the Social Democratic Party in order to join the newly formed Cooperative Party.

The party advocates maintenance of the Imperial institution, establishment of a democratic political system, autonomy for labor, and the reconstruction of industry, economy, and culture on the basis of the cooperative principle. The group is apparently composed of persons who desire social reform but are not prepared to advocate the substitution of socialism for capitalism. At the same time they are not attracted by the platforms or the personalities of the Progressive and Liberal Parties.

The Cooperative Party has announced that it will sponsor 120 candidates in the forthcoming elections. Until more is known of the party's program and membership, it is difficult to evaluate its popular appeal or its future in Japanese politics.

Other Parties

The appearance of new parties continued unabated. On December 15, representatives of several organizations which have been endeavoring to sponsor the political emergence of General UGAKI Kazushige met to form a new party to be called the Democratic Party (Minshu-to). General UGAKI has apparently refused to become president of the party, at least for the time being, and the position is being left vacant with the hope that he will see fit to occupy it at a later time.

On December 19 the People's Rights Cooperative Association was forced under the leadership of MITAMURA Takeo, Diet member from Gifu Prefecture. Thirty candidates to run in the coming elections have been announced.

Also on December 19 was formed the Japan Bright Life Party (Nippon Minsei-kai) headed by TAKAHASHI Kensuke. This party supports the "establishment of a government of all the people under the Emperor".

The platform of the Japan People's Party (Nihon Minto), to be inaugurated shortly, was announced on December 19. The party proposes a cooperative society organized on democratic principles under the Emperor, advocates the guarantee of human rights, international democracy, democratization of finance, industry, education, the socialization of the rationing system, autonomous management of labor, and farmers cooperatives. 16 candidates for seats in the House of Representatives have been announced, including ISHIKAWA Tatsuzu, well-known novelist. Organizers of the party are reported to be principally journalists and persons without previous experience in politics.

APPENDIX

Members of the Principal Parties in Recently Dissolved House of Representatives

(Sources: Annex to Official Gazette of the House of Representatives, December 10, 1945; News reports since December 10, 1945)

Representation of the principal parties in the Diet at the time of its dissolution on December 18, was as follows:

Progressive Party	271
Liberal Party	45
Cooperative Party	26
Social Democratic Party	17
* Independents	50
Vacancies (resigned or died)	57
Total	466

* Members who have affiliated with certain of the minor parties are included among the Independents.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

NAME	PREFECTURE
ABE Hiroshi	Yamaguchi
AINO Tokuchiro	Saga
AIZAWA Hiroshi	Okayama
AKAMA Tokuhisa	Toyama
AKAMATSU Toreshichi	Fukuoka
AKOJIMA Shumji	Miyagi
ANDO Satoru	Kanagawa
ARAI Gyoji	Saitama
ARAKAWA Sanosato	Kumamoto
AYABE Kontaro	Oita
BABA Motoji	Nagasaki
BESSHO Kiichiro	Shiga
EGUCHI Shigeru	Fukuoka
FUJIMOTO Sutesuke	Kagawa
FUKAZAWA Yoshihei	Hokkaido
FUKUDA Shigeki	Ibaragi
FUNAWATASHI Sasuke	Gifu
HADA Takeshiro	Nagano
HAMANO Seigo	Tokyo
HAMANO Tostutaro	Hyogo
HAMAJI Bumpei	Mie
HARA Sobei	Hyogo
HARO Ojiro	Shimane
HAYASHI Keisuke	Yamaguchi
HAYASHI Masao	Aichi
HAYASHI Nobuo	Fukuoka
HIGUCHI Zeneimon	Aichi
HIRONO Kikutaro	Shiga
HITOMATSU Sadakichi	Osaka
HONDA Koji	Aichi
HORI Shigeru	Saga
HORIUCHI Kazuo	Yamanashi
HOSHI Hajime	Fukushima
IBUKI Gengary	Nagasaki
ICHINOMIYA Fusajiro	Oita
IGARASHI Kichizo	Gumma
IKEDA Hideo	Saga
IMAI Takehiko	Chiba
IMAMAKI Yoshio	Tokyo
IMANARI Tomonosuke	Niigata
IMAO Noboru	Kyoto
INO Morie	Fukui
INUKAI Ken	Okayama
IREI Hajime	Okinawa
ISAKA Toyomitsu	Osaka
ISHIGURE Keiichi	Gifu
ISHIZAKA Shigeru	Kumamoto
ISHIZAKA Yohei	Saitama
ITO Goro	Yamagata
ITO Kiyoshi	Chiba
ITO Mikizo	Yamaguchi
ITO Toichiro	Gifu
IZU Tomito	Kumamoto
IZUI Heikichi	Saitama
IZUMI Kumiaburo	

IZUMI Kunisaburo	Iwato
KANAI Masao	Kagoshima
KANEKO Hikotaro	Shizuoka
KANEKO Sadaichi	Iwato
KANEMITSU Yasuo	Oita
KANNA Norikazu	Okinawa
KANNO Shigeru	Fukushima
KASHIWABARA Koichi	Oita
KATAYAMA Kazuo	Okayama
KATO Ryugoro	Aichi
KATSU Masanori	Fukuoka
KATSUDA Nagakichi	Osaka
KATSUMATA Shunichi	Shizuoka
KAWAGUCHI Hisashi	Tokyo
KAWAMORI Yasunosuke	Osaka
KAWASAKI Katsu	Mie
KAWASAKI Minotaro	Ibaregi
KAWASAKI Suegoro	Kyoto
KAWAZOE Takashi	Nagasaki
KEYAMA Moritero	Ehime
KIDO Tsunosuke	Yamaguchi
KIHARA Shichiro	Hiroshima
KINOSHITA Shin	Nagano
KISHIDA Masanori	Hiroshima
KITAMURA Matazaemon	Nara
KIYOSE Ichiro	Hyogo
KIYOSHI Kan	Gifu
KOBAYASHI Kinuyi	Hyogo
KOBAYASHI Tetsutaro	Yamagata
KOGURE Takodayu	Gumma
KOIZUMI Matajiro	Kanagawa
KOIZUMI Sumiya	Kagoshima
KOMAI Shigetugi	Tokyo
KOMATSU Motoji	Fukushima
KORO Akira	Tokushima
KOSAKA Takeo	Nagano
KOSHINO Yujiro	Ibaragi
KOTANI Setsuo	Okayama
KOURA Sohei	Nagasaki
KOYAMA Kunitaro	Nagano
KOYAMA Matsuhisa	Aichi
KOYAMA Tanizo	Wakayama
KONANAGI Makie	Niigata
KUBOI Yoshimichi	Yamaguchi
KUKI Monshichi	Mie
KURODA Iwao	Hyogo
KUSUMI Shogo	Aomori
KUYAMA Tomoyuki	Okayama
MACHIDA Chuji	Akita
MAEDA Fusanosuke	Hyogo
MAEDA Yonezo	Tokyo
MAEDA Zenji	Hokkaido
MAKIHARA Genichiro	Fukushima
MANABE Giju	Tokyo
MASUDA Giichi	Niigata
MATSUDA Shoichi	Mie
MATSUDA Takechio	Osaka
MATSUKATA Kojiro	Kagoshima
MATSUMURA Kenzo	Toyama

MATSUMURA Kozo

MATSUMURA Kozo	Tochigi
MATSUNAGA Azuma	Saitama
MATSUNOBE Yasaburo	Fukuoka
MATSUO Senzo	Fukuoka
MATSUURA Shutaro	Hokkaido
MIKI Yokichiro	Tokushima
MIURA Kazuo	Aomori
MIYAZAKI Hajime	Saitama
MIYAZAWA Yutaka	Hiroshima
MIYOSHI Hideyuki	Tottori
MIYOSHI Nobufusa	Kumamoto
MOGAMI Seizo	Gunma
MOMOHARA Shigeta	Okinawa
MORI Hajime	Nagasaki
MORIBE Takasuke	Fukuoka
MORIGUCHI Junjo	Shizuoka
MORIKAWA Senta	Wakayama
MORISHITA Kunio	Tochigi
MORITA Jujiro	Aomori
MORIYA Sakae	Miyagi
MURAKAMI Kuniyoshi	Kyoto
MURAMATSU Hisayoshi	Miyagi
MURASE Takeo	Ehime
NAGAI Gen	Mie
NAGANO Koichi	Tokyo
NAGATA Ryokichi	Kagoshima
NAGUMO Masaaki	Hokkaido
NAKAGAWA Kanji	Toyama
NAKAGAWA Shigeharu	Akita
NAKAGOSHI Yoshiyuke	Kochi
NAKAI Kazuo	Hyogo
NAKAI Ryusaku	Kumamoto
NAKAIGAWA Hiroshi	Ibaragi
NAKAIMA Soichi	Okinawa
NAKAMURA Sannojo	Kyoto
NAKAMURA Umekichi	Tokyo
NAKAMURA Yoichiro	Chiba
NAKANISHI Miyoshi	Fukushima
NAKANISHI Toshinori	Fukui
NAKANO Hanzaemon	Aichi
NAKASE Setsuo	Nagasaki
NAKASHIMA Yadanji	Tokyo
NANGO Takeo	Kagoshima
NANJO Tokuo	Hokkaido
NARUSHIMA Isamu	Chiba
NISHIGATA Toshima	Yamagata
NISHIKAWA Teiichi	Yamaguchi
NODA Masanobu	Aichi
NODA Takeo	Kanagawa
NOMOTO Kichibei	Ehime
NOMURA Kakuma	Miyazaki
OASA Tadao	Kumamoto
ODA Hikotaro	Miyazaki
ODAKA Chozaburo	Chiba
OGASAWARA Sankuro	Aichi
OHASHI Seitaro	Tokyo
OISHI Seiji	Toyama
OKADA Keijiro	Kyoto
OKAMOTO Umetaro	Ehime

OKAWA Kōzo

OKAWA Kozo	Osaka
OKI Kure	Fukuoka
OKU Hisato	Hiroshima
OMURA Tadashi	Shizuoka
ONO Giichi	Kochi
ONO Ichizo	Aichi
ONODERA Yuichi	Iwate
OSAUCHI Kenei	Aomori
OSHIMA Torakichi	Hokkaido
OTA Masataka	Shizuoka
OYAMA Kuranosuke	Miyagi
OYAMDA Yoshitaka	Akita
SAITO Takao	Hyogo
SAKAI Toshio	Fukui
SAKAMOTO Ikkaku	Tokyo
SAKASCHITA Senichiro	Shizuoka
SAKIYAMA Tsugitomo	Okinawa
SAKUDA Takataro	Hiroshima
SAKUMA Michio	Kanagawa
SAKUMA Wataru	Tochigi
SAKURAI Ryogoro	Ishikawa
SATO Yonosuke	Ibaragi
SATO Yoshio	Niigata
SATSUMA Yuji	Fukui
SHIMADA Toshio	Shimane
SHIMIZU Tomesaburo	Gunma
SHIMOIDE Yoshio	Aichi
SHINOHARA Rokuro	Chiba
SHINTA Giuemon	Akita
SHIRAKAWA Hisao	Hyogo
SOEDA Koichiro	Fukui
SOGI Shigeki	Miyazaki
SOZEN Kiyoshi	Kagoshima
SUGAWATA Keoru	Tochigi
SUMI Inosuke	Wakayama
SUZUKI Shigetugi	Nagasaki
SUZUKI Tadakichi	Shizuoka
TADA Mitsunaga	Chiba
TAGO Mitsunaga	Iwate
TAKABATAKE Kanetaro	Ehime
TAKADA Kohei	Tochigi
TAKAHASHI Kumajiro	Yamagata
TAKAHASHI Morihei	Saitama
TAKAGI Norio	Kagoshima
TAKAMI Yukimichi	Toyama
TAKETOMA Yuki	Ehime
TAKURA Hideyoshi	Fukushima
TAMURA Rei	Mie
TANABE Shichiroku	Yamanashi
TANABE Tokugoro	Kanagawa
TANABE Tomoyuki	Shimane
TANAKA Mitsugu	Hiroshima
TANAKA Takeo	Hyogo
TANIHARA Ko	Tokushima
TANOMOGI Shinroku	Tokyo
TASHIMA Eijiro	Aichi
TERADA Ichimasa	Kagoshima
TEYOGI Rukichi	Hokkaido
TOGO Minoru	Kagoshima

TOMITA Aijiro

TOMITA Aijiro	Aichi
TOYAMA Tarue	Saitama
TOYOTA Osamu	Tottori
TSUCHIYA Genichi	Okayama
TSUCHIYA Hiroshi	Hiroshima
TSURU Shoichi	Fukuoka
TSURUMI Yusuke	Iwate
TSUSHI Kaneji	Fukuoka
TSUTSUMI Kojiro	Shiga
UCHIGAZAKI Sakusaburo	Miyagi
UCHIIKE Kisegoro	Fukushima
UDA Koichi	Kochi
UEDA Kokichi	Osaka
UMAOKA Jiro	Mie
UYEMATSU Renma	Fukushima
UYEMURA Takeichi	Nara
WATANABE Ken	Ibaregi
WATANABE Zenjuro	Tokyo
YABE Toshichi	Tochigi
YAGI Motohachi	Shizuoka
YAGI Sojuro	Yamaguchi
YAMADA Junzaku	Shizuoka
YAMADA Mokuro	Fukushima
YAMADA Takeji	Tokyo
YAMAGUCHI Makiji	Oita
YAMAGUCHI Sohei	Kanagawa
YAMAGUCHI Tadagoro	Shizuoka
YAMAMOTO Kozo	Hokkaido
YAMAMOTO Kumekichi	Ibaregi
YAMAMOTO Yoshiharu	Osaka
YAMANAKA Yoshisada	Ehime
YAMAZAKI Tatsunosuke	Fukuoka
YANAMI Takeji	Tokyo
YASUNI Saburo	Iwate
YOKOGAWA Juji	Saitama
YONEDA Yoshimori	Ehime
YORIMITSU Yoshiaki	Kochi
YOSHIKAWA Daisuke	Niigata
YOSHIKAWA Kichirobe	Osaka
YUYA Yoshiharu	Tottori

LIBERAL PARTY

ANDO Masazumi	Tokyo
ASHIDA Hitoshi	Kyoto
BANTO Kotaro	Hokkaido
FUJIO Yasutaro	Saga
FUKAMIZU Yoshiki	Kumamoto
FUTADA Korekoshi	Akita
HANAMURA Shiro	Tokyo
HARA Tamashige	Tokyo
HASHIMOTO Takichi	Ishikawa
HATOYAMA Ichiro	Tokyo
HONDA Ichiro	Tokyo
HOSHIJIMA Jiro	Okayama
IKEMOTO Jinshiro	Kyoto
ISHIDA Zensuke	Niigata
KARAHASHI Shigemasa	Fukushima
KATO Sohei	Fukushima
KIMURA Takeo	Yamagata
KISHII Hisao	Kagawa
KITA Reikichi	Niigata
KONO Ichiro	Kanagawa
MAKINO Ryozo	Gifu
MATSUNO Tsuruhei	Kumamoto
MATSUOKA Toshizo	Yamagata
MATSUYAMA Tsunejiro	Wakayama
MIKI Bukichi	Kagawa
MURAYASU Shinkuro	Osaka
NAKA Sukematsu	Kanagawa
NARABASHI Wataru	Fukuoka
NOBUMASA Yoshio	Shiga
NOGUCHI Kiichi	Kanagawa
OGASAWARE Yasumi	Aomori
OGUCHI Kireka	Aichi
OKAMOTO Densosuke	Kanagawa
OKUNO Koshiro	Hokkaido
SAKAMOTO Sotaro	Saitama
SHOJI Ichiro	Miyagi
TAKIZAWA Shichiro	Tokyo
TANAKA Gen	Tokyo
TANAKA Kenomu	Kyoto
TANAKA Ryoichi	Saga
TANAKA Waichiro	Kyoto
USHIZUKA Toratsro	Tokyo
YAMAGUCHI Kiuichiro	Wakayama
YANO Shotaro	Kagawa
YASUDA Kuwaji	Gifu

COOPERATIVE PARTY

COOPERATIVE PARTY

ABIKO Takatsugu	Hokkaido
AKASHIRO Munenori	Ibaragi
ANDO Kozo	Aichi
FUNADA Chu	Tochigi
HINOSHITA Takeshi	Tochigi
HOSHINO Yasunosuke	Hokkaido
KANEMITSU Kunizo	Hyogo
KIMURA Toratero	Gumma
KITA Katsutaro	Hokkaido
KODAIRA Goniehi	Nagano
KUROZAWA Torazo	Hokkaido
MATSUBARA Iozo	Shiga
MATSUMAGA Hisao	Kochi
MIURA Torao	Miyazaki
NAGAYAMA Tadanori	Hiroshima
NAKATANI Takeo	Wakayama
OCHI Tahei	Nara
OZAWA Osamu	Ibaragi
SAKUGUSHI Hyobei	Tottori
SASAI Iccho	Hyogo
SUZUKI Shogo	Aichi
TANAKA Tosaku	Osaka
YANAGAWA Sozaemon	Ibaragi
YOSHIDA Sadajiro	Hokkaido
YOSHIDA Tadashi	Nagano
YOSHIUYE Shosuke	Chiba

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

HIRANO Rikizo	Yamanashi
KANAKAMI Jotaro	Hyogo
KAWAMATA Seion	Akita
KIKUCHI Yonesuke	Miyagi
KINOSHITA Iku	Oita
KONO Mitsu	Tokyo
MAEKAWA Shoichi	Kagawa
MASAKI Kiyoshi	Hokkaido
MATSUMOTO Jiichiro	Fukuoka
MIYAKE Shoichi	Niigata
MIZUTANI Chosaburo	Kyoto
NISHIO Suehiro	Osaka
SAKAMOTO Masaru	Hyogo
SUGIYAMA Genjiro	Osaka
TAMAN Kiyomi	Osaka
WATANABE Yasukuni	Hokkaido
YAMAZAKI Tsunekichi	Aichi

INDEPENDENTS

INDEPENDENTS

AKAO Bin	Tokyo
AOYAMA Kenzo	Ishikawa
ARIMA Kiji	Fukuoka
FUKUIYE Shunichi	Tokyo
HAMADA Hisatomo	Kagoshima
HARAGUCHI Sumisuke	Kagoshima
HIDA Takushi	Hiroshima
HONRYO Shinjiro	Tokyo
IKEDA Masanosuke	Yamagita
IMAI Yoshiyuki	Hyogo
INABA Keisuke	Niigata
KANNO Nataro	Osaka
KATO Kozo	Shizuoka
KATO Tomomasa	Niigata
KAWAKAMI Tetsuta	Ehime
KAWASHIMA Masajiro	Chiba
KIDA Soichiro	Ishikawa
KINOSHITA Yoshisuke	Nagasaki
KIZAKI Tamayuki	Hyogo
KOYAMA Ryo	Nagano
MATSUMOTO Tadao	Nagano
MATSUURA Ihei	Kagawa
MAZAKI Katsuji	Saga
MIKI Takeo	Tokushima
MITAMURA Takeo	Gifu
MITSUI Sakichi	Fukuoka
NAGANO Masoru	Hiroshima
NAKAMURA Matashichiro	Niigata
NAKASHIMA Chikuhei	Gunma
NISHIMURA Shigeo	Yamaguchi
OISHI Dai	Kochi
OKADA Tadahiko	Okayama
OKURA Saburo	Osaka
ONO Shuichi	Nagano
OSHIMA Kosei	Oita
OZAKI Yukio	Mie
SAITO Masami	Miyazaki
SASAGAWA Ryoichi	Osaka
SHINDO Shintaro	Hokkaido
TAKAGI Yoshito	
TAKAOKA Daisuke	Niigata
TAKEUCHI Shunkichi	Aomori
TANAKA Isanji	Kyoto
TANOSHITA Masaji	Niigata
TOJO Sada	Hokkaido
TSUGUMO Kunitoshi	Tokyo
TSUZAKI Hisataka	Kagoshima
YAMANO Heichi	Osaka
YOSHIDA Kenichi	Hyogo
YOSHIKAWA Sukeo	Nagano

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 24, 1945.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 22, 1945

With the dissolution of the Diet on December 18, most representatives who expect to be candidates for election scattered to their home provinces to begin their campaigns. The future of the political parties was suddenly clouded with uncertainty with the publication in the press of rumors that SCAP had insisted upon postponement of the election date, which had been reported as on or about January 24, and would issue a directive prohibiting persons in certain categories from becoming candidates for Diet seats in the coming elections. If, as rumored, members or officers of the IRAA, IRAPS, and Political Association of Great Japan, would be banned from running for office, the Progressive Party would receive an almost fatal blow. Therefore, it appeared that campaign activity on the part of members of the dissolved Diet would remain at a standstill until clarification of SCAP's intentions was obtained.

In the meantime the parties began to announce the lists of their candidates. The Progressives would enter 250 or 300, the Liberals 250, the Social Democrats a possible 300, and the Communists approximately 100. The Japan Cooperative Party, latest political party to enter the ring, announced that it would support 120 candidates. Numerous minor parties continued to appear and to announce candidates.

Observers believe that, unless the rumored directive from SCAP materializes, the Progressives will emerge with a strength of 200 or more seats. Liberals and Social Democrats may win from 100 to 150 seats each. In such case, the Liberals and Social Democrats would have a combined strength greater than the Progressives. If party strength should be considered in the selection of the next Prime Minister a coalition Cabinet might be formed, with HATOYAMA as Liberal leader, standing a good chance to head the Government.

Progressive Party

The thorny question of a president for the Progressive Party was finally decided on December 18, the day of the Diet's dissolution, by the selection of MACHIDA Chuji, octogenarian Minseito politician. Certain party leaders such as, for example, SAITO Takao were said to be dissatisfied with the choice but realized that the party must maintain its unity through the coming elections in order to survive.

From 300 to 350 candidates are expected to represent the Progressives in the coming election. Most observers are agreed that, unless a directive should be issued by SCAP qualifying eligibility for election, the Progressive Party will win the largest number of seats in the elections. In spite of widespread criticism in the press and in the Diet for war responsibility, the Progressives are favored by organization and financial support which are likely to prove decisive factors.

In a press statement, TSURUMI Yusuke, secretary general of the

party,

party, announced the slogans of the Progressives to be: 1) protection and maintenance of the national polity (Imperial institution); 2) guarantee of people's livelihood through thorough enforcement of a social welfare policy; and 3) recovery of international confidence. He attacked the Communist Party and said the Progressives would seek a social welfare policy more thorough than the American New Deal. According to Jiji Press, TSURUMI admitted that his party had no effective solution for the food supply problem "except to appeal to the Supreme Allied authorities to help us tide over this food supply crisis".

Liberal Party

One of the weaknesses of the Liberal Party is its reputation as a one-man party. People refer to it as "HATOYAMA's Party" as frequently as they call it by its rightful name. HATOYAMA's record during the war years is clean; he did not associate himself with TOJO's policies nor with the Political Association of Great Japan (Dai Nippon Seiji-Kai). Nevertheless his reputation as a liberal political leader has not improved since the formation of his party and since the Diet session. His speeches at political rallies and in the Diet have been uninspiring. He has been unable to explain away satisfactorily his action in 1933 in removing certain professors at Kyoto Imperial University when he was Minister of Education. However, he is generally conceded to be an able politician with generally liberal ideas. He is mentioned frequently as the next prime minister in a Government in which the Liberal Party might hold the balance of power in the Diet.

The Liberal Party expects to place approximately 250 candidates in the field. Since the distribution of Liberal strength parallels that of the Progressives, there will be direct competition between candidates of the two parties in most constituencies. Liberals hope to return at least 150 members to the House of Representatives, although this may be an optimistic prediction. Their greatest efforts are expected to be put forth in Tokyo, Kanagawa prefecture (Yokohama), and Hokkaido.

The liberals, like the Progressives, are emphasizing maintenance of the national polity and the Imperial institution as the cornerstone of their policy. They are advocating a daily rice ration of 2.5 go, imports of foodstuffs and unemployment relief. They are proposing public works projects, such as construction of dams, ports, and harbors, as a solution to unemployment. They are making special appeals to the commercial classes by talking of free trade, international trade, and aid to small and medium scale industries.

Social Democratic Party

The Social Democratic Party announced on December 21 a list of 148 candidates for seats in the House of Representatives. The party has stated that additional lists will be issued and that the total number of candidates may reach 300. Among the candidates already announced is one women, YAMAZAKI Michiko, wife of YAMAZAKI Kenji, present Diet member from Shizuoka Prefecture.

Social Democrats expect that approximately 100 of their candidates will be

will be successful in the coming elections. In a statement to the press, KATAYAMA Tetsu, secretary general of the party, said that his party alone was capable of shouldering responsibility in the present situation, that Japan's plight was the result of "capitalistic politics". He stated that the Social Democratic Party would not suffer a disadvantage because its candidates were relatively unknown men, that the Japanese voters now would attach more importance to parties than to individuals.

Although repercussions of the ONO incident (described in this office's report "Political Parties in Japan: Developments during the week ending December 15, 1945") have subsided, speculation is still rife as to the ability of the Social Democratic Party to prevent a secession of its left wing group. Many of these members are said to favor close cooperation with the Communist Party but still fear the "Red" label. Farthest to the left in the Social Democratic Party is said to be TAKATSU Seido, incidentally the author of a book published on November 25 entitled "Causes of Soviet Victory and German Defeat" (Soren no Shoin to Doitsu no haiin). Both TAKATSU and MATSUMOTO Jiichiro are said to advocate a united front with the Communists.

SHIGA Yoshio, Communist Party leader, in an interview with officers of GHQ and the writer on December 20, quoted a recent statement by NISHIO Suehiro that the Liberal and Progressive Parties but not the Communist Party are the enemies of the Social Democrats. NISHIO is said to belong to the "Center" faction within the Social Democratic Party and to have been previously strongly anti-Communist in sentiment. SHIGA attributes NISHIO's present favorable attitude and that of other Social Democrats to a fear of being named war criminals by the Communist Party. He believes that increasing numbers of Social Democrats would like to affiliate with the Communists but their feeling of subservience to the Emperor is still too strong to permit them to change allegiance. SHIGA cited two examples of members of Social Democratic Party local branches having left their own party to join the Communists. He asserted that in Ibaraki prefecture the local branch of the Social Democrats had gone over completely to the Communists and that in Tochigi prefecture at a meeting of delegates of the Social Democratic Party, 70% of those in attendance had walked out of the meeting announcing their intention to join the Communist Party.

The Communist Party

The Communist Party by December 22 had presented a list of 66 candidates for seats in the House of Representatives in the coming elections and states that at least 103 persons will finally be named to represent the party. The 66 candidates are distributed through 30 prefectures; the party states that it expects to enter candidates in at least 33 prefectures. One of the Communist candidates is SUZUKI Tomin, former chief of the Foreign Department of Yomiuri-Hochi newspaper and leader of the recent strike against the paper's owners SHORIKI Matsutarô.

In the interview of December 20 mentioned above, SHIGA Yoshio stated that the Communist Party was making steady progress in Japan. He said that evidences of the party's gaining strength could be found in the trade union movement, the peasant movement, and the increasing signs of pro-Communist sentiment within the ranks of the Social Democratic Party. He stated that the trade union movement was progressing

toward

toward the "One Big Union" idea in which the Communists were cooperating. Two agrarian organizations, the Peasants Committee (Nomin Iin-kai), sponsored by the Communists and the Peasants Union (Nomin Kumiai) sponsored by the Social Democrats, were beginning to cooperate and their eventual union is expected. Efforts are being made in local districts to unite the delegates from both groups and upon this basis, the calling of a National Peasants Representatives Congress (Zenkoku Nomin Daihyosha Kaigi) is contemplated.

SHIGA stated that the Communist Party was anxious to cooperate with the Social Democrats in both the trade union and agrarian movements and that it was hoped unity could be achieved. He specified that Communist support would be conditional upon maintenance of democratic principles by these groups. As an example of the desire of certain Social Democrats to cooperate with the Communists he remarked that three of the Socialistsleaders, HIRANO Rikizo, KURODA Hisao, and OKADA Sojo, had proposed a meeting with SHIGA to talk over these problems.

According to SHIGA, the Communist Party is likewise willing to cooperate with other political groups in achieving democratic reforms in Japan. He states that such cooperation might take the form of a "Democratic League" growing out of the present "People's Emancipation League" (Jinmin Kaiho Renmei) and that the party is ready to leave aside the controversial Emperor question in forming such an organization, believing that a process of political education will gradually win adherence to the Communist support of a people's republic in place of a monarchy.

The Communist Youth Movement, inaugurated at the time of the Party Congress in early December, appeals to Japanese youth under the age of 26. It is its principle deliberately to omit from discussion the Emperor system but to work toward the propagation of Communism among youth. A publication to be called Flag of Youth is scheduled to appear at the end of December and the establishment of a school is contemplated.

News of the arrival in Seoul, Korea of NOSAKA Sanji (alias NOSAKA Tetsu, OKANO Susumu) and his group of Japanese Communists from Yenan, North China, has been greeted with elation by the party headquarters in Tokyo. In a statement issued to the press on December 20, the party expressed a wish for the speedy arrival in Japan of NOSAKA and his group and again denied rumors of a disagreement in policy between the Yenan and Tokyo organizations.

Japan Cooperative Party

On December 18, day of the dissolution of the Diet, a new party was formed by Diet members who have remained independent up to the present time. It was called the Japan Cooperative Party (Nihon Kyodoto) and with 26 members in the dissolved House of Representatives became the third strongest party from the point of view of representation in the past Diet. Leaders are KUROSAWA Torazo, butter manufacturer of Hokkaido long active in the cooperative movement, FUNADA Naka (Chu), and SENGOKU Kotaro, member of the House of Peers and former Minister of Agriculture and Forestry. Marquis TOKUGAWA Yoshichika served notice on December 19 that he was resigning his membership in

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the Social Democratic Party in order to join the newly formed Cooperative Party.

The party advocates maintenance of the Imperial institution, establishment of a democratic political system, autonomy for labor, and the reconstruction of industry, economy, and culture on the basis of the cooperative principle. The group is apparently composed of persons who desire social reform but are not prepared to advocate the substitution of socialism for capitalism. At the same time they are not attracted by the platforms or the personalities of the Progressive and Liberal Parties.

The Cooperative Party has announced that it will sponsor 120 candidates in the forthcoming elections. Until more is known of the party's program and membership, it is difficult to evaluate its popular appeal or its future in Japanese politics.

Other Parties

The appearance of new parties continued unabated. On December 15, representatives of several organizations which have been endeavoring to sponsor the political emergence of General UGAKI Kazushige met to form a new party to be called the Democratic Party (Minshu-to). General UGAKI has apparently refused to become president of the party, at least for the time being, and the position is being left vacant with the hope that he will see fit to occupy it at a later time.

On December 19 the People's Rights Cooperative Association was formed under the leadership of MITAMURA Takeo, Diet member from Gifu Prefecture. Thirty candidates to run in the coming elections have been announced.

Also on December 19 was formed the Japan Bright Life Party (Nihonn Minsei-kai) headed by TAKAHASHI Kensuke. This party supports the "establishment of a government of all the people under the Emperor".

The platform of the Japan People's Party (Nihon Minto), to be inaugurated shortly, was announced on December 19. The party proposes a cooperative society organized on democratic principles under the Emperor, advocates the guarantee of human rights, international democracy, democratization of finance, industry, education, the socialization of the rationing system, autonomous management of labor, and farmers cooperatives. 16 candidates for seats in the House of Representatives have been announced, including ISHIKAWA Tatsuzu, well-known novelist. Organizers of the party are reported to be principally journalists and persons without previous experience in politics.

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APPENDIX

Members of the Principal Parties in Recently Dissolved House of Representatives

(Sources: Annex to Official Gazette of the House of Representatives, December 10, 1945; News reports since December 10, 1945)

Representation of the principal parties in the Diet at the time of its dissolution on December 18, was as follows:

Progressive Party	271
Liberal Party	45
Cooperative Party	26
Social Democratic Party	17
* Independents	50
Vacancies (resigned or died)	57
Total	466

* Members who have affiliated with certain of the minor parties are included among the Independents.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

NAME	PREFECTURE
ABE Hiroshi	Yamaguchi
AINO Tokuchiro	Saga
AIZAWA Hiroshi	Okayama
AKAMA Tokuhisa	Toyama
AKAMATSU Torashichi-	Fukuoka
AKOJIMA Shunji	Miyagi
ANDO Satoru	Kanagawa
ARAI Gyoji	Saitama
ARAKAWA Sanesato	Kumamoto
AYABE Kentaro	Oita
BABA Motoji	Nagasaki
BESSHO Kiichiro	Shiga
EGUCHI Shigeru	Fukuoka
FUJIMOTO Sutesuke	Kagawa
FUKAGAWA Yoshihei	Hokkaido
FUKUDA Shigeki	Ibaragi
FUNAWATASHI Sasuke	Gifu
HADA Takeshiro	Nagano
HAMANO Seigo	Tokyo
HAMAJI Bunpei	Mie
HAMANO Tsutsutaro	Hyogo
HARA Sobei	Hyogo
HARO Ojiro	Shimane
HAYASHI Keisuke	Yamaguchi
HAYASHI Masao	Aichi
HAYASHI Nobuo	Fukuoka
HIGUCHI Zeneimon	Aichi
HIRONO Kikutaro	Shiga
HITOMATSU Sadakichi	Osaka
HONDA Koji	Aichi
HORI Shigeru	Saga
HORIUCHI Kazuo	Yamanashi
HOSHI Hajime	Fukushima
IBUKI Gengory	Nagasaki
ICHINOMIYA Fusajiro	Oita
IGARASHI Kichizo	Gunma
IKEDA Hideo	Saga
IMAI Takehiko	Chiba
IMANAKI Yoshio	Tokyo
IMANARI Tomenosuke	Niigata
IMAO Noboru	Kyoto
INO Morie	Fukui
INUKAI Ken	Okayama
IREI Hajime	Okinawa
ISAKA Toyomitsu	Osaka
ISHIGURE Keiichi	Gifu
ISHIZAKA Shigeru	Kumamoto
ISHIZAKA Yohei	Saitama
ITO Goro	Yamagata
ITO Kiyoshi	Chiba
ITO Mikizo	Yamaguchi
ITO Toichiro	Gifu
IZU Tomito	Kumamoto
IZUI Heikichi	Saitama

IZUMI Kunisaburo

IZUMI Kuniseburo	Iwate
KANAI Masao	Kagoshima
KANEKO Hikotaro	Shizuoka
KANEKO Sadaichi	Iwate
KANEMITSU Yasuo	Oita
KANNA Norikazu	Okinawa
KANNO Shigeru	Fukushima
KASHIWABARA Koichi	Oita
KATAYAMA Kazuo	Okayama
KATO Ryugoro	Aichi
KATSU Masanori	Fukuoka
KATSUDA Nagakichi	Osaka
KATSUMATA Shunichi	Shizuoka
KAWAGUCHI Hisashi	Tokyo
KAWAMORI Yasunosuke	Osaka
KAWASAKI Katsu	Mie
KAWASAKI Minotaro	Ibaragi
KAWASAKI Suegoro	Kyoto
KAWAZOE Takashi	Nagasaki
KEYAMA Moritaro	Ehime
KIDO Tsunosuke	Yamaguchi
KIHARA Shichiro	Hiroshima
KINOSHITA Shin	Nagano
KISHIDA Masanori	Hiroshima
KITAMURA Matazaemon	Nara
KIYOSE Ichiro	Hyogo
KIYOSHI Kan	Gifu
KOBAYASHI Kinuyi	Hyogo
KOBAYASHI Tetsutaro	Yamagata
KOGURE Takedayu	Gumma
KOIZUMI Matajiro	Kanagawa
KOIZUMI Sumiya	Kagoshima
KOMAI Shigetugi	Tokyo
KOMATSU Motoji	Fukushima
KORO Akira	Tokushima
KOSAKA Takeo	Nagano
KOSHINO Yujiro	Ibaragi
KOTANI Setsuo	Okayama
KOURA Sohei	Nagasaki
KOYAMA Kunitaro	Nagano
KOYAMA Matsuhisa	Aichi
KOYAMA Tamizo	Wakayama
KOYANAGI Makie	Niigata
KUBOI Yoshimichi	Yamaguchi
KUKI Monshichi	Mie
KURODA Iwao	Hyogo
KUSUMI Shogo	Aomori
KUYAMA Tomoyuki	Okayama
MACHIDA Chuji	Akita
MAEDA Fusanosuke	Hyogo
MAEDA Yonezo	Tokyo
MAEDA Zenji	Hokkaido
MAKIBARA Genichiro	Fukushima
MANABE Giju	Tokyo
MASUDA Giichi	Niigata
MATSUDA Shoichi	Mie
MATSUDA Takeshio	Oweka
MATSUKATA Kojiro	Kagoshima
MATSUMURA Kenzo	Toyama

MATSUMURA Kozo

MATSUMURA Kozo	Tochigi
MATSUNAGA Azuma	Saitama
MATSUNOBE Yasaburo	Fukuoka
MATSUO Senzo	Fukuoka
MATSUURA Shutaro	Hokkaido
MIKI Yokichiro	Tokushima
MIURA Kazuo	Aomori
MIYAZAKI Hajime	Saitama
MIYAZAWA Yutaka	Hiroshima
MIYOSHI Hideyuki	Tottori
MIYOSHI Nobufusa	Kumamoto
MOGAMI Seizo	Gunma
MOMOHARA Shigeta	Okinawa
MORI Hajime	Nagasaki
MORIBE Takasuke	Fukuoka
MORIGUCHI Junjo	Shizuoka
MORIKAWA Senta	Wakayama
MORISHITA Kunio	Tochigi
MORITA Jujiro	Aomori
MORIYA Sakae	Miyagi
MURAKAMI Kuniyoshi	Kyoto
MURAKATSU Hisayoshi	Miyagi
MURASE Takeo	Ehime
NAGAI Gen	Mie
NAGANO Koichi	Tokyo
NAGATA Ryokichi	Kagoshima
NAGUNO Masaaki	Hokkaido
NAKAGAWA Kanji	Toyama
NAKAGAWA Shigeharu	Akita
NAKAGOSHI Yoshiyuke	Kochi
NAKAI Kazuo	Hyogo
NAKAI Ryusaku	Kumamoto
NAKAIGAWA Hiroshi	Ibaragi
NAKAJIMA Soichi	Okinawa
NAKAMURA Sannojo	Kyoto
NAKAMURA Umekichi	Tokyo
NAKAMURA Yoichiro	Chiba
NAKANISHI Miyoshi	Fukushima
NAKANISHI Toshinori	Fukui
NAKANO Henzaemon	Aichi
NAKASE Setsuo	Nagasaki
NAKASHIMA Yadanji	Tokyo
NANGO Takeo	Kagoshima
NANJO Tokuo	Hokkaido
NARUSHIMA Isamu	Chiba
NISHIGATA Toshima	Yamagata
NISHIKAWA Teiichi	Yamaguchi
NODA Masanobu	Aichi
NODA Takeo	Kanagawa
NOMOTO Kichibei	Ehime
NOMURA Kakuma	Miyazaki
OASA Tadao	Kumamoto
ODA Hikotaro	Miyazaki
ODAKA Chozaburo	Chiba
OGASAWARA Senkuro	Aichi
OHASHI Seitaro	Tokyo
OISHI Saiji	Toyama
OKADA Keijiro	Kyoto
OKAMOTO Umetaro	Ehime

OKAWA Kozo

OKAWA Kozo	Osaka
OKI Kura	Fukuoka
OKU Hiseto	Hiroshima
OMURA Tadashi	Shizuoka
ONO Giichi	Kochi
ONO Ichizo	Aichi
ONODERA Yuichi	Iwate
OSAUCHI Kensi	Aomori
OSHIMA Torakichi	Hokkaido
OTA Masataka	SHIZuoka
OYAMA Kuranosuke	Miyagi
OYAMDA Yoshitaka	Akita
SAITO Takao	Hyogo
SAKAI Toshio	Fukui
SAKAMOTO Ikkaku	Tokyo
SAKASCHITA Senichiro	Shizuoka
SAKIYAMA Tsugitomo	Okinawa
SAKUDA Takataro	Hiroshima
SAKUMA Michio	Kanagawa
SAKUMA Wataru	Tochigo
SAKURAI Ryogoro	Ishikawa
SATO Yonosuke	Ibaragi
SATO Yoshio	Niigata
SATSUMA Yuji	Fukui
SHIMADA Toshio	Shimane
SHIMIZU Tomesaburo	Gumma
SHIMOIDE Yoshio	Aichi
SHINOHARA Rokuro	Chiba
SHINTA Giuemon	Akita
SHIRAKAWA Hisao	Hyogo
SOEDA Koichiro	Fukui
SOGI Shigeki	Miyazaki
SOZEN Kiyoshi	Kagoshima
SUGAMATA Kaoru	Tochigi
SUMI Inosuke	Wakayama
SUZUKI Shigetugi	Nagasaki
SUZUKI Tadakichi	Shizuoka
TADA Mitsunaga	Chiba
TAGO Kazutomi	Iwate
TAKAHATAKE Kanetaro	Ehime
TAKADA Kohei	Tochigi
TAKAHASHI Kumajiro	Yamagata
TAKAHASHI Morihei	Saitama
TAKAGI Norio	Kagoshima
TAKAKI Yukimichi	Toyama
TAKETOMA Yuki	Ehime
TAMURA Hideyoshi	Fukushima
TAMURA Rei	Mie
TANABE Shichiroku	Yamanashi
TANABE Tokugoro	Kanagawa
TANABE Tomoyuki	Shimane
TANAKA Mitsugu	Hiroshima
TANAKA Takeo	Hyogo
TANIHARA Ko	Tokushima
TANOMOGI Shinroku	Tokyo
TASHIMA Eijiro	Aichi
TERADA Ichimasa	Kagoshima
TEYOSI Rukichi	Hokkaido
TOGO Minoru	Kagoshima

TOMITA, Aijiro	Aichi
TOYAMA, Teruo	Saitama
TOYOTA, Osamu	Tottori
TSUCHIYA, Genichi	Okayama
TSUCHIYA, Hiroshi	Hiroshima
TSURU, Shoichi	Fukuoka
TSUKUMI, Yusuke	Iwate
TSUSHI, Kaneji	Fukuoka
TSUTSUMI, Kojiro	Shiga
UCHIGAZAKI, Sakusaburo	Miyagi
UCHIIKE, Hisagoro	Fukushima
UDA, Koichi	Kochi
UEDA, Kokichi	Osaka
UMAOKA, Jiro	Mie
UYEMATSU, Rezma	Fukushima
UYEMURA, Takeichi	Nara
WATANABE, Ken	Ibaragi
WATANABE, Zenjuro	Tokyo
YABE, Toshichi	Tochigi
YAGI, Motohachi	Shizuoka
YAGI, Sojuro	Yamaguchi
YAMADA, Junsaku	Shizuoka
YAMADA, Rokuro	Fukushima
YAMADA, Takeji	Tokyo
YAMAGUCHI, Makiji	Oita
YAMAGUCHI, Sohei	Kanagawa
YAMAGUCHI, Tadagoro	Shizuoka
YAMAMOTO, Kozo	Hokkaido
YAMAMOTO, Kumekichi	Ibaragi
YAMAMOTO, Yoshiharu	Osaka
YAMANAKA, Yoshisada	Ehime
YAMAZAKI, Tatsunosuke	Fukuoka
YANAMI, Takeji	Tokyo
YASUMI, Saburo	Iwate
YOKOGAWA, Juji	Saitama
YONEDA, Yoshimori	Ehime
YORIMITSU, Yoshiaki	Kochi
YOSHIKAWA, Daisuke	Niigata
YOSHIKAWA, Kichirobe	Osaka
YUYA, Yoshiharu	Tottori

LIBERAL PARTY

LIBERAL PARTY

ANDO, Masazumi	Tokyo
ASHIDA, Hitoshi	Kyoto
BANTO, Kotaro	Hokkaido
FUJIO, Yasutaro	Saga
FUKAMIZU, Yoshiki	Kumamoto
FUTADA, Koreyoshi	Akita
HANAMURA, Shiro	Tokyo
HARA, Tamashige	Tokyo
HASHIMOTO, Takichi	Ishikawa
HATOYAMA, Ichiro	Tokyo
HONDA, Ichiro	Tokyo
HOSHIJIMA, Jiro	Okayama
IKEMOTO, Jinshiro	Kyoto
ISHIDA, Zensuke	Niigata
KARAHASHI, Shigemasa	Fukushima
KATO, Sohei	Fukushima
KIMURA, Takeo	Yamagata
KISHII, Hisao	Kagawa
KITA, Reikichi	Niigata
KONO, Ichiro	Kanagawa
MAKINO, Ryozo	Gifu
MATSUNO, Tsuruhei	Kumamoto
MATSUOKA, Toshizo	Yamagata
MATSUYAMA, Tsunejiro	Wakayama
MIKI, Bukichi	Kagawa
MURAYASU, Shinkuro	Osaka
NAKA, Sukematsu	Kanagawa
NARAHASHI, Wataru	Fukuoka
NOHUMASA, Yoshio	Shiga
NOGUCHI, Kiichi	Kanagawa
OGASAWARE, Yasomi	Aomori
OGUCHI, Kiroku	Aichi
OKAMOTO, Denosuke	Kanagawa
OKUNO, Koshiro	Hokkaido
SAKAMOTO, Sotaro	Saitama
SHOJI, Ichiro	Miyagi
TAKIZAWA, Shichiro	Tokyo
TANAKA, Gen	Tokyo
TANAKA, Konozu	Kyoto
TANAKA, Ryoichi	Saga
TANAKA, Waichiro	Kyoto
USHIZUKA, Torataro	Tokyo
YAMAGUCHI, Kiuichiro	Wakayama
YANO, Shotaro	Kagawa
YASUDA, Kuwaji	Gifu

COOPERATIVE PARTY

COOPERATIVE PARTY

AEIKO, Takatsugu	Hokkaiso
AKASHIRO, Munenori	Ibaragi
ANDO, Kozo	Aichi
FUKADA, Chu	Tochigi
HINOSHITA, Takeshi	Tochigi
HOSHINO, Yasunosuke	Hokkaido
KANEMITSU, Kunizo	Hyogo
KIMURA, Torataro	Gumma
KITA, Katsutaro	Hokkaido
KODAIRA, Genichi	Nagano
KUROZAWA, Torazo	Hokkaido
MATSUBARA, Iozo	Shiga
MATSUNAGA, Hisao	Kochi
MIURA, Torao	Miyazaki
NAGAYAMA, Tadanori	Hiroshima
NAKATANI, Takeo	Wakayama
OCHI, Tahei	Nara
OZAWA, Osamu	Ibaragi
SAKUGUSHI, Hyobei	Tottori
SASAI, Iccho	Hyogo
SUZUKI, Shogo	Aichi
TANAKA, Tosaku	Osaka
YAMAGAWA, Sozaemon	Ibaragi
YOSHIDA, Sadajiro	Hokkaido
YOSHIDA, Tadashi	Nagano
YOSHIUYE, Shosuke	Chiba

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

HIRANO, Rikizo	Yamanashi
KAWAKAMI, Jotaro	Hyogo
KAWAMATA, Seion	Akita
KIKUCHI, Yonosuke	Miyagi
KINOSHITA, Iku	Oita
KONO, Mitsu	Tokyo
MAEKAWA, Shoichi	Kagawa
MASAKI, Kiyoshi	Hokkaido
MATSUMOTO, Jiichiro	Fukuoka
MIYAKE, Shoichi	Niigata
MIZUTANI, Chozaburo	Kyoto
NISHIO, Suehiro	Osaka
SAKAMOTO, Masaru	Hyogo
SUGIYAMA, Genjiro	Osaka
TAMAN, Kiyoomi	Osaka
WATANABE, Yasukuni	Hokkaido
YAMAZAKI, Tsunekichi	Aichi

INDEPENDENTS

AKAO, Bin	Tokyo
AOYAMA, Kenzo	Ishikawa
ARIMA, Eiji	Fukuoka
FUKUIYE, Shunichi	Tokyo
HAMADA, Hisatomo	Kagoshima
HARAGUCHI, Sumisuke	Kagoshima
HIDA, Takushi	Hiroshima
HONMYO, Shinjiro	Tokyo
IKEDA, Masanosuke	Yamagita
IMAI, Yoshiyuki	Hyogo
INABA, Keisuke	Niigata
KANNO, Wataro	Osaka
KATO, Kozo	Shizuoka
KATO, Tomomasa	Niigata
KAWAKAMI, Tetsuta	Ehime
KAWASHIMA, Masajiro	Chiba
KIDA, Soichiro	Ishikawa
KINOSHITA, Yoshisuke	Nagasaki
KIZAKI, Tameyuki	Hyogo
KOYAMA, Ryo	Nagano
MATSUMOTO, Tadao	Nagano
MATSUURA, Ihei	Kagawa
MAZAKI, Katsuji	Saga
MIKI, Takeo	Tokushima
MITAMURA, Takeo	Gifu
MITSUI, Sakichi	Fukuoka
NAGANO, Mamoru	Hiroshima
NAKAMURA, Matashichiro	Niigata
NAKASHIMA, Chikuhei	Gunma
NISHIMURA, Shigeo	Yamaguchi
OISHI, Dai	Kochi
OKADA, Tadahiko	Okayama
OKURA, Saburo	Osaka
ONO, Shuichi	Nagano
OSHIMA, Kosei	Oita
OZAKI, Yukio	Mie
SAITO, Masami	Miyazaki
SASAGAWA, Ryoichi	Osaka
SHINDO, Shintaro	Hokkaido
TAKAGI, Yoshito	
TAKAOKA, Daisuke	Niigata
TAKEUCHI, Shunkichi	Aomori
TANAKA, Isanji	Kyoto
TANOSHITA, Masaji	Niigata
TOJO, Sada	Hokkaido
TSUGUMO, Kunitoshi	Tokyo
TSUZAKI, Hisataka	Kagoshima
YAMANO, Heichi	Osaka
YOSHIDA, Kenichi	Hyogo
YOSHIKAWA, Sukeo	Nagano

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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, December 18, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Supreme Commander.

SUBJECT: Developments of Political Parties in Japan for the Week Ending December 15, 1945.

There is transmitted hereunder our tenth weekly report on Japanese political parties submitted pursuant to the Chief of Staff's memorandum of October 3, 1945.

It is now six weeks since the inauguration of Japan's first post-war political party. During that time four principal parties, Progressive, Liberal, Social Democratic and Communist, have emerged and approximately thirty-five minor groups have announced their entry into the political arena. The present session of the Diet has provided a stage for action by present political leaders. The public, through the press and Diet interpellations, has thus had some opportunity to judge personalities and platforms.

It may then be not premature to take stock of the present political situation in Japan and to examine the role which the political parties are now playing and may be expected to play in the future.

Ideologies. Japan as a defeated nation is groping for a new ideology, for a new foundation to replace the shattered one constructed so carefully and deliberately during the years of military ascendancy. Acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration has committed the nation to democracy and, it can be said, the Japanese are in general sincere in their desire to fulfill the terms which they have accepted. At the same time it is natural that each class of society will try to salvage its own particular interests or will try to reap advantage from the new situation. Political parties can be expected to represent these particular interests.

It is apparent that the economic revolution which Japan is experiencing will of itself bring about a complete social reorientation. The loss of colonial possessions, destruction of war industries, dissolution of the Zaibatsu, and removal of controls necessitate new thinking and a new ideology.

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In this chaotic situation there is encouragement for the Socialists and Communists. With the old discredited, the untried new is attractive. Furthermore, Socialism and Communism are positive and concrete. Liberalism is vaguer, harder to define, and does not have the attractiveness of appearing to be a panacea.

This does not mean, however, that Japan is likely to experience a sudden surge of Communism, although Communism is certain to grow. The hold of the Emperor upon his people is still strong, and those who advocate his overthrow are not likely to exert great influence for some time to come. Large groups of the Japanese people, particularly the farmers, are still basically conservative in their outlook. The old line politicians are mostly representative of conservative groups and will certainly fight a rear-guard action against drastic reform going no further than they feel compelled to. Finally, the strongly conservative bureaucrats cannot be summarily dismissed because their technical skill and experience is as yet irreplaceable.

The principal objective of the occupation is a reasonably swift but orderly development of genuine democratic ideology. It is to be expected that social legislation to this end will receive considerable attention during the next few years. The labor union and agrarian reform laws are a start. But for some time, because of American pressure, legislation will probably be ahead of the actual political development of the people.

At the present time the main deterrents to such a speedy and orderly development toward democracy seem to be:: (1) economic insecurity;: (2) general deterioration of morale; and (3) lack of leadership. So far the political parties have offered little hope of solving any of these three problems.

Economic Insecurity. Economic insecurity may be a deterrent to political development or it may, at a later stage, become a violent revolutionary force. At present the problems of livelihood on the level of bare existence absorb the activities of most of the as yet politically uneducated Japanese people to the exclusion of political thought. The shortage of food and coal affects the life of every Japanese. Furthermore, the Government has so far failed to give even the appearance of doing all possible to solve Japan's economic problems or to cope satisfactorily with such practical problems

as housing

as housing for air raid victims. The political parties themselves have talked of security of livelihood more for the purpose of getting votes than on a practical basis of workable plans. The Japanese people have come more and more to look to SCAP for positive action.

This situation has great dangers for the future. Severe economic suffering without reasonable hope for future security is likely to breed unrest and violence and push democracy into the realm of pure theory. A desperate and hungry populace confronted with the obvious failure of the Government and older political leaders may provide a fertile ground for the demagogue and agitator for extreme views, either right or left.

Morale. It may be expected that a nation without experience of defeat should suffer moral collapse when a war has been lost. Until democracy or some new ideology takes root in the Japanese soil the people are lost creatures, their old faiths, religions and moral security broken. Crime is increasing. Disillusioned soldiers returned from an inglorious war turn quickly to blackmarket operations instead of steady, constructive toil. The traditional Japanese sense of responsibility is shaken by the spectacle of Tojo-selected Diet members squabbling over the wording of a resolution to save their political skins on the issue of war responsibility. All thirty-five of th new political parties proclaim democracy from signboards and public halls, but not one has yet produced a testament of democratic faith to inspire the confidence of the people. The Asahi in an editorial commenting on the suicide of Prince KONOYE, after deploring the behavior of Japan's public men, concludes on this pessimistic note: "The feeling gradually deepens that Japan is a doomed country without morals."

Leadership. Japan is bankrupt in leadership. Statesmen of pre-1931 days are superannuated, out-moded, lacking the flexibility of mind necessary to meet new, pressing and unprecedente problems. Statesmen with recent experience are either war criminals or to some degree involved in war responsibility.

Ideologically the political parties should produce the leaders of a new Japan. They should become the training school for vigorous young Japanese rising to meet the challenge of the present day. Unfortunately, such time has not yet come nor is there faith in the nation that it will come soon.

For the present we must be satisfied with those leaders least tainted by war. If the wheels turn with relative smoothness, new talent may arise and men of Cabinet calibre should b more evident a year from now than today.

The Future.

(2) The Future. The present Diet session has revealed the inertia, lack of initiative and incapacity of the present Diet members. It is natural that a representative legislative body functions lamely and nervously with the axe of war criminal charges hanging over it. It is natural that politicians elected in 1942 to give all-out support to a war of Greater East Asia act inefficiently in 1945 when faced with the problems of defeat and the duty of establishing democracy.

Government in Japan has become increasingly a matter of directive from SCAP rather than acts initiated by the Japanese Cabinet or Diet. While the press has bitterly criticized the Government for failure to act on its own initiative, it has become evident that in the present negative political state directives from the Supreme Commander are welcomed by Japan's impotent leaders. (1)

Once the war criminals have been arrested and removal completed of the influence upon Japanese life of militarists and ultra-nationalists responsible for the war, attention might increasingly be turned toward a gradual process of building in Japan a sound political foundation for the future. It is suggested that SCAP give careful consideration to sifting and investigating those Japanese who may be trusted to direct their nation in accordance with the objectives we have set for the occupation. It is suggested that the selection of such persons is of the utmost importance for the future. It is suggested that a systematic survey be conducted to determine those persons within and without the political parties who may be expected to contribute constructively to Japan's democratization. It is suggested that informal contact between responsible American officials and these Japanese be encouraged and that every effort be expended toward the education of these persons in the democratic ideals held out for Japan. The American Government now bears a great burden of responsibility for Japan. This responsibility will not be completely acquitted unless the destruction of the evil forces in Japan is counterbalanced by the construction of a sound political foundation upon which a hopeful future can be built.

George Atcheson, Jr.
Minister
U. S. Political Adviser

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CONFIDENTIAL

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 15, 1945

Summary. The Social Democratic Party increased its representation in the Diet to 17 members with the adherence of WATANABE Yasukuni, independent. Intra-party controversy on the Emperor question was aired in the press with the publication of an open letter to the Yomiuri-Hochi by ONO Shunichi, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party and himself editor of the Minshu Shimbun. ONO objected to the recent decision by the Standing Committee to refuse a united front with the Communists and support the Imperial institution. Reply to ONO's letter was duly made in the columns of the Yomiuri upbraiding him for criticizing his own party publicly. It is as yet uncertain whether ONO will leave the party or whether left wing elements will split to join the Communists. The Progressives have still been unable to agree upon a president and it appears now that General UGAKI will definitely not accept party leadership, at least not until after the coming elections. Latest indications were that MACHIDA Chuji or SAITO Takao, both veteran parliamentarians, might be chosen. In the meantime the press has bitterly attacked the Progressives for their war responsibility and unfitness for leadership in the present situation. TOKUDA Kuichi and SHIGA Yoshio, leaders of the Communist Party, stated to American correspondent Edgar Snow in an interview on December 12 that the present membership of their party was 1700 with an expected increase to 5000 within a year. Circulation of the 5th and latest issue of the Red Flag was said to be 90,000. The formation of one new party was announced during the week, the Peoples Cooperation Party (Kokumin Kyodo-to) organized by 20 independent Diet members. Plans for other parties included a party to represent Buddhist sects, the Long-Nosed Dragon Party (Tengu-to) proclaiming support of the Emperor and attack on the privileged classes, and the Holy Peace Party (Seiwa-to) to be organized in Osaka by rightists elements, followers of SASAKAWA Ryoichi who was recently arrested as a war criminal suspect. End of Summary.

Activities of the Social Democratic Party

The original group of 15 Diet members affiliated with the Social Democratic Party has now been increased to 17 with the joining this week of WATANABE Yasukuni, independent of Hokkaido.

A split within the Social Democratic Party over the Emperor question was threatened by an open letter published in the Yomiuri-Hochi by ONO Shunichi, member of the Central Executive Committee, protesting the action of the Standing Committee on December 4 in supporting the Imperial institution and rejecting the Communist proposal for a united front. At this time the Committee had referred to their platform approved at the inauguration meeting on November 2 as authority for support of the Emperor. ONO, who is a well known physiologist and publisher of a newspaper of leftist tendencies, the Minshu Shimbun, insisted that the Standing Committee did not possess the right to decide

such an

such an important issue without consultation with members of the party. ONO demanded answers to three questions: (1) Is the Standing Committee authorized to take a decision on such an important issue without referring it to other representative organizations within the party and to compel members of the Central Executive Committee to follow the decision? (2) Does the Standing Committee hold the view that such members of the party as are opposed to the decision are thereby disqualified to remain in theparty irrespective of the reasons for their opposition? (3) When, where and how did the party make the statement on the Emperor system to which the Standing Committee referred? ONO insisted that the only official statement made by the party which might be construed as referring to the Imperial institution was the phrase in the general platform announced at the inaugural meeting of the party stating that the party stands for "democratization of the Constitution on the basis of the total will of the people." ONO objected to what he termed the dictatorial methods of a few leaders trying to impose their will on the entire party.

A spokesman for the Social Democrats at first announced that the party would ignore ONO's protest but this decision was later reversed and a letter signed by HARA Hyo, chairman of the investigation section of the Central Executive Standing Committee, appeared in the Yomiuri-Hochi on December 15. The letter did not offer specific replies to the three questions propounded by ONO but rather reproached him, as a member of the Central Executive Committee, for having used the newspaper as a medium for expressing his disagreement with a party policy. The Standing Committee's right to take decisions on all question, regardless of the degree of their importance, was defended and the example of orders in council in Great Britain was cited as a democratic precedent and practice.

The controversy has highlighted the discrepancy of view of the vital Emperor issue within the ranks of the Social Democratic Party. While efforts are being made to keep ONO in the party and to prevent a split just before the elections, there is no doubt that a number of party members sympathize with ONO's viewpoint and are not satisfied with the Standing Committee's decision to support the Emperor system and to reject cooperation with the Communists.

The press reported on December 14 that 213 members of the Social Democratic Party have notified party headquarters of their intention to run as candidates in the coming general election. Each candidate must be approved by the Standing Committee after recommendation by prefectural headquarters. After a meeting of the Election Committee on December 14, headed by KATAYAMA Tetsu and HIRANO Rikizo, it was announced that from 150 to 200 candidates would enter the elections for the party. In general the number of party candidates in each constituency will reach one third of the total number of Diet members to be elected. In districts where the party enjoys particular strength, such as Tokyo metropolitan district and Hyogo prefecture, candidates will number half the total to be elected from the district.

The Social Democratic Party has so far received more sympathetic publicity from the press than the other major political parties. For example, the Mainichi in editorial which foresees the bankruptcy of capitalism in Japan stated on December 14 as follows:

> "While both the Progressive and Liberal parties have pointed out the necessity for a reform of capitalism, they have scarcely touched upon any concrete policy for carrying out
>
> such reform

such reform. On the other hand the Social Democratic Party proposes the substitution of socialism for capitalism and advocates nationalization of heavy and other industries. While there are numerous points in the party's policy which have not been clarified, still its general outlines seem to follow the inevitable demands of the present situation. However, its political future to be determined in the coming general elections will depend upon the personalities of its candidates, and how successfully its policies are impressed upon the masses of the nation."

Activities of the Progressive Party

The issue of a president for the Progressive Party continued to haunt the minds of its leaders. Gen. UGAKI at one moment seemed to be a likely candidate but he is reported to have refused all offers. Both Tokyo Shimbun and Yomiuri-Hochi have in the past week editorialized on UGAKI, damning him with faint praise as a liberal and branding him as bearing responsibility for the war as a high ranking Army officer. The Tokyo Shimbun remarks that he is nearing 80 years of age and lacks the necessary qualifications for the problems of the present day.

Opinion has been gaining ground that either MACHIDA Chuji or SAITO Takao would become leader of the Progressives since no agreement had been possible on any other political figure. Needed for the presidency is a man with political prestige to maintain unity within the party and ability to raise campaign funds. Difficulty in finding a suitable occupant for the position has increased with growing uncertainty as to the party's future, in view of the war guilt and war responsibility questions. It has now been announced that the question of the presidency will be formally decided at a meeting of Progressive members of the Diet on December 17.

The press continued to aim its darts at the Progressives. The Asahi in an editorial on December 15 stated that the majority of Diet members, nominated by the TOJO Government in the "Imperial Rule Assistance" election of 1942, are in no way fitted to represent the people in a new democratic Japan. The editorial continued:

> "It was natural that the Political Association of Great Japan should be dissolved, but the political parties formed by the majority of Diet members have simply repainted their signs and enjoy not the slightest confidence of the people as a whole. What classes of the people will support the so-called Progressive and Liberal parties is completely unknown. The position of the Social Democratic Party is a little clearer but it still does not represent the will of organized farmers or laborers.

The Yomiuri-Hochi on December 10 savagely attacked the Progressive Party as follows:

> "The Progressive Party opposed the war responsibility resolution of the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties, pushing through with their majority power a weak-kneed, vague, escapist statement of 'repentant' responsibility. The fact that Allied Headquarters has named some of their important leaders

as war criminals

as war criminals reveals fraudulence....They have been unable to select a leader. KONOYE could not be chosen after he was named as a war criminal suspect..SHIBUSAWA is one of the Zaibatsu tainted with war responsibility...UGAKI opposed certain of the military cliques but was a hanchuman of Field Marshall SUGIYAMA, who committed suicide, and Gen. KOISO, arrested as a war criminal.... This majority party charged with the honor of carrying out a democratic revolution takes such ill-considered action and takes no step to reform itself. The masses of the people are certainly determined to oppose such an attitude. The Progressive Party would do well to reflect deeply before the people take action themselves."

Activities of Other Parties

The Communist Party has announced that it has established a committee to investigate war crimes and to name war criminals. This committee will presumably add further names to the list of approximately 1300 designated at the recent Party Congress and duly presented to Headquarters.

Estimates of Communist Party membership increase at a rapid rate. SHIGA Yoshio stated to the writer on December 2 that the party had enrolled 1200 members; the press reports that on December 12, SHIGA and TOKUDA, in an interview with Edgar Snow, set the party membership at 1700. Circulation figures for the Communist publication, Red Flag, were, according to the Yomiuri, given to Snow as follows: 1st issue: 10,000; 2nd issue: 11,000; 3rd and 4th issue; 30,000; 5th issue: 90,000. No more than one third the demand is said to be satisfied by the present circulation and SHIGA estimated that if sufficient paper supplies could be obtained, 200,000 copies could easily be disposed of.

Ginza telephone poles continue to be plastered with the posters of minor parties. During the week the formation of a new party organized by 20 independent members of the Diet has been announced. It is to be called the Peoples' Cooperation Party (Kokumin Kyodo-to) and its leader is FUNADA Naka, long time member of the House of Representatives, formerly parliamentary councillor of the Foreign Office and Chief of the Cabinet Legislative Bureau from 1937 to 1939.

The press reports that Buddhist groups are interesting themselves in the coming elections and may form a political party or parties and offer candidates for Diet seats. Plans for the organization of the Long-Nosed Dragon Party (Tengu-to) have been announced. The party supports the Emperor system but wishes to abolish the Privy Council, the House of Peers, and the "privileged classes". Its leaders are nonentities and the actual nature of the party still remains obscure.

Undaunted by the arrest of SASAKAWA Ryoichi, rightist leader of the former Kokusui-to, followers of SASAKAWA in Osaka are said to be organizing a new party to be called the Holy Peace Party (Seiwa-to). The leader is DODO Motoomi and six other members of the municipal and prefectural assemblies of Osaka. Leaders of local chapters of the Imperial Rule Assistance Men's Corps are said to be affiliating with the party, which will be financed by SASAKAWA and will seek cooperation or amalgamation with the National Federation of Laborers (Zenkoku Kinrosha Domei) of Tokyo, supported also by SASAKAWA.

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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

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CONFIDENTIAL

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

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

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

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

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

The Progressive Party

Events of the week have further shaken the somewhat creaky structure of the Japan Progressive Party. Two of its prominent members, OTA Masataka and SAKURAI Hyogoro, appeared on the list of war criminal suspects announced by SCAP on December 8. Dr. OTA was chairman of the Party's important Political Affairs Investigation Committe and had been characterized by one of the party leaders as a financial and economic expert of the highest caliber and one of the best "brains" among the Progressives.

The Progressive Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Liberal Party

The Liberal Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Liberal

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

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

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

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

The Social Democratic Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The increasing popularity of the Social Democratic Party among intellectual circles may be indicated by recent polls taken among students. At Tokyo Industrial College the Social Democratic Party won

preferential

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

The Communist Party

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

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

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

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

Chairman of Propaganda Committee: MIYAMOTO Kenji;

Chairman of Publications: SHIGA Yoshio;

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

Chairman of Secretariat: KUROKI Shigenori.

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

SHIGA Yoshio has stated in an interview that the party membership throughout Japan now numbers 1200 and that approximately 1200 additional applicants will be admitted in the near future. An applicant must have two sponsors who are party members, must subscribe to the party platform, pledge himself to work within the party organization and agree to pay party dues in proportion to his income. Largest membership is now in Tokyo and Osaka but the party boasts adherents in 33 prefectures including Hokkaido.

SHIGA denied vigorously reports ~~to have~~ been circulated by HATOYAMA Ichiro of the Liberal Party to the effect that the Communists were receiving funds from Soviet Russia and that they had purchased a printing

/press

press at a cost of ¥500,000. SHIGA stated on December 2 that the party had to date collected ¥150,000 from its members throughout Japan and that its expenses had been ¥80,000 with ¥70,000 now remaining in the party treasury.

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

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

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

Communist sponsored "People's Mass Meetings to Pursue War Criminals" were held in Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, Yokohama, Sapporo, and Fukushima on December 8, the anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack. Several thousand persons attended the Tokyo meeting which was orderly and proceeded with a minimum of heckling. At this meeting a list of more than 1000 war criminals suspects was read. The list contained the Emperor, Empress, all princes of the blood now of age, 20 officials of the Imperial Household, regular officers of the Kempeitai (Military Police), Army, Navy, and Special Police, 100 bureaucrats, 10 career diplomats, 8 prefectural governors, 30 officials of the Justice Ministry, including bureau heads, thought control prosecutors, 10 police officials, 20 members of the Privy Council, 166 members of the House of Peers, 300 members of the House of Representatives, 69 members of the Zaibatsu, 146 Rightists, all officers of the IRAA and numerous representatives of literary, religious, journalistic, and other circles. Included in the list are Baron SHIDEHARA, Admiral YONAI, HATOYAMA Ichiro, and the wife of General TOJO.

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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

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CONFIDENTIAL

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

SUMMARY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Party Activities in the Diet

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

Some

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

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

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

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

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

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

fumbling

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

War Responsibility

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

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

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

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

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

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

Actitities of Communist Party

Representatives of the Japanese Communist Party have announced

their

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

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

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

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

Union of Rightist Parties

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

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

John K. Emmerson
Foreign Service Officer

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, November 24, 1945.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Supreme Commander.

SUBJECT: Japanese Political Parties (Report for Week Ending November 24, 1945.)
Recommendations as to Registration of Parties, etc., and Prohibitions against Certain Candidates.

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

In view of the approaching elections and the large number of Diet members who are expected to run again and who are tainted by their past activities, we also submit a number of recommendations which seem pertinent at this time.

We recommended in our memorandum of November 9, 1945, that present Diet members who were formerly members of associations listed in Part I, Paragraph 5-G of the overall Directive (SWNCC 52/7) be prohibited by informal action from standing for re-election. Now that the elections are so close, the new Progressive Party organized and the campaign underway, it may not be advisable to undertake such a sweeping restriction, and we accordingly modify our recommendation to include at this time only "influential members" of the organizations specified in the overall directive. In order to accomplish this purpose it would seem to be necessary to obtain a roster of the parties which could be accomplished by requiring their registration with the Government of pertinent details, including sources of their funds. (It is widely reported by Japanese that large sums for the Liberal and Progressive Parties are being secretly furnished by wealthy reactionaries.) Specifically we recommend that:

1. Each political party should be required to file with the Japanese Government by an early specified date a declaration of its purpose, names of officers (including a statement of each officer's previous affiliations with parties and organizations), roster of membership, and source of funds.

2. That its immediate dissolution should be ordered if Headquarters should determine, upon the basis of the filed declaration, that any party is a "successor" to one of the organization specified in the Directive.

3. That the Japanese Government should be informed (orally) that no person should be permitted to become a candidate for the Diet in the coming election who has been an influential member of one of the organizations specified in the Directive. By "influential" should be meant officer, director, committee chairman or important member.

There is appended, as Enclosure No. 2, a list of known officers of the former Imperial Rule Assistance Association, the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society

sistance Political Society, and the Great Japan Political Association. We are endeavoring to check the membership of the Progressive Party and will expect to submit lists thereof as soon as practicable.

George Atcheson, Jr.

Enclosures:

1. Political Parties in Japan, Week Ending November 24, 1945.

2. List of Officers of IRAA and Successor Organizations.

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, November 24, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 24, 1945.

Political activity will begin in earnest with the opening of the Diet session on November 26. Of the present membership of the House of Representatives (424, taking into account 42 vacant seats), 109 have yet to announce their party affiliation. These include certain independents and members of the former Daido and Seishin cliques. Liberals, Social Democrats and Progressives will undoubtedly compete for these members and attempt to forestall the formation of still another political party by Diet members.

Minor right wing parties appear to be trying to set up a united front to preserve the Emperor institution and attack Communism. Indications are that many of the leaders in this movement were militant nationalists during the war or organizers of gangs and rackets, (gorotsuki) in the name of patriotism.

The so-called Progressive Party launched its career with a mass meeting at Hibiya Hall addressed by the eloquent TSURUMI Yusuke, SAITO Takao, and others whose careers are less tainted than some of the leaders of the old Nippon Seiji Kai who organized the new party.

TSURUMI's speech was more statesman-like than that delivered by HATOYAMA Ichiro at the founding of the Liberal Party. TSURUMI defended the Japanese national polity but urged a democratic form of government similar to that of Great Britain. He upheld limited controlled economy modeled on the American New Deal, and decried ultra-nationalism as a cause of war. SAITO was constantly interrupted with shouts from the audience asking him to clarify Diet responsibility for the war. He admitted that Diet members had been too weak and must share war guilt. TANABE Tadao, professor of economics at Tokyo Imperial University, painted a bleak economic picture for Japan and demanded a coordinated economic program.

The Liberals and Social Democrats appear to be concentrating at present upon the organization of their parties in the provinces. The Communists have not relented on the subject of the institution of the Emperor but offer to cooperate with Liberals or Social Democrats to carry out reform programs, and to participate in a coalition Cabinet if it is "democratic" in nature. They deny that there is any fundamental difference in policy between themselves and OKANO's group in Communist China. They are lacking in leadership and do not expect much success as a party in the coming elections. They anticipate building up their strength through the organization of "Emancipation Leagues" which will ignore the touch Emperor question.

Observers look for a decrease in the number of seats now held by the Progressive

the Progressive Party (230) as a result of the January elections, but still expect it to emerge as the strongest party unless some unforeseen developments occur. Liberal and socialists stand to make substantial gains.

Outside of Tokyo there seems to be general apathy toward politics and the coming election. In both rural and urban areas the people are reportedly thinking mainly of the vital necessities of life; food, shelter, and clothing. Democracy as yet has little meaning for them. In a recent survey of rural communities, less than 2% of the women showed any active interest in their newly acquired suffrage rights. One concludes that the process of democratization will be a long one and that the solution of economic problems and political education are prerequisites.

John K. Emmerson
Foreign Service Officer

Appendices:

I. Formation of a Rightist United Front.
II. Mass Meeting of the Progressive Party.
III. Activities of the Liberal Party.
IV. Activities of the Social Democratic Party.
V. Activities of the Communist Party.

APPENDIX I

Formation of a Rightist United Front

The press reports that a number of the smaller parties are working toward a "united front" to oppose the Communist-sponsored "popular front". Several mass meetings have been held in the names of organizations such as: "War Against Hunger", and "Starvation Union". The appeal is made to hunger sufferers on the basis that national salvation can come only through support of the Emperor system and opposition to Communism. Previous records of some of the leaders and of their former organizations suggest that in reality they may still cling to ideas of militant nationalism.

Twelve minor political parties are reported to have agreed to form a "Council for Common Struggle Against Hunger", the first meeting of which is to be held on November 26. Spearheading the movement is the Japan Toiling Mass Party (Nippon Kinro Taishu-to) under the leadership of MIKAMI Seiji. Other affiliating parties are the: Japan National Party (Nippon Kokumin-to) headed by KODAMA Yoshio, rightist politician with an unsavory record in China; Great Japan Revolutionary Party (Dai Nippon Kakumei-to) under OTA Sakae, former member of the House of Representatives from Okinawa; National Federation of Toilers (Zenkoku Kinrosha Domei), directed by elements of the old nationalistic Kokusui-to; Autonomous Imperial Subjects Party (Jichi Komin-to) led by KATO Yoshimasa, reported chauvinist; Constitutional Young Men's Progressive Party (Rikken Seinen Shimpo-to) under KOIZUMI Kokichi; New Japan Young Men's Federation (Shin Nippon Seinen Domei) headed by SASAKI Matsuo; New Japan Party (Shin Nippon-to) with MIYATO Takayuki; and Pro-American Philanthropists Party, one of the latest groups reported to have formed.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

Mass Meeting of Progressive Party

The Progressive Party held its first mass meeting in Hibiya Hall on November 22 with an attendence smaller than that at either the Social Democratic or Liberal Party rallies which took place earlier in the month. The speakers were: TSURUMI Yusuke, well known publicist; SAITO Takao, Diet member expelled from the House of Representatives in 1940 for criticism of the Government; and OTA Masataka, director of the Policy Bureau of Imperial Rule Assistance Association in 1940.

Brief summaries of the first three speeches follow:

TSURUMI. The Japanese must realize keenly the intense antagonism felt toward them throughout the world. They must know that the lives of the soldier dead will have been lost in vain unless a permanent new Japan can be constructed. Democracy. Those who say there was never any democracy in Japan have lost faith in their own country. No country in the world has placed fewer restrictions on religious freedom than Japan. However, those who think that a democracy and a republic are synonymous ignore history, law, and traditions. (applause). A Japanese democracy will respect the spirit of the national polity (applause). There is no reason for Japan to adopt a democracy of the American type. Great Britain, an island country with a feudal background is similar to Japan in many ways and a British type democracy would be adaptable to Japan. Liberalism. Liberalism is not new to Japan. The Japanese Constitution is liberal in many ways. However, political freedoms, those of speech, assembly, organizations have not been guaranteed to the Japanese. These political liberties are necessary but complete economic freedom is inadvisable. In the United States President Roosevelt's New Deal was the starting point for economic progress. In Japan economic security is demanded by the people and can be achieved only through some measure of control. Peace. Ultra-nationalism, the placing of one's own country in a unique position above all others, has been largely responsible for leading Japan to war. Japan must realize that she no longer acts independently. Therefore American public opinion has a direct bearing upon all Japan's domestic problems. The Japanese must study and understand American and Allied public opinion. Food. Japan must import grains to survive. However, Japan cannot expect the United States to give rice to Japan when America's own Allies are starving. To justify rice imports from the United States, Japan must become a democracy and must take action herself to achieve economic security. Conclusion. Japan must regain the international faith which she has lost. Sir Edward Grey, Prime Minister of England at the time of the first World War, told Colonel House during discussions on the Shantung question that more than any other nation, Japan's word could be trusted. House repeated this statement to President Wilson and the Shantung question was settled. Japan has lost this faith because of events which began with the Manchurian Incident. None of her problems can be permanently settled until she regains this faith of the world.

SAITO. Japan would be a first class power if she had not lost

the war

the war. Instead we have lost much of our land and our independence. If a vote had been taken, the people would have voted against the war. We Diet members accept our responsibility for the war. (Shouts: "State your responsibility clearly!") The problem now is to construct a new Japan. It will require complete revision and reform of our politics. (Shouts: "It's no good to repaint your signs!") During the war politicians could do nothing against the militarists. Only the Potsdam Declaration made reforms possible. It is true that the politicians were too weak; they lacked strength and determination. (Applause; shouts: "Suicide!") There must be a complete clean-up of Japanese politics. (SAITO ended his speech rather abruptly because of constant interruptions.)

TANABE. The Planning Board in 1941 said Japan could not fight the United States and England; it later reversed this conclusion. The Board from 1938 to 1941 was not planning for a war with the United States and England. Japan was dependent upon the United States for scrap iron, and upon America, England, and other countries for numerous essential raw materials. Japanese production sharply decreased after the United States embargo on oil in 1940. Still Japan went to war! At the present time Japan has no access to raw materials in Manchuria, China, Philippines, Korea, and Formosa. Japan has no food, no clothing, no raw materials to produce textiles. It is well to speak of freedom and equality, but the equality of paupers is worth little. In 1942 I knew that Japan had lost the war because of her lack of materials and I said that she could not win on spirit alone. I was prohibited from broadcasting my conclusions at that time. Japan never had a coordinated economic plan. From May and June of 1942, especially after the decisive battle of Midway, the war was lost for Japan. To solve present problems there must be a unified, coordinated plan of action and it must be carried out.

APPENDIX III

APPENDIX III

Activities of the Liberal Party

The Liberal Party has announced the appointment of several committees to study specific problems, such as food shortage and revision of the Constitution. The latter committee is headed by Dr. MINOBE Tatsukichi, well known authority who has publicly stated that the present Japanese Constitution can be democratized through interpretation as easily as through revision.

The Liberals are completing their party organization with the formation of branches in Kyoto, Osaka, and Hyogo, Shiga, Gifu, Fukui, Ishikawa, Toyama, and Nagano prefectures. HATOYAMA Ichiro, president of the party, accompanied by MAKINO Ryozo and KITA Reikichi, has been attending founding meetings in the above districts. The tour which began on November 18 is due to be completed on November 26.

APPENDIX IV

Activities of the Social Democratic Party

The Social Democrats expect to increase their representation in the Diet in the coming January elections from the 15 seats they now hold to from 50 to 70. In addition to their influence among the laboring and farming classes the Socialists are attracting the support of the Japanese intellectuals. If they are able to maintain their present rather precarious unity, the party may become the most important progressive force in Japanese politics.

Information available indicates that the party has been quite active in the provinces. Campaign tours have been undertaken by KATO Kanju, MATSUMOTO Jiichiro, MIZUTANI Chosaburo, NISHIO Suehiro, and others, covering the important districts in the country. According to a letter to the Yomiuri-Hochi signed by the Party Central Headquarters, as many as 500 lecture and discussion meetings daily have been held in cities and villages from Hokkaido to Kagoshima. Attendance at a mass meeting in Sapporo, Hokkaido was reported as more than 2,000.

APPENDIX V

APPENDIX V

Activities of the Communist Party

Leadership of the Communist Party remains in the hands of the released political prisoners. TOKUDA Kyuichi is apparently accepted as leader of the party with SHIGA Yoshio as his first assistant. The second issue of the Communist publication, Red Flag has appeared with all articles signed either by TOKUDA, SHIGA, or NAKAMADA Satomi, former inmate of Miyagi Prison. As yet, no new leaders have emerged from the underground movement.

In an interview with the press, SHIGA stated that the Party now had 600 members but did not expect to win many seats in the coming elections. Efforts are now being concentrated on the formation of branches of the People's Emancipation League in various parts of Japan. The date for the convocation of the "Fourth Party Congress" has not yet been fixed but is expected to be in early December.

Interest is centered on the possible return to Japan from Yenan, China, of OKANO Susumu, and of the reported divergence of opinion on the Emperor question between the Japanese in Communist China and the Party in Japan. OKANO is known to have left Yenan in early September with the leaders of his group of reeducated Japanese prisoners of war. The Japanese Peasants and Workers School is reported closed in Yenan. Party leaders in Tokyo have frequently expressed the hope that OKANO will return soon.

On the question of the Emperor, TOKUDA and SHIGA insist that there is no difference of opinion between them and OKANO. In Red Flag for November 7, SHIGA states that OKANO is just as much opposed to the Emperor institution as the party leaders in Japan but that he had proposed that the Japanese people, in view of their continued superstitious reverence for the Emperor, might be permitted to decide on the continuance or abolition of the Emperor system. SHIGA pointed out that much has happened since OKANO's statement, that the feeling of people in Japan toward the Emperor is changing, and that once Japanese Communists abroad return to Japan, the iron unity of the Party will be clearly demonstrated.

OKANO's actual statement, made in Yenan on August 11, was reported by FCC as follows:

> "There is a section of people in Allied countries who advocate immediately abolition of the Japanese Emperor. I announced at the Chinese Communist Party Seventh Congress on behalf of the Japanese Communist Party that the Japanese Emperor cannot evade responsibility for the war. But up until today the Japanese Emperor is an object of reverence for the majority of Japanese people. Therefore, the question of existence of the Japanese Emperor should be decided by the free will of the Japanese people after the war. But should the Japanese people decide to preserve the Japanese Emperor, the Japanese Emperor should definitely no longer hold such vast anti-democratic dictatorial power as in the past..."

TOKUDA denied to the press that the Japanese Communist Party had any connection

any connection with Soviet Russia. He said that the primary objective of the Party was the economic security of the people and that opposition would be made to any Cabinet which put obstacles in the way of achieving this end. He said there was no thought of using "violence for violence's sake". With regard to Russia, he denied rumors that the Japanese Communists had received ¥10,000,000 from the U.S.S.R. for support of the party.

Only in so far as it might affect the establishment of a popular front have the Communists compromised on the question of the Emperor. They have openly denounced HIROHITO as Japan's arch war criminal. SHIGA uses a page and a half of the latest Red Flag to build up a case against the present Emperor and names Prince KONOYE as the second most important war criminal.

The Communists indulge in violent attacks against leaders of the other parties. In his speech delivered at a mass meeting in Osaka on October 19, TOKUDA named MATSUOKA Komakichi and NISHIO Suehiro of the Social Democratic Party, and HATOYAMA Ichiro, TOGANA Shinji, OKUBO Tomejiro, YAMAMOTO Katsuichi, and NARAHASHI Wataru of the Liberal Party, as war criminals. However, TOKUDA emphasized that the Communist Party was willing to form a popular front with either the Socialists or the Liberals for the solution of specific problems facing the country.

The Communists state further that they will be glad to cooperate with and participate in a coalition Cabinet if it is "democratic" in nature.

Most observers believe that the Communists stand little chance of achieving any impressive victories in the coming elections. Their stand on the Emperor question has alienated many followers and they have not yet developed sufficient leadership. TOKUDA and SHIGA can hardly shoulder the entire responsibility of running the party if it is to progress rapidly. With time, however, the Communist Party of Japan may develop into a political force of some importance.

Enclosure No. 2

LIST OF OFFICERS OF IRAA, IRAPS, AND SUCCESSOR ORGANIZATION

TAISEI YOKUSAN-KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association - I.R.A.A.) (Officially sponsored by Prime KONOYE Fumimaro in August 1940; dissolved in spring of 1945; Premier automatically president.)

ANDO Kisaburo	Vice President (1945)
ANDO Kyoshiro	Secretary-General and Director of General Affairs Bureau (1944-)
ARIMA Yoriyasu, Count	Director-General (1940-41); Chief, General Affairs Bureau (-1944)
AOKI Kazuo	Vice President (1942)
[illegible]	Director
FUJISAWA Chikao	Director of
HASEGAWA Tsunehei	Director of Labor Department
FUJIWARA (Ginjiro ?)	Director representing the Black Dragon Society
GODO Kiyoshi	Vice President (1943-44); Chief of General Affairs Bureau (1943)
GOTO Fumio	Director
HACHIJO Takamasa, Viscount	Director and Bureau Chief (1944)
HASHIMOTO Kingoro, Colonel	Director of Organization Bureau
HAZAMA Shigeru	Vice President (1944)
OGATA Taketora	Director (1945)
SHIGEMITSU Nobutaka	Director (1943)
SUZUKI Takao	Director, Program Bureau (1942-43)
AIKAWA Katsuroku	
HONJO Shigeru, General Baron	Director-General, Greater East Asia Headquarters
MATSUI Iwane, General	
HOSHINO Naoki	

TAISEI YOKUSAN SEIJIKAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society - I.R.A.P.S.) Established on occasion of general election of May 1942, under TOJO Cabinet. Dissolved when new party, DAI NIPPON SEIJIKAI was formed in March 1945.

KOBAYASHI Seizo, Admiral	President from July 1944 to its dissolution in March 1945
ABE Nobuyuki, General	President until July 1944
NAKDA Yonezo	President of Board of Directors
MIYOSHI Hideyuki	Chief of the Diet Department
OASA Tadao	Permanent Manager
YAMAZAKI Tatsunosuke	Permanent Manager
KANEMITSU Tsuneo (or Yofu)	Permanent Manager
YOKOYAMA Shoichi	Director, General Affairs Bureau
WATSUNO Tsuruhei	Director, Chief of Great Japan Labor Service Association
SHIGEMITSU Nobutaka, Lt. General	Director
ONO Shoya	Chairman, Political Affairs Committee
OKAZAKI Hiromitsu	Director, Information Bureau

NAKAJIMA Yadanji

NAKAJIMA Yadanji	Director
MATSUMURA Renzo	Director, Political Investigation Association
MAEDA Fusamosuke	Director
FUJII Soji	Chief of Practice Bureau
ICHINOMIYA Fusajiro	Director (Chief of extensive undercover and espionage organizations)
KAWASHIMA Masajiro	Director of Information Department (1944?)

DAI NIPPON SEIJIKAI (Greater Japan Political Association)
(Organized March 1945; dissolved September 1945)

MINAMI Jiro, General	President
MATSUMURA Kenzo	Secretary-General
KANEMITSU Yofu (or Tsuneo)	Director-General
SAKURAUCHI Yukio	Director
SATO Hyogoro	Director
KUBOI Yoshimichi	Chmn. of Organization Dept.
HANAMICHI	Pres. of General Affairs Board
MATSUDA Takechiyo	Chmn. of Practical Enforcement Department
TOGO Minoru	Director, Political Investigation Bureau
TANAKA Takeo	Chairman of Diet Committee
TANABE Shichiroku	Chmn. of House of Reps. Dept.
MAEDA Yonezo	Tentative Chmn. of Tokyo-to Division
KURIBAYASHI Tokuichi	Chmn. of Hokkaido Division
MANJO Hideo	Chmn. of Miyagi-ken Division
YASUKAWA Daigoro	Chmn. of Fukuoka-ken Division
TSUDA Shingo	Adviser; Chmn. of Osaka Division
TSUSHIMA Juichi	Adviser
YUZAWA Michio	Adviser
TOMITA Mitsuru	Adviser
SHIMOMURA Hiroshi	Adviser
INOUE Tomoharu (?)	Councilor
KAWANO	Councilor
ITO Goro	Councilor
KOIZUMI Matajiro	Councilor
MABE Giju	Councilor
MURAYAMA Chokyo	Director
AOIKI Kazuo	Adviser

Enclosure to Despatch No. 60 of November 17, 1945 from the Acting United States Political Adviser to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Political Parties in Japan: Developments During Week Ending November 17, 1945."

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, November 17, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 17, 1945.

Inauguration of the Japan Progressive Party

The principal development in the political party situation during the week was the inauguration on November 16 of the Japan Progressive Party (Nippon Shimpo-to), formed of elements of the defunct Political Association of Great Japan (Dai Nippon Seiji-kai), the government-sponsored totalitarian party which was the only legally permitted political organization during the greater part of the war.* The Seiji-kai held 380 of the 466 Diet seats. More than 200 of these members have now formally affiliated with the Progressive Party. It therefore holds a dominant position in the present Diet.

Although no president of the party has yet been chosen, its officers include SAITO Takao, well-known liberal parliamentarian, as Chairman of the Executive Committee, and TSURUMI Yusuke, publicist and frequent lecturer in the United States, as General Secretary. The party represents an amalgamation of the MACHIDA and NAKAJIMA factions of the former Minseito and Seiyukai parties, and the recently formed Construction League made up of younger Diet members. Several members of the Lower House who were particularly active in the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and who were closely associated with the war cabinets have been or are being (according to private statements by TSURUMI) excluded from the party. Among these are OASA Tadao, NAKAJIMA Chikuhei, MAEDA Yonezo, and TSUGUMO Kunitoshi.

According to one of the party leaders, the question of war responsibility will decide the party's fate in the coming elections. Efforts are being made to weed out those most flagrantly responsible but it is realized that the party must face considerable criticism from the public. However, the party leader interviewed predicts that "if the question of war responsibility is not pressed too strongly," the Progressives will win approximately 200 seats in the elections, as against his estimate of 100 to 120 for the Liberals and 50 for the Socialists.

The philosophy

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*Unless it can be shown that the Progressive Party is not the "successor" to the Political Association of Great Japan, it would seem to fall within the terms of the Initial Post-Surrender Directive to SCAP which provides for the dissolution, among others, of the "Political Association of Great Japan" and "any successor organization." (Paragraph 5-G.)

The philosophy of the party is conservative, although Mr. TSURUMI Yusuke has stated in an interview that the membership is being made to "swallow some very radical policies" by emphasis in the platform on strict adherence to the monarchic system. The Progressive Party apparently differs from the Liberal Party principally in its willingness to institute a limited planned economy and a certain amount of control. The Liberals are said to follow more strictly the Nineteenth Century laissez-faire economic conception, while the Socialists demand nationalization of principal industries.

The policies of the Progressive Party have so far been incompletely stated. It is clear that the Diet politicians have been devoting most of their time to organizational manouvers rather than to the careful study of political issues. They are far behind the Socialists, who have worked out a fairly definite program. The Progressives have now appointed committees to undertake studies in parliamentary reform, anti-inflation policies, relief, and agrarian problems.

Other Parties

Some dissatisfaction of local branches of the Social Democratic Party with central committee officers has been reported, but the Socialist Party continues to be one of the most active.

The Communists are encouraging the formation of chapters of a "People's Emancipation League" throughout Japan. This is part of their policy to cooperate with Socialists and other groups to establish a people's front on certain specific issues, such as food, unemployment, and agrarian reform. They do not introduce the Emperor question into this organization, which, incidentally, bears the same name as OKANO Susumu's group in North China (Jinmin Kaiho Renmei).

The press has announced the existence of thirty-three political parties to date.

John. K. Emmerson
Foreign Service Officer

Appendix:

Principles and Policies of
the Four Major Parties.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF THE FOUR MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Principles

The four major political parties (Progressive, Liberal, Social Democratic and Communist) unanimously support strict execution of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, economic reforms, democratic reforms in government, and respect for individual rights. They unanimously oppose militarism, fascism, buresucratism. They favor international ccoperation to achieve world peace.

Divergence occurs in the matter of Japan's fundamental political and economic philosophy. The Progressive and Liberal Parties strongly support the Emperor system and Japan's present national polity (Kokutai). The Socialist Party is silent on this point and the Communists openly ask for abolition of the Imperial institution and establishment of a People's Republic. Both Progressives and Liberals favor free economic enterprise; the Socialists advocate a socialized, planned economy, and the Communists, people's participation in management of industry and confiscation of certain agricultural land. They do not yet propose abolition of private property. Both Progressive and Liberal Parties denounce Communism.

Policies

There follows an outline, by subjects, of the principal policies of the four major parties based on their published pronouncements and platforms, which have been translated for the purposes of this report.

I. POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE NATION

Progressive Party

1. Support of the national polity (kokutai) which represents the unchangeable faith of the people.

2. Absolute opposition to Communism.

3. Support of constitutional monarchy, especially necessary at a time like the present when irresponsible, radical ideas are rampant.

4. Reform of the Constitution in order to establish democratic government based on the complete will of the people.

5. Basic reform of the Diet system and other political organs to achieve a responsible

government

government with political power centered in the Diet.

6. Freedom of speech, assembly, association, and religion.

7. Respect for the fundamental rights of the individual.

8. Removal of obstacles to the full expression of the people's will.

Liberal Party

1. Support of Japan's national polity (kokutai) and the Imperial institution.

2. Revision of the Constitution to permit establishment of responsible representative government, with the Diet as the center.

3. Reform of both Houses of the Diet; increase in powers of the House of Representatives. Establishment of permanent commission to exercise functions of Diet during recesses.

4. Reform of election laws; establishment of woman suffrage; election; non-interference of officials in elections; free exercise of suffrage rights.

5. Revision or repeal of laws restricting or abrogeting rights of individuals.

Social Democratic Party

1. Democratization of the Constitution based on the complete will of the people.

2. Clarification of the causes of the war and the responsibility therefor.

3. Abolition of the Privy Council and the power of the Elder Statesmen (Jushin or former Prime Ministers).

4. Establishment of bicameral legislature based on local and professional representation.

5. Establishment of proportional representation and large electoral districts; extension of suffrage and electoral rights to men and women 18 years of age and above.

6. Abolition of the peerage.

7. Extinction of militarism, fascism, bureaucratism;

cratism; prevention of their revival.

Communist Party

1. Abolition of the Imperial institution and establishment of a People's Republic.

2. Dissolution of all anti-democratic organizations; punishment of war criminals and those who have violated civil liberties.

3. Establishment of a Constitution by the people, not by gift from the Emperor. Abolition of the Privy Council, House of Peers, House of Representatives. Establishment of democratic unicameral legislature. Abolition of peerage and all remnants of feudal privileges.

4. Release of and relief for all victims of police oppression and political offenders. Compensation by Government to all such sufferers.

5. Abolition of all oppressive laws including articles in Criminal Code specifying "crimes against the Imperial Household". Elimination of all discriminatory treatment based on race or nationality. Abolition of regulations for control of people's movements.

6. Freedom of speech, assembly, publication, religion, association, strikes, parades.

7. Suffrage and electoral rights to all men and women 18 years of age and above regardless of domicile or property. Elimination of government interference in elections.

8. Elimination of militaristic and imperialistic laws, culture, and education.

9. Formation of apeople's front through the union of all democratic forces.

II. ADMINISTRATION

Progressive Party

1. Elevation of the status of prefectural governors; prevention of development of fascist tendencies.

2. Correction of the mistaken attitude of judges based upon opportunistic following of public opinion.

3. Fundamental reform of bench and bar to bring about justice based on reality.

Liberal Party

Liberal Party

1. Abolition of bureaucratism; fundamental reform of civil service to increase efficiency.

2. Drastic decrease of Government employees; improvement in their treatment.

3. Reform of selection system for civil service officials.

4. Election of prefectural governors.

5. Fundamental reform of system of local autonomy.

6. Simplification of official procedure in local autonomous Government units.

Social Democratic Party

1. Fundamental reform of administrative and judicial organs and of bureaucracy.

2. Democratization of local autonomy system; election of village, town, city, and prefectural heads.

III. FOREIGN POLICY

Progressive Party

1. Strict fulfillment of the Potsdam Declaration.

2. Elimination of ultra-nationalism based on exclusive feeling of superiority.

3. Revival of moral diplomacy; establishment of mutual trust among nations and international justice participation in world peace organizations.

Liberal Party

1. Independent fulfillment of the Potsdam Declaration.

2. Efforts to restore international faith in Japan. Proper steps for adherence to world peace organization.

3. Complete eradication of errors made in policy toward China.

Social Democratic Party

1. Abandonment of secret diplomacy; establish-

ment of

ment of people's diplomacy.

2. Fulfillment of international obligations based on the Potsdam Declaration.

3. Participation in world peace organization and in international labor organ; recovery of Japan's international position.

4. Establishment of cooperation with socialist and proletarian parties in other countries.

5. Efforts toward permanent peace in a world free from exploitation, oppression, and militarism.

Communist Party

1. Strict execution of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration.

2. Support of the peace policies of democratic countries.

IV. ECONOMY

Progressive Party

1. Guarantees of the livelihood of the people. New economic structure based on equality. Establishment of prosperous production and fair distribution under system of complete free enterprise and balanced industry.

2. Establishment of fixed daily ration of 3 go (1 go-0.318 pints) of suitable nutritive quality.

3. Abolition bureaucratic food rationing controls. Establishment of independent cooperative organization for production and consumption.

4. Establishment of contribution system which will give preferential guarantees for foodstuffs in joint possession of farmers.

5. Preferential rations of essential goods to those farmers fulfilling contribution requirements.

6. Release of land on an equitable scale for settlement by farmers.

7. Increase in production of merchandise and mobilization of national treasures and other works of art to be used for exchange in imports of foreign rice.

Liberal Party

Liberal Party

1. Abolition of all controls except those voluntary controls which are absolutely indispensable.

2. Immediate repeal of General Mobilization Law and all laws and regulations based on it.

3. Immediate repeal of the law controlling lumber and wood products.

4. Abolition of the system of economic police.

5. Efforts for quick adherence to an international trade organization. Encouragement of export industries, such as raw silk, textiles, industrial art goods.

6. Revival of light industries; promotion of heavy industries.

7. Encouragement of small and medium-scale industries.

Social Democratic Party

1. Establishment of a socialized, planned economy. Abolition of militaristic and bureaucratic controls.

2. Establishment of a Supreme Economic Council.

3. Nationalization of the steel, coal mining, synthetic fertilizer, electric power, and other vital industries.

4. Nationalization of banks, trusts, and insurance companies.

5. Democratization of the administration of State monopolies and Government operated telephones, telegraphs, railways, and postal system.

6. Assistance and encouragement to peacetime industries.

7. Cooperative unionization of small and medium-scale industries.

8. Encouragement of the organization of consumers cooperatives.

9. Increase of the staple food ration; reform of the ration system.

Communist Party

1. Management of principal industries by the workers.

workers. Establishment of control by the People's Republic. Abolition of all controls by militarists, buresucrats, and monopolistic capitalists.

2. Freedom for small and medium-scale industries.

3. Opposition to Government compensation to munitions industries.

4. Elimination of the bureaucratic stagnation of the transportation and communications industries by fundamental reform accomplished by placing management in the hands of the workers.

5. Establishment of people's management of foodstuffs and other daily necessities.

6. Democratic solution of the land problem.

7. Increase of supply of foodstuffs and other necessities through trade and commerce carried out under People's Republic.

V. FINANCE

Progressive Party

1. Policy to combat inflation.

a. Increased production and establishment of balance between supply and demand.

b. Financial retrenchment and imposition of property tax and war profits tax.

c. Issuance of new currency at par. Restraint of purchasing power.

Liberal Party

1. Immediate steps to stop inflation.

a. Freezing of Government compensation to War industries.

b. Extension of due dates of war bonds; lowering of interest on war bonds.

c. Absorption of currency by sale of Government property and of Government industries divided into small units.

d. Return to system of sale of Government bonds by public subscription.

e. Restriction of currency issue.

f. Reform

f. Reform of pension system.

g. Reduction of Government administration expenditures.

h. Increase production and effect importation of food and necessary articles for the people's livelihood.

2. Correction of unfair tax burdens created during the war.

a. Reform present tax bureaus and conduct new investigation into property and income taxes.

b. Effect fair revision of taxation on the basis of the above study.

Social Democratic Party

1. Confiscation of war profits.

2. Discontinuance of payment of Government compensation to munitions industries; establishment of commission to investigate assets of such industries.

3. Discontinuance of special military expenditures; investigation of the uses to which such funds have been put.

4. Abolition of malignant inflation for which propertied classes are responsible.

5. Establishment of property tax; increase in income and inheritance taxes.

6. Abolition of pensions, annuities; establishment of national pension system.

7. Opposition to sales of State property or State owned industries to settle national debt; support of principle that burden of national debt rests upon property owners.

8. Establishment of new monetary system; stabilization of currency.

Communist Party

1. Amalgamation of all banks in one national bank under people's management.

2. Opposition to inflation policy which victimizes laborers.

3. Settlement of public debt problem, responsibility for which rests on Emperor, capitalists, and landlords.

4. Cessation

4. Cessation of Government subsidies to capitalists and landlords.

5. Use of savings resulting from cessation of Imperial Household expenditures, taxation of Zaibatsu and wealth classes, and from confiscation of war profits, to give relief to unemployed and needy.

6. Reduction of taxes on laborers, small and middle class farmers, and poor urban dwellers.

7. Cancellation of consumers' and other people's taxes.

8. Reduction of rents and electricity rates for laborers; abolition of rents and electricity charges for unemployed.

9. Organization and expansion of associations of unemployed and of renters.

VI. LABOR

Progressive Party

1. Promotion of cooperative organizations and the solidarity of labor and capital.

Liberal Party

1. Recognition of the legal status of labor; improvement of laboring conditions.

2. Enactment of social legislation to guarantee status of laborers and immediate consideration of other appropriate measures.

Social Democratic Party

1. Establishment of a Ministry of Labor.

2. Official recognition of labor unions; enactment of collective agreements law; revision of trade disputes act.

3. Participation by laborers and employees in management of industries.

4. Establishment of a minimum wage system.

5. Establishment of the 48 hour work week.

6. Establishment of unemployment policy to assure full employment.

Communist Party

1. Drastic reduction in working hours.

General reduction to 7 hours or less; maximum of 8 hours per day and 44 hours per week.

2. Fundamental reform in working conditions.

3. Realization of full employment by reducing hours to absorb unemployed.

4. Freedom of organization and activity for labor unions.

5. Establishment of principle of collective bargaining.

6. Opposition to present feudalistic employment system and slave-like working conditions.

7. Prohibition of employment of women and children in dangerous occupations; elimination of double wage standard for women and children; establishment of principle of "same work, same wages".

8. General increase in wages. Establishment of system of obligatory minimum wage.

9. Opposition to capitalistic rationalization of industry.

10. Prohibition of labor of children 14 years old and younger.

11. Guarantee of one day rest per week, two weeks vacation per year, with pay, toall workers.

VII. AGRICULTURE

Progressive Party

1. Promotion of an industrial policy to achieve harmony and solidarity among agriculture, industry and commerce.

Liberal Party

1. Reconstruction of devastated areas; development of production in mountain districts and fishing areas. Construction of ports and roads.

2. Improvement of education in farming districts; improvement in livelihood of farmers.

3. Undertaking on large scale of reclamation and cultivation of new rice fields and arable land, at Government expense.

4. Immediate improvement of the farm land system;

system; extension of private ownership of farm lands; equalization of land rents.

5. Development of stock farming; amelioration of feed facilities.

6. Development of production of fertilizers, agricultural implements and necessary materials.

7. Amelioration of the contribution system for rice growers; rationalization of apportionment system; increase in prices for rice sold under contribution system.

8. Establishment of system for development of unused resources.

9. Proper measures to import necessary quantities of rice and other grains.

10. Abolition of Government controls over fresh fruits, vegetables, and marine products.

11. Construction of fishing vessels, fishing ports, docks; guarantee of necessary materials for fishing industry.

12. Reform and revival of agricultural, forestry, and fishing organizations on principle of liberalism.

Social Democratic Party

1. Complete reform of agrarian system; rational division of land; drastic reduction in land rents.

2. Large scale reclamation and cultivation of farm lands.

3. Mechanization of agriculture and encouragement of stock raising industry.

4. Establishment of agricultural insurance system.

5. State management of fodders and fertilizers.

6. Democratization of farmers' and fishermen's organizations.

7. Establishment of cooperative unions with tenants as the basic, controlling force.

8. Promotion of industries in farm, mountain, and fishing villages.

Communist Party

1. Confiscation

1. Confiscation without compensation of all land held by absentee landlords, all unused forest and mountain land, and its free distribution to farmers.

2. Cancellation of farmers' debts to banks and usurers.

3. Eradication of system of feudalistic exploitation of fishermen.

4. Reduction and exemption of tenants' land rentspayments; opposition to dispossession of tenants by landlords.

5. Opposition to contribution system for foodstuffs imposed bybbureaucratbc Government. Establishment of contribution system in democratic manner by farmers' organizations, with rationing of necessary articles to farmers.

6. Breaking up of present farmers' associations and all special bursaucratic rights held in agricultural villages by the landlords. Establishment of independent farmers' unions.

VIII. SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Progressive Party

1. Unempolyment

a. Establishment of employment for all.

b. Encouragement and aid to private industries operated as free enterprises (especially small and medium-scale industries.

c. Undertaking large scale projects under national development plan, such as construction of roads, railroads, dams, pwrts, river development, afforestation, etc.

2. Relief

a. Immediate removal of control laws over lumber and building materials.

b. Release of large dwellings and vacant buildings for war sufferers.

c. Transfer of military clothing to war sufferers.

d. Thorough collection of all excess clothing held by civilians for distribution to destitute.

e. Smooth rationing of repair materials.

f. Relief measures for Japanese abroad.

Liberal Party

Liberal Party

1. Enactment of social legislation to guarantee status of laborers and immediate consideration of other appropriate measures.

Social Democratic Party

1. Establishment of Ministry of National Construction, Ministry of Social Insurance.

2. Execution of national plan for immediate reconstruction of devastated areas.

3. Improvement of relief agencies for war wounded and families of war dead.

4. Establishment of a system for unemployment, health, old age, and educational insurance.

5. Establishment of preferential employment, group farming system, and vocational education for returning soldiers.

6. Relief for war sufferers and Japanese abroad.

7. Solution of the housing problem which is the burden and responsibility of the Government. Immediate provision for temporary emergency housing for burned-out victims.

8. Democratization and expansion of radio system; distribution of radio receivers.

Communist Party

1. Relief for war sufferers, returning soldiers, those released from labor conscription, and families of war dead.

2. Social security for all homeless laborers by provision for housing. Release of all large residences owned by Emperor, Imperial family, capitalists, landlords, and of other vacant buildings.

3. Immediate establishment of national insurance system for unemployed, expenses to be borne by the capitalists. Management of all social insurance funds to be entrusted to laborers and unemployed.

IX. CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Progressive Party

1. Improvement of national education based on character development and spirit of service.

Liberal Party

Liberal Party

1. Abolition of narrow nationalistic ideology; establishment of Japanese-type democracy based on the principle "Emperor and People in One".

2. Establishment of national cultural institue.

3. Reform of law of universities.

4. Extend school terms to: 3 years high school, 3 years university, 5 years middle school.

5. Abolition of standardized compulsary education. Encouragement of individuality of students through respect accorded to individual opinions of instructors.

6. Encouragement of social sciences; development of civic knowledge and civic virtues.

7. Establishment of complete equality between State and private schools; abolition of academic cliques (gakubatsu).

8. Improvement of prestige and material treatment of teachers.

9. Abolition of Government interference in religion and arts.

10. Encouragement of competitive sports.

Social Democratic Party

1. Development of a new Japanese national culture and free international cultural exchange.

2. Promotion of a spirit of social solidarity based on respect for the individual.

3. Diffusion of knowledge of socialism; unification of labor and education.

4. Elevation of the national level of scientific and technical knowledge.

5. Promotion of scientific technology and establishment of research organs; improvement in treatment of scientists and technicians.

6. Adoption of the metric system.

7. Extension of the period of compulsary education; thorough reorganization of the educational system.

tional system.

8. Government scholarships to deserving students without financial resources.

9. Elimination of Government interference in religion.

10. Respect and guarantee of freedom for the arts.

11. Improvement of physique of people through encouragement of sports.

12. Promotion of Esperanto as an international language.

Communist Party

1. Opposition to militaristic, imperialistic legislation, culture, and education. Establishment and vigorous dissemination of progressive culture for the emancipation of the people.

X. WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Progressive Party

Although no public statements have yet been made by the Party on the question, one of its leaders states that the Party will favor woman suffrage.

Liberal Party

1. Suffrage and electoral rights for women.

2. Equal educational opportunities for men and women.

3. Abolition of legal restriction on rights of women.

4. Political education for women.

5. Provision for education in home economy for women.

6. Emphasis upon relationship between politics and home economy.

Social Democratic Party

1. Abolition of all restriction on rights of women based on law, custom, organization, in order to establish equal rights between men and women.

2. Establishment

2. Establishment of equal opportunities for education and employment for men and women; abolition of all discriminatory treatment.

3. Political education for women.

4. Prohibition of prostitution.

5. Improvement and expansion of agencies supplying food for infants and children.

Communist Party

1. Guarantee of full pay for women laborers during confinement and childbirth; provision for free medical treatment and hospitalization during confinement and childbirth.

2. Adequate care and security for women laborers in view of their special physical condition.

3. Prohibition of female contract labor.

4. Abolition of women's present status without rights, based on feudalistic family system.

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, November 13, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL

NO. 51

SUBJECT: Political and Economic Policies of the Japanese Communist Party.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit a memorandum of conversation, prepared by a member of the staff of this office, reporting in considerable detail the views of Kyuichi TOKUDA, leader of the Japanese Communist Party in regard to the pressing internal political and economic problems confronting Japan. Because of its scope and detail, the memorandum cannot be adequately summarized in a few lines. The summary given below does no more than suggest the principal topics.

Summary. There is widespread hoarding of materials and food. Wages have been drastically cut, the black market is soaring, profiteers are attempting to invest in land, and there is actual encouragement of inflation. Stocks of food and materials, including those of the Imperial Household, should be made available to the public through popular organizations with authority to make searches. Capitalist sabotage of production and distribution must be dealt with by similar direct action. Food production must be increased by opening up such unused lands as those of the Imperial Household.

The Communists seek a united front with the Socialists in dealing with these economic problems but consider many Socialist plans unworkable. United Front on this basis is expected. Proposal for full political United Front was not expected to be accepted by Socialists but was considered by Communists to have had good effect in inducing Socialists to abandon plank for "defense of national polity".

Conditions of Koreans in Japan still unsatisfactory. American Army disbanding of Communist sponsored meeting was due to malicious interpreting by representatives of employers. End of Summary.

Respectfully

Respectfully yours,

George Atcheson, Jr.

Enclosure:

Memorandum of Conversation, November 5, 1945, on "Communist Party Policy and Current Japanese Problems.

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

800
JKEmerson:anl

Enclosure to Dispatch No. 51 of November [illegible], 1945 from the Acting United States Political Adviser to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Political and Economic Policies of the Japanese Communist Party".

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

November 5, 1945.

Participants: Kyuichi TOKUDA, leader of the Japanese Communist Party
E. Herbert NORMAN
John K. Emmerson.

Subject: Communist Party Policy and Current Japanese Problems.

Mr. Tokuda called at his own request to discuss three general topics: 1) Communist Party policy and present problems facing Japan; 2) recent strikes of Korean coal miners; and 3) hidden Japanese Government documents. Information provided on the latter subject has been turned over to appropriate officers in the Counter Intelligence Section. The following is a summary of Mr. Tokuda's remarks on points on 1) and 2) above.

Primary Economic Problems: Food, Unemployment, Land

The three immediate issues in which the Communist Party is most concerned are food, unemployment, and land.

Japanese capitalists are now sabotaging production, hoarding materials, and purposely encouraging inflation. Many workers were dismissed at the end of the war without compensation. Employers hold rations destined for the workers in addition to their profits made during the war. Relaxation of controls has boosted already rising prices which mean added profits for the capitalists.

Laborers' wages have been reduced to ¼ their wartime level. Unskilled workers now receiving ¥2 per day and skilled workers receiving ¥5 were paid four times those amounts before the end of the war. On the other hand, food prices have skyrocketed. Rice in Tokyo is selling for ¥70 per sho (3.18 pints); in Osaka and Kyoto the price is ¥120 per sho. The explanation for extraordinarily high prices in Kyoto is the fact that the city was undamaged and has attracted large numbers of wealthy citizens and members of the nobility.

Workers who received discharge allowances upon dismissal have largely spent this money by now. The unemployed have drifted easily into black market operations. Foodstuffs and other commodities now purchasable in rural districts for sale in the cities will be exhausted by the end of the year. Unless some remedial measures are taken, there is great danger that riots will break out as conditions become worse.

Members of the imperial family and the nobility still hold large quantities of food and materials. While national forests

all
al forests were nearly cut during the war, enormous tracts of untouched forest land are held by the Imperial Household. Outstanding among these are lands in Kiso, Aseki in Izu, Ishikarikawa and Nikappu in Hokkaido. Utilization of these forests would provide adequate timber for the reconstruction of private homes destroyed during the war.

At the end of the war, the Japanese Army possessed three years' stocks of food (rice), clothing, medicine, tobacco, and other materials. Junior and non-commissioned officers seized huge quantities of these goods and secreted them. Supplies thus far recovered by United States Army units amount to a small fraction of the total amount. The following are specific examples: Capt. Kunimasa, Director of Supply Department, 1st Naval Medical Arsenal, Meguro, Tokyo, in company with 20 officers, seized large supplies of drugs and set up a pharmaceutical manufacturing company (Toyo Shinyaku Kabushiki Kaisha). Supplies are said to have been secreted in the warehouses of the Workers' Training Institute (Rodo Kunren-sho), within the Ministry of Welfare. Other supplies were stored at the Tsurumi Dockyards in Kawasaki, near Yokohama. The numerous instances of hoarding supplies indicate a deliberate policy of the militarists at the present time.

There are actually sufficient food stocks in the country at present. Landlords are selling only part of their rice to the Government and are hoarding the remainder. Farmers are aware of this and are increasingly reluctant to sell their own supplies which they feel will be hoarded by the privileged classes and not equitably distributed to the general population.

Communist Economic Proposals

The Communists make the following proposals to solve the food problem: 1) Place under immediate control for the people's use hoarded foodstuffs in the possession of the Imperial Household, militarists capitalists, and landlords; 2) Institute a rigorous inspection and thorough survey of all stocks of foodstuffs in the country. Such a survey should be carried out by committees organized by the farmers; 3) In the cities, institute inspection of factory warehouses by factory committees and representatives of labor unions; 4) Replace the present neighborhood associations (tonari-gumi and chokai) controlled by the bureaucrats by popularly elected representatives who should form committees to inspect likely hoarding places for foodstuffs.

To solve the distribution problem, direct contact should be established between farmers' unions in the villages and people's committees in the cities. For example, Tokyo committee could arrange necessary transportation and deal directly with farmer' groups in Chiba prefecture. Such a plan has already been suggested by the Communists and has been hailed as eminently practical by workers' groups. At the Tsurumi Dockyards and Ikegas Automibile Manufacturing Co., where Communists

have considerable

have considerable influence, this plan for the inspection and control of hoarded materials has already been put into operation. In the near future the plan for direct buying from the farmers will be instituted.

The Communists do not deny the right of existence to the capitalists but in view of the present widespread capitalist sabotage, they ask that the workers be permitted to exercise some control over production and distribution. When the capitalists see labor participating in the operation of plants, they will then cease sabotage and cooperate in the production of necessities. If such occurs, the Communists will have no quarrel with them. Revival of production will absorb the unemployed and will provide goods urgently needed by the farmers, such as tools, fertilizer, and clothing. Return to work is already well under way at the Tsurumi Dockyards and the Ikegai Automobile Manufacturing Co.

The scarcity of fertilizers is a very serious problem facing Japanese farmers today. Under these conditions, the farmers must be able to provide their own fertilizers. They should be permitted to secure raw materials from the Imperial forests which at present is not allowed.

To increase food production, new acreage of arable land must be opened up. For this purpose, land such as the Imperial forests must be either purchased or confiscated. Since it might require several years to determine the amount of fair compensation for such land, it is urged that the Government take over the land immediately and defer the question of compensation to a later date. Such action would achieve three objectives: 1) relieve the housing shortage by providing timber; 2) increase food production; and 3) increase employment. It is not proposed as a complete solution but as a step toward alleviation of the agricultural situation.

Although the Communists demand the eventual confiscation of land held by absentee landlords, they do not insist upon this immediately. They do demand lower land rents and permission to pay rents in cash instead of in kind. Militarism will never be finally extirpated from Japan until the feudal landlord system has been liquidated. Over 50% of present rice crops are paid out to landlords in rent. In some cases, the peasant turns over his entire rice crops as rent, keeping for himself only wheat, barley or winter crops.

The Communist slogan "Overthrow of Tenno-ism" (Emperor-ism) envisages the complete democratic revolution. However, the present demands of the Communist Party are to be carried out within the framework of capitalism through a common front of workers and peasants. The Communist Party is not asking for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Social Democratic Party of Japan is making

promises

promises which are unrealizable. They suggest the purchases of large estates, their division and sale to the peasants. At present land prices are exbremely high for the reason that the Zaibatsu and others are anxious to invest their war profits in land. At the same time farmers are unwilling to sell their land, and no prices can be fixed at the present time.

While the farmers may have made some profits during the war, they actually are not well off. Without adequate fertilizers, the land has deteriorated. Farmers need tools and clothing which they can obtain only at exorbitant black market prices.

The farmers have little faith in the new Socialist Party and at the recent inauguration meeting opposed the list of directors submitted. Laborers and farmers are interested in the solution of the food problem rather than the coming election. They find the Socialist Party unrealistic and without capacity to solve urgent problems.

The Popular Front

The Communists envisage three stages in the establishment of a popular front with the Socialists.

1) Cooperation with the lower strata of the Socialists toward solution of the problems affecting the people's livelihood. Such a commong front has already been achieved in the Tokyo-Yokohama area where ecoperation between Socialists and Communists has been established and agreement reached among all laborers. The recent strike undertaken at the Tsurumi Dockyards was successful and was led jointly by Socialists and Communists. The leaders of the Social Democratic Party oppose such a policy but the lower strata of members support it.

2) The Communists plan to make a united front with the Socialists toward the solution of specific problems: food, unemployment, land reform, wages, war criminals.

Prospects are especially hopeful for unity on the question of the punishment of war criminals. Socialists and Communists will participate in a mass meeting to be held in Kanda on November 7 to commemorate liberal leaders who have been victims of political oppression. On December 8, anniversary of Pearl Harbor, it is planned to hold a joint meeting at which time the united front on the question of war criminals is expected to be complete.

3) Abolition of the Emperor system and establishment of a People's Republic.

Communist leaders put the above two propositions squarely before the Socialist Party leaders in their recent approach to form a popular front. It was known

that there

that there was considerable confusion and difference of opinion within the Socialist ranks on the subject "defense of national polity (kokutai)". The Communists did not expect the Socialists to agree to abolition of the Emperor institution and establishment of a People's Republic. They made these proposals as strategy to influence the Socialists to omit "defense of the national polity" in their platform, and were successful.

The Communist Party plans to proceed gradually toward its aim of uprooting the Imperial institution and expects to progress from the bottom upward, working within the lower ranks of the Socialist Party. Thus they hope to win support for their stand on the Emperor and a People's Republic.

Korean Coal Miners' Strike

There has been some unfortunate misunderstanding on the part of American authorities with regard to the recent strike of Korean coal miners in Fukushima Prefecture. At the end of the war, Chinese and Korean laborers, who had been long oppressed by Japanese authorities, reacted against the Japanese and seized stocks of food and other materials. This was regarded as a riot by American Army authorities.

The Communist Party policy is opposed to anarchistic uprisings. It favors protests and strikes carried out by peaceful, legal means.

When a meeting of Koreans and Japanese was held in the village of Taira, it was evidently interpreted as an instigation to riot by American Army officers. It was, however, a political meeting. Interpreters were selected by capitalists who wanted to suppress the strike and misunderstanding was caused by inaccurate translations.

The Communists feel keenly the necessity to increase coal production. However, the living conditions of the miners have been such that they must make efforts to improve them. Their only recourse is to strike in order to better their living standards and consequently to increase production.

Mine owners have consistently broken the criminal code by beating laborers, forcing them to work, and in some cases killing those who resisted. On numerous occasions gendarmes have driven the workers at the point of bayonets. At present miners must buy their food at black market prices, since they are receiving only half the rations alloted to them.

To improve their conditions, laborers must be given freedom to unionize themselves and to elect shop committees to participate in the distribution of food and clothing.

The Communists

The Communists have instructed workers not to resort to violence or direct action under any circumstances. Strikes have occurred in Hokkaido, Ashio (copper mines), Yamaguchi, and Kyushu (coal mines). Communist representatives have proceeded to these places to attempt to work out an understanding.

There now exist three Korean groups in Japan. The first is the Korean Federation (Chosen-jin Renmei). A reactionary group of Koreans, most of whom were formerly employed by the Japanese Government, were expelled from the Federation and have now formed an organization called the Regeneration Society (Kosei Kai). They accuse the Federation of being Communistic which is untrue. While there are Communists in its membership, it is not a Communist organization. A third group of Koreans, described as "bourgeois", is the Relief Society (Kyuen Kai). The Communists ask that the Federation be regarded as the representative Korean organization in Japan.

The Communists propose that Korean soldiers and forced laborers should be repatriated to Korea immediately. However, long-time Korean residents in Japan should be given opportunity to close their business affairs and to sell their property before being returned to Korea. Furthermore, Koreans should be permitted to take more than ¥1,000 out of the country which is the present restriction set by Japanese Government regulation. Many Koreans are forced to sell their property at a loss because of this limitation to ¥1,000.

John K. Emmerson

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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, November 13, 1945.

UNCLASSIFIED

NO. 50

SUBJECT: Views of Japanese Labor Economist (Tatsuo MORITO) on Constitutional Reform and other Current Japanese Problems.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit, for the information of the Department, a copy of a memorandum of conversation between a member of the staff of this office and Mr. Tatsuo MORITO, reporting the views of this well known Japanese economist, who is a member of the OHARA Social Problems Research Institute, on constitutional reform, political development and other current Japanese problems. Attached to the memorandum are appendices giving biographic data on Mr. Morito and information concerning the Ohara Social Problems Research Institute.

Summary. More must be done to stimulate popular participation in constitutional reform. The most important objective should be protection of the peoples' rights. The Emperor system cannot suddenly be abolished because of the feeling of the rural population but it must be thoroughly demolished. Under prevailing political conditions, extremist groups, both Right and Left, may gain ground rapidly. Liberals and Socialists lack capable young leaders. Labor unions are still weak and the farmers, who bettered their situation during the war, are conservative. An industrial future for Japan is important not only for economic rehabilitation but also because the industrial workers can provide a democratic backbone to offset peasant conservatism. End of Summary.

Respectfully yours,

George Atcheson, Jr.

Enclosure:

Memorandum of Conversation, November 7, 1945: Constitutional Reform and other Current Japanese Problems.

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

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 250 of November 13, 1945 from the Acting United States Political Adviser to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Views of Japanese Labor Economist (Tatsuo) MORITO) on Constitutional Reform and other Current Japanese Problems".

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

November 7, 1945.

Participants: Tatsuo MORITO, Staff Member of OHARA Social Problems Research Institute

Mr. John K. Emmerson

Subject: Constitutional Reform and other Current Japanese Problems.

Mr. Morito, whose biography is appended, called at my office on November 7, 1945. Mr. Morito is an important member of the staff of the OHARA Social Problems Research Institute. After some discussion of the history and present status of that well-known organization (See Appendix III), I turned the conversation to an exploration of Mr. Morito's views on current Japanese problems. The following is a summary of his remarks on the subjects indicated.

Constitutional Revision

(A convenient opening was provided by the recent newspaper announcement that a group of scholars, including Professor TAKANO and Mr. Morito, both of the OHARA Institute, were organizing to make an independent study of the revision of the Constitution.)

One of the tasks of the Japanese Cultural Federation which is to be formally organized on November 13 will be to study revision of the Constitution. The Cultural Federation has already set up three departments: (1) Social Sciences; (2) Natural Sciences; (3) Art and Literature. A special committee of the Social Sciences Section will undertake a study of Constitutional reform.

Both the Cabinet and the Office of the Lord Privy Seal are now giving attention to the problem of revision of the Constitution. However, this is not sufficient. It is imperative that the people themselves consider seriously this problem. So far the government has called only upon Constitutional lawyers to assist in this work. Lawyers however are technicians and may not adequately represent the political and social views of the people. For example some of these scholars have already stated that the present Constitution is flexible and does not need revision.

The most important result to be achieved by Constitutional reform is protection of the peoples' rights. The present Constitution affords protection to private property but ignores the acknowledged rights of the people. The Diet system must be revised to make the House of Peers

a body

a body representing professions rather than privileged classes.

The Cabinet must be made responsible to the representative legislative body. The political and religious functions of the Emperor must be separated. The peopls' rights must be protected and the Emperor must become no more than a moral symbol. His position must be similar to that of the British and Scandinavian Kings. In fact the Emperor himself hopes that his position will be thus democratized.

The feeling of respect toward the Imperial House is still strong in Japan especially in rural districts. This was proved by the way the war ended. Therefore the Emperor system and the Imperial Household cannot be suddenly abolished without creating great confusion within the country. The revised Constitution must prevent the use of the Emperor by powerful groups. Sovereignty should rest nominally in the Emperor but actually in the people. The power of the Emperor should be controlled by the Constitution and he should be able to act only with consent of the Diet. He should not have any veto power.

Those close to the Throne want to protect it more even then the Emperor himself, who actually has democratic ideas. Marquis KIDO cannot avoid moral responsibility for the war. He will undoubtedly resign his position in the near future.

University Reform

Dr. Iwasaburo TAKANO has proposed the following reforms in Tokyo Imperial University:

a. Retirement of the president.

b. Change of the name of "Imperial" University.

c. Reinstatement of professors who have been dismissed because of their political beliefs. The following are examples:

OUCHI,
TSUCHIYA,
WAKIMURA,
ARISAWA,
KIMURA,
YANAIHARA,
Fumio YAMADA,
Seitaro YAMADA, and
Tatsuo MORITO

d. Reform Economics Department.

(Recent press notices indicate that most of the above reforms are actually being carried out at the present time.)

Political Parties

The Liberal Party is made up for the most part of Diet members and does not have great strength at the present

time

time. Under the prevailing conditions of potential unrest and unemployment, it is likely that extremists, including both Fascist and Communist elements, may increase rapidly.

One of the serious defects in the new Social Democratic Party is a predominance within its ranks of old politicians. There are few young men and few intellectuals. Those Labor and Socialist leaders who are now coming to the front have been forced into inactivity during the past ten years and lack mental and physical vigor. In spite of the new freedom and political rights accorded to women, none were in attendance at the recent Socialist rally in Hibiya Hall.

Trade unions are very weak at the present time. With the disappearance of heavy industry the most influential labor groups are disbanded. Labor is best organized now in the transportation and communications industries.

The farmers generally bettered their situation during the war along with the militarists, leading Bureaucrats and war industrialists. Peasants are generally conservative and the strength of agrarian movements is doubtful at the present time.

The former Japanese Political Association controls the majority of seats in the present Diet. It has strong financial backing.

The principal policy differences between the Liberal and Socialist Parties are their economic and financial programs. The Socialists advocate state planning and nationalism of many enterprises whereas the Liberals propose free economic activity. The Liberals advocate return of the railroads to private management.

Future Development of Japan

It is a mistake to believe that Japan should develop an exclusive agrarian economy. It is important for Japan that industry be permitted to revive. The industrial workers are the backbone of Democracy while the farmers are reactionary. The idea of revenge remains strong among the peasants. Therefore, industry is essential not only from the point of view of the economic rehabilitation of Japan but also for the growth of Democracy.

If Japan is to develop Democracy, the positive impetus must come from the Japanese people. The influence of Allied Headquarters will be principally negative, that is to suppress militaristic and nationalistic elements. Cultural education is imperative especially for the farmers. A political, cultural and social revolution is absolutely necessary if Japan is to become a peaceful democratic nation.

John K. Emmerson

Enclosures:

Appendix I - Biographic Data concerning Tatsuo MORITO
Appendix II - The OHARA Social Problems Research Institute.

APPENDIX I

Biographical Data—Tatsuo MORITO

Morito was born in Hiroshima Prefecture in 1888; he graduated from the Tokyo First High School and Tokyo Imperial Univerisity. He studied Political Economy and Sociology and after graduation from the University spent three months in jail because of a thesis he had written on the subject of the political ideas of Peter Kropotkin. In 1919 he entered the Ohara Social Problems Research Institute in Osaka and has been connected with this organization ever since. In 1920 and 1921 he spent some time in Germany, France and England studying social and labor problems.

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APPENDIX II

The OHARA Social Problems Research Institute

The Ohara Institute was founded in 1919 in Osaka by Magosaburo OHARA who had made a fortune in cotton textiles and whose son had become interested in social problems as a student in Waseda University. He had been influenced by Isoo ABE, Japan Socialist leader and now member of the new Social Democratic Party. Although Ohara was a capitalist himself, he did not interfere in the policy and work of the institute. He incurred the ire of Osaka capitalists who disapproved of research in social and labor problems. Ohara also founded the Agrarian Research Institute and the Scientific Labor Research Institute. The latter is still in operation in Tokyo and is studying problems in labor efficiency. The Ohara Institute was moved from Osaka to Tokyo in 1937 where it has remained to the present. Probably its best known publication was the Labor Year Book (Rodo Nenkan) which was issued regularly until 1939 when official pressure made such publication impossible.

The present staff of the Ohara Institute is as follows: Iwasaburo TAKANO, Director; Tatsuo MORITO, specialist in war time domestic and foreign labor problems and postwar reconstruction; Sameizo KURUMA, inflation and moentary problems; Hyoei OUCHI, financial and agricultural problems; Yasunosuke GONDA, popular recreation.

The Ohara Institute has been greatly restricted in its activities during the war and recently has devoted itself to translation of foreign works on social problems and statistics. Nothing has been published recently.

JKE/anl

COPY FOR Col. L, Kades,
Govt Sec, GHQ

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, November 12, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 10, 1945.

Summary. The Liberal Party completed formal organization. Major elements of the former Nippon Seiji-kai were about to form the Democratic Party, under a founding committee of one hundred and fifty-three Diet members. The Communists had not completed any formal party organization but were forming local committees. Their strategy may be to influence the Social Democratic Party through its left-wing labor, or rank and file groups.

At present, therefore, it would seem that the most important contestants in coming elections will be: Liberals, Social Democrats, and Democrats. Of these the Democratic Party will apparently be strongest in Diet membership, organizational background and financial support. But unpredictable factors (political inexperience of newly enfranchised voters, including women; effects of economic distress; distrust of old political leaders) may result in up-sets.

Basic issues will be preservation of present political institutions and economic policy. All parties but Social Democratic and Communist are pledged to defense of "National polity"; Social Democrats are silent--while Communists attack it. Social Democrats and Communists will probably cooperate on most economic planks (with Communists demanding more drastic treatment of agrarian problems); but Liberals (and apparently Democrats) will work for "free enterprise". End of Summary.

Three major political parties are now expected to contend for power in the parliamentary elections announced for January. These will be the Social Democratic Party of Japan (Nihon Shakai-to), the Japan Liberal Party (Nippon Jiyu-to), and a new "Democratic Party" (Minshu-to) about to be organized. Both the Socialists and the Liberals have formally launched their party organizations and inauguration of the Democratic Party is now scheduled for November 16. The Communists have not yet officially established themselves as a legal party, and their strength is still an unknown quantity.

Judged from its strength in the present Diet, the new Democratic Party will have the advantage. It will represent an amalgamation of factions of the former Great Japan Political Association (Dai Nippon Seiji-kai), one hundred and fifty-three of whose members in the present House of Representatives have organized the new party's founding committee.

committee. Contrasted to this numerical strength, the Liberals have fifty representatives in the present Diet and the Socialists fifteen. The remaining one hundred abd fifty-seven members of the Lower House have not yet announced their party affiliation.

One cannot, however, predict the results of the forthcoming election on the basis of the political line-up in the present Diet. Votes cast for the first time by age groups never enfranchised before, by ex-soldiers, and by women, may well decide the election. These groups are politically inexperienced and susceptible to propaganda. Their principal interests will be food, clothing, and shelter, and they will vote for the candidates who present the most attractive offers of alleviation of their economic distress.

While the old Nippon Seiji-kai candidates will have superior financial backing and party organization, they must overcome growing antagonism in the country toward Diet members who tacitly supported the war. Only a handful of resignations from the House of Representatives have so far occurred. The Yomiuri-Hochi in an editorial on November 8 bitterly attacked the members of the former Japan Political Association for standing again for office behind a hastily constructed "democratic" front. The Yomiuri emphasized that Diet members elected in 1942 when the Tojo Cabinet was in power and the war in full swing, could not escape their responsibility for the war; it accused them of being activated now solely by personal motives and of actually seeking to crush the rising tide of democracy within the country. In both recent mass meetings of the Socialist and the Liberal Parties, audience reaction to mention of war responsibility and shouts and catcalls accusing speakers of war guilt may offer some slight indication that popular feeling, if such can be said to exist in the country, will resist resumption of office by politicians who now prate of democracy instead of Asiatic co-prosperity.

All parties and candidates will support the Potsdam Declaration and give lip service to democracy. However, it is already quite evident that the preservation of Japan's present political structure and the economic philosophy to be followed by the nation will be the fundamental issues. Free discussion of the Imperial institution has frightened conservative elements in Japan. With the exception of the Socialists and the Communists, all significant parties so far have pledged their adherence to the principle of "Defense of the national polity (Kokutai)". Within the Socialist ranks, there are divergent views on the Emperor question and it is an extreme and radical step that the Socialists have chosen to ignore the Imperial institution in their party platform. Whether or not the Communists are able to organize an effective political machine, their open attacks on the Imperial institution have underscored it as an issue in the present electoral campaign.

The principal difference between the programs of the

Socialists

Socialists and Liberals is that between socialized, planned economy and free enterprise. It is difficult to estimate the relative strength of these appeals; the Japanese is more familiar with Government control than with free enterprise. Still, Socialism may frighten him. His vote will likely be determined by his social class, his membership in trade unions, farmer unions, or other organizations, and by the influence which individual candidates are able to exert upon him.

The best we can expect from the coming elections is some degree of education which will come as a result of the exercise of the right of franchise in a situation permitting freedom of speech. Knowing nothing of democracy, the average voter will hope it is something which will improve his livelihood. He will probably wish to defend the national structure and to preserve the Emperor. He will, however, inescapable be affected by the calling into question of the continued existence of the Imperial institution. He will be bewildered but nevertheless his faith will be shaken when he hears constant and vehement defense of an Emperor he has taken for granted as one takes for granted the sun or the moon.

John K. Emmerson
Foreign Service Officer

Appendices:

I. Inauguration of the Japan Liberal Party.
II. Activities of the Social Democratic Party of Japan.
III. Organization Plans of the Democratic Party.
IV. Activities of the Communist Party
V. The National Alliance of Laborers.
VI. New Parties.

APPENDIX I.

APPENDIX I

Inauguration of the Japan Liberal Party

The Japan Liberal Party (Nihon Jiyuto) was officially inaugurated at a mass meeting held in Hibiya Hall on November 9 with an attendance which surpassed that at the meeting of the Socialist Party on November 2. The business of the meeting was carried out with dispatch and there were no speeches permitted from the floor, as occurred in the Socialist rally.

The meeting was called to order by Jiro HOSHIJIMA who introduced the chairman, Genyoku KUWATI. Formal remarks opening the rally were made by Masazumi ANDO, former chief secretary of the Seiyukai, member of the Diet since 1920 and one of the most active organizers of the Liberal Party. Ando described Japan's present state as that of a naked person seeking a new kimono. During the course of his speech, he attacked the Great Japan Political Association (Dai Nippon Seiji-kai) and accused its members of cooperating with General TOJO and the Militarists. He demanded clarification of war responsibility and punishment of war criminals, (at which point someone from the audience shouted; "What about yourself? You're guilty too!").

After perfunctory announcement of the party's name and principles, and reading of the platform of "urgent" policies, divided in nine sections, Ichiro HATOYAMA was elected president of the party by acclamation, and came forward to deliver the principal address of the meeting.

After a discussion of the food question as the most pressing one before the Japanese people, Hatoyama launced into an attack on the Communists. He said they were dangerous to Japan for three reasons: 1) their opposition to the Imperial institution, 2) their policy of a dictatorship of the proletariat, and 3) their attitude toward private property. He declared that the Liberal Party would vigorously oppose Communism in Japan.

Hatoyam then defended the Emperor and the Imperial institution. He said that the Emperor was "of our flesh, our blood, our bones"; without the Emperor, the Japanese nation would collapse and disappear spiritually from the world. The Emperor holds the nation together as a father does his family. The Japanese people are inexperienced in politics, are excitable, prone to go to extremes; without the Emperor, their susceptibility to Communist agitation is dangerous.

To illustrate the attitude of the present Emperor toward the war, Hatoyama described the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941, at which time decision is said to have been taken to go to war if negotiations with the United States failed. The Emperor at that time is said to have quoted words of the Emperor Meiji which had as their support a plea for peace. Hatoyama remarked that this episode was clear proof how much the Emperor himself

opposed

the war and how it was brought about by the militarists against his true will.

The concluding part of Katoyama's speech was devoted to a discussion of the free economy proposed by the Liberal Party. He said that the word jiyu (liberal or free) which forms the party name should be taken as synonymous to the word jinkaku (personality, individual), that the politics and economy of a nation should be carried out by individuals for individuals. He emphasized that recognition of the rights of individuals was of supreme importance, including those of women, which the Liberal Party was committed to support.

Katoyama urged strict execution of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration and called for the awakening of the people to progress toward the early reconstruction of a democratic Japan.

Following Katoyama's address, the chairman called for "banzai" for the Emperor. The audience rose to its feet and gave the three cheers. "Banzai" was then shouted for the Liberal Party and the session adjourned, to be followed immediately by a "lecture meeting" at which several speakers harangued the audience in the best tradition of campaign orators. These were Ryozo HATANO, lawyer, member of the Diet from Gifu prefecture, former secretary to the Education Minister and parliamentary councillor to the Minister of Commerce and Industry; Kan KIKUCHI, well known novelist, journalist, president of Bungei Shunju Publishing Company; Reikichi KITA, Diet member from Niigata prefecture, educator, president of Tama Imperial Arts School; and Takeo KIKUCHI.

Applause was most vociferous at the mention of war responsibility and punishment of war criminals. Laughter greeted the remark of one speaker that, although Americans had expected thousands of public suicides to occur following Japan's surrender, not one had taken place.

Advisers to the party were announced as: Yukio OZAKI, best known Japanese parliamentary liberal and member of the Diet continuously since its foundation; Tatsukichi MINOBE, professor of constitutional law and proponent of the famous "Emperor is an organ of the State" theory; Nachiro ARITA, former Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Hiroku OGUCHI, member of the Diet from Aichi prefecture, former member of the Seiyukai party, former vice-minister of Finance.

Source: Personal attendance at meeting reported.

APPENDIX II

Activities of the Social Democratic Party of Japan

The Social Democratic Party of Japan (Nippon Shakaito), officially launched on November 2 as the first new major political party, has during the week announced the formation and registration with the House of Representatives of a "Negotiation Committee" composed of Diet members affiliated with the party. This Committee of 15 includes the prominent leaders of the party, such as Jiichiro MATSUMOTO, Sotaro KAWAKAMI, Genjiro SUGIYAMA, Suehiro NISHIO, Rikizo HIRANO, Chosaburo MIZUTANI, Mitsu KONO, and Shoichi MITUMI. This committee will presumably perform the role of a party caucus within the House of Representatives.

According to the press, the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party on November 7 took action on a number of question, as follows:

1) Food Problem. A sub-committee of 9 members headed by Mosaburo SUZUKI and Rikizo HIRANO prepared a specific plan for alleviation of the food shortage which, after approval by the Executive Committee, was to be presented to the Minister of Forestry and Agriculture with the recommendation that it be put into effect.

2) Plan for the reconstruction of homes destroyed by bombing has been completed and will be presented to the Minister of Welfare on November 10.

3) A special sub-committee has been appointed to gather material on war responsibility, with the objectives of clarifying war guilt and punishing responsible individuals. Kanju KATO, well-known labor leader, has been made chairman of the committee.

The Central Executive Committee further decided at its meeting to establish outside the party a bureau for research in political and economic questions, and a school of political science.

APPENDIX III

Organization Plans of the Democratic Party

Members of the former Great Japan Political Association (Dai Nippon Seiji-kai) have been particularly active during the week and have now announced that they will meet formally on November 16 to found a new party to be called the Democratic Party. This represents a union of various factions which during the past few weeks have threatened a split into two or three new parties. Coalition of the so-called "A-1 Group" of Diet members and the New Japan Construction Research Group (Shin Nippon Kensetsu Chosa-kai) has apparently been achieved and the new party has the blessing of the former Minseito and Seiyukai leaders, Chuji MACHIDA and Chikuhei NAKAJIMA, as well as that of the President of the House of Representatives, Toshio SHIMADA.

The press notes that ten or more members of the KUHARA faction of the old Seiyukai will not join the new party. These include Fudshiko OKADA, Kunitomi TSUDOMO, and Yoshiaki YOSHIMITSU. Furthermore, a number of former members of the Imperial Rule Assistance Men's Corps, the National Defense Society (Gokoku Doshi-kai), and the New Club (Seishin Kurabu) are not expected to affiliate with the new party. The Asahi remarked apologetically that the party should be regarded as a grouping of old Minseito and Seiyukai men rather than the successor of the Nippon Seiji-kai.

On November 6 invitations were sent to more than 1,000 persons to participate in the founding of the new party on November 16. These were issued by 155 Diet members who thus become the charter members of the Minhon-to or Democratic Party.

Principles to be advocated by the party are suggested in a statement presented by the A-1 group at the meeting on November 6 and apparently accepted by those present. According to the Yomiuri-Hochi, these are as follows:

1. Absolute support of the Imperial institution.
2. Establishment of a responsible parliamentary system based on the will of the people.
3. Construction of a moral, cultural nation which will contribute to world peace.
4. Opposition to militarism and communism.
5. Establishment of broad and strong political and economic autonomy.

APPENDIX IV

The Activities of the Communist Party

The Communists have not as yet announced plans for their formal establishment as a legal political party. It is understood that the principles and platform of the party are now being drawn up and will be published in the near future.

Meanwhile, Communist leaders who were released from prison, have been busy organizing local committees and participating in mass meetings. They state that their approach to the Socialists to form a united front was successful to the extent that it prevented the Socialists from advocating defense of the national polity in their program. Communist strategy now will be devoted to influencing the lower ranks of the Social Democratic Party and creating a united front on specific national issues, such as food, unemployment, agrarian reform, and disposition of war criminals.

An example of the cooperation of Socialists and Communists was the mass meeting to commemorate martyrs for political liberty, held in Tokyo on November 7. Several thousand people from various parts of the country are reported to have attended this meeting which featured such slogans as: "Abolish the White (Rightist) Terror" and "Bring War Criminals before a People's Court". Various labor unions, students' groups, cultural and lawyers' organizations were represented at the meeting. Among the speakers were Iwasaburo TAKANO, director of Ohara Institute and one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party, Takanobu MURABUSHI, journalist and editor of the new magazine Shinsei (New Life), Toshio KURIHAYASHI, lawyer who has defended Communists and other political offenders, and Shigenori KUROKI, Communist released from prison on October 10.

APPENDIX V

The National Alliance of Laborers

The National Alliance of Laborers (Zenkoku Kinrosha Domei) is daily appealing in the press, and by handbill and poster, to the Japanese returning soldier. The appeal runs something as follows:

> "You have fought gloriously and yet you must return to your Homeland in deathly silence whereas you dreamed of cheering crowds and the happy greetings of your wives and children. Responsibility for defeat is not yours. It belongs to the political leaders of the country and to the military strategists. Your efforts in the field of battle and in defense of your homeland have vanished in the nightmare of defeat. But is this enough? Your strength, developed and nurtured in the heat of battle, is needed now to carry out the renovation of Japan. By your strength must the war guilty and the war profiteers be punished! Our appeal is not addressed to senior officers. We extend the hand of friendship to you, junior and non-commissioned officers, and to enlisted men, to go forward with us, under the flag of the National Alliance of Laborers."

Leaders of this party are Nosaburo YOSHIMATSU and Yoshio FUJI. Yoshimatsu was formerly chief of the planning bureau of the Pure Nation League (Kokusui-Domei) which later became the Pure Nation People's Party (Kokusui-Minshu-to). This was one of the patriotic societies which flourished during the war. Its leader was Ryoichi SASAKAWA, who is said to be the power behind the scenes in the present Labor Alliance although his name has not appeared in its publicity.

Although the party declares support of the Potsdam Declaration, offers land to the farmers, work to the laborers, and advocates political freedom, its true character is discerned in such phrases as "clarification of the true spirit of the national polity" and "new construction of Pure Japan". These phrases used constantly by the militarists and nationalists before and during the war now appear in a new context but have not lost their original chauvinistic significance.

The party opposes Communism and supports strongly the imperial institution. One of the leaders of the party is said to have emphasized that the powers of the Emperor should not be reduced by revision of the Constitution. He is said to have advocated punishment by the Allied Powers of Japanese who have committed war atrocities and punishment of other war criminals, such as Tojo, by the Japanese themselves.

There are