

In Osaka the relation of the Socialist Party to the Mindō movement and to labor in general is complicated by several factors. In the first place, the leadership of the Osaka branch of the party is still under the influence of NISHIO Suehiro and his associates and is, if not actually hostile toward Mindō, at least concerned with the possibility that Mindō leaders will eventually challenge their leadership of the party branch. The Socialists leaders envisage labor as only one of several component parts of the leadership group, while labor, especially as represented by the Mindō group, is unwilling to be dominated by the party. Mindō leaders have joined the Socialist Party, and the party has welcomed them as a means of rebuilding its labor support, but the relationship between the two appears to be a marriage of convenience in which neither completely trusts the other.

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The Socialists have also been actively attempting to rebuild their strength within Sodomei. This has led to an extremely embarrassing incident, referred to as the "four-two incident", which, instead of strengthening the party's position with labor, has served rather to weaken it. The Osaka Municipal Government is controlled by the Socialists, headed by Mayor Konda who is apparently a long-time associate of Nishio in the construction business. On April 2, Sodomei held a labor parade and unfortunately the Japanese police were over-cautious in their interpretation of an orderly as opposed to a disorderly demonstration, and the episode ended up by the police turning fire hoses on the paraders. Only a few days prior to this incident the National Congress of Industrial Unions (Sambetsu), the communist-dominated labor federation, had held a labor parade without similar mishaps. Sodomei and the Socialists immediately demanded the discharge of Suzuki, the Chief of the Osaka Municipal Police, as the official responsible for the "four-two incident". The party, because it was in control of the municipal government, took up the issue of Suzuki's discharge on the grounds that he persecuted labor and the Socialists publicized the incident and the discharge of Suzuki as evidence of their role as the great defenders of labor. Unfortunately, when the party took up the matter of discharging Suzuki, the Occupation authorities opposed his removal on the grounds that he was necessary to the maintenance of law and order. The Socialists are of the opinion, rightly or wrongly, that they have lost rather than gained labor support by the incident. As far as labor is concerned, the situation appears to be one in which the Socialists promised to remove a police chief on the grounds of his anti-labor activities from a municipal government which the Socialist control, and have failed to carry out their promise. Socialists leaders are rabid on the subject of the "four-two incident", and contend that the result has been to strengthen the Communist Party's position in the ranks of labor.

In all of the prefectures visited the Socialists appear to have lost considerable farmer support in the recent election. The vote of the Nippon Nomin Kumiai (Japan Farmers' Union) either split between the Socialists and the Communists, or went entirely to the Communists, according to estimates of the Socialists leaders. In Shimane and Osaka the party claims that the NNK supported the Communists for the most part; in Hiroshima it supported the Socialists; in Hyogo only a part of the NNK supported the Socialists, while in Kyoto most of the NNK vote went to the Social Renovation Candidate OISHI Yoshio, a former Socialist. Zenkoku Nomin Kumiai (National Farmers Union - Zenno) also supported different parties in each prefecture. In Shimane it supported Socialist candidate HIGUCHI Yoshinori, who was, however, repudiated by the Socialist Party in Shimane. In Kyoto the Socialists claimed the support of Zenno as they did in Osaka. In Hiroshima the the Socialist leaders claimed that Zenno supported the Communists.

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One Socialist leader in Hyogo explained the farmers' attitude as follows: Before the land reform law went into effect the tenant farmers had much cause for complaint and were inclined to be a dissident element and therefore anti-conservative. The land reform law made these tenant farmers landowners thus changing their attitude. Prior to their acquisition of land taxes and quota deliveries of rice were all handled through the landlord who took this amount in addition to his rent, and the total sum was considered by the tenant as payment to the landlord for rent. Therefore, their antagonism was directed toward the conservative landlord. The Communists were able to appeal to these former tenant farmers on the ground that the returns from their newly acquired land were not theirs because the government of which the Socialist Party was a part, took away money for taxes and forced the sale of rice at fixed prices. The Socialist leaders, at least in Hyogo, believe this was one of the most effective appeals of the Communists in the rural areas.

Jane M. Alden
Jane M. Alden



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

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No. 365

JUL - 5 1949

United States Political Adviser
for Japan

CONFIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE Tokyo, June 9, 1949.
(For Department Use Only)

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JUNE 28

Action Assigned to NA

Action Taken no action

ACTION
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Subject: Japanese Opinion of the Election Law. -----

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Date of Action -----

Action Office Symbol NA

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Name of Officer M. Green

Direction to DC/R file

Sir:

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I have the honor to refer to this Mission's despatches nos. 94 and 114 of February 14 and February 21, 1949, respectively, concerning the Japanese general election of January 23, and to transmit a memorandum discussing the views of Japanese election officials and local political leaders concerning the Election Law, prepared by Mrs. Jane M. ALDEN, currently assigned to this Mission by the Department.

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The enclosed memorandum was prepared as a result of a field trip through Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo, Shimane, and Hiroshima prefectures in connection with the preparation of a study of the January 23 general election. Material for this memorandum was obtained from extensive interviews with Japanese election officials and local leaders of the major political parties in the prefectures visited.

Discussions with local officials and political leaders revealed considerable dissatisfaction with the operation of the Election Law, especially its failure to provide for adequate publicity for candidates in their campaigns. It is charged that this shortcoming does not provide voters with sufficient information for making an intelligent choice on the issues involved. Another criticism of the Election Law is the manner in which its provisions circumscribe the activities of political parties to such an extent that they are not able to assist their candidates adequately even to the limited extent which was possible under the previous Election Law. It is felt that this situation further emphasizes to the voter the importance of the candidate as opposed to the party.

General

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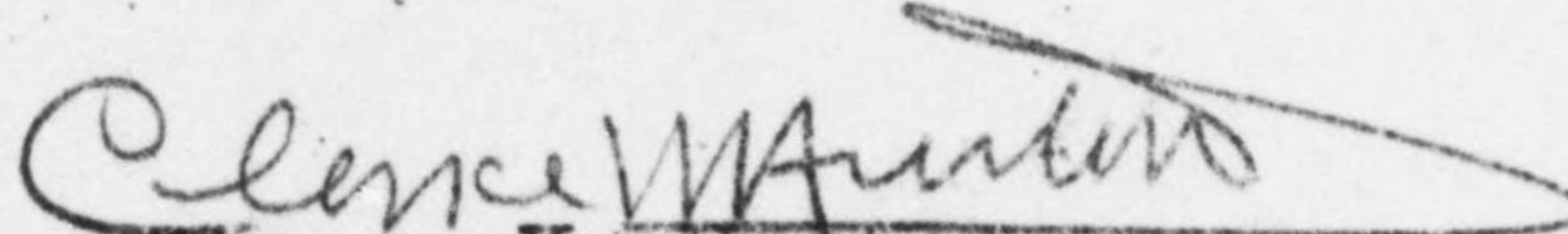
General agreement was noted among local election officials and party leaders that the conduct of an election imposes a heavy financial burden on the local administrations because of inadequate appropriations from the national treasurer to defray election costs. This situation has intensified the present critical state of local government finances. At the same time, funds made available are not sufficient to provide for the satisfactory public management of campaigns which the Election Law requires.

Criticism was also made of limitations imposed by the Election Law on the methods and extent of campaign speeches. Since the law limits campaign expenditures and circumscribes the assistance political parties may render their candidates, speeches by individual candidates play very important part in the conduct of a campaign.

Some disagreement was found among those interviewed as to the most suitable size for electoral districts. Persons affiliated with the majority Democratic Liberal Party strongly favor small, single-member electoral districts, while leaders of the smaller parties are for the most part satisfied with the present system. The Communists in particular favor large, multi-member districts since this system gives the smaller parties a greater advantage.

It is generally agreed that the mechanical operation of the present Election Law is too cumbersome and complicated, that it imposes unnecessary burdens and limitations on both candidates and parties, and that the public management of campaigns is too costly to the local administrations.

Respectfully yours,



Cloyce K. Huston
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

Enclosure: *att. DL*

✓ Memorandum by Jane M. Alden
entitled "Opinions of Japanese
Election Officials and Leaders
of the Major Political Parties
Regarding the Election Laws".

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 365 dated June 9, 1949 from the Office of the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Japanese Opinion of the Election Law".

Opinions of Japanese Election Officials and Leaders of the Major Political Parties Regarding the Election Laws

The prefectures covered in this report are Kyoto, Hyogo, Hiroshima, Shimane and Osaka. Separate discussions were held with representatives of the prefectural election committees, and officials of the local government concerned with elections, and with leaders of the four major political parties, the Democratic Liberals, the Democrats, the Socialists and the Communists. This report represents a consensus of the views expressed by these leaders.

SUMMARY

Discussions with election officials and party leaders led to the following general conclusions: 1. the election campaign law did not provide for adequate publicity for the campaign and as a result the voters did not have available to them sufficient information on candidates or issues; 2. the responsibility for the supervision of the campaign rested primarily with the local government officials rather than with the prefectural election committee; 3. the financial burden on prefectural and local governments to supplement the funds provided by the national government accentuated the already critical problem of local government finances; 4. the campaign law in effect made it difficult for political parties to be of any assistance to their candidates, the burden of the campaign resting on the candidate himself, thus further emphasizing the importance of the candidate as opposed to the party; 5. there was general agreement that a check-off ballot was administratively feasible and also that it was desirable; 6. there was no agreement on changes in the size of the electoral districts or the representation from each district.

Campaign Speeches.

The election campaign law provided for three types of campaign speeches - competitive speech meetings, private speech meetings and street speeches. As regards competitive speeches the political party leaders and election officials approved of this campaign medium, but suggested that the number of such speeches should be increased in order that the candidate could reach a larger number of voters in the district and that the

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