

There are no criteria by which one can now measure the extent of influence of such groups as the National Alliance of Laborers. Their propaganda may achieve a certain amount of success among the groups to which they are addressing special appeals, the returning soldiers and former employees in war industries.

APPENDIX VI

New Parties

New political parties continue to enter the arena. During the past week the following have been announced:

Japan Reform Party (Nihon Kakushin-to)

This party was formally organized at a meeting held in Hibiya Hall on November 6. Under the chairmanship of Matajiro YAMAZAKI, of Saitama prefecture, the party elected as chairman of its central committee, Tomiji MANABE of Fukuoka prefecture, and as vice-chairman Eichi YAMAMOTO of Yamaguchi prefecture.

National Imperial Subjects Industrial Party (Kokoku Sangyo Komin-to)

This party is said to have been formed by a Mr. KAMAYURA and 50 other persons to support maintenance of the Imperial institution and construction of a peaceful Japan.

New Japan Construction Friends Association (Shin Nippon Kensetsu Doshi-kai)

The inauguration ceremony for this party was scheduled for November 10. Its founder is Nobujiro HONRYO, former member of the Shohokai, nationalistic organization founded by Seigo HAKANE who committed suicide during the war. Honryo's party is said to support "cooperative democracy".

C
O
P
Y

C
O
P
Y

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, November 3, 1945.

SECRET

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WEEK,
ENDING NOVEMBER 3, 1945.

Inauguration of the
Social Democratic Party in Japan

The first major political party to be officially founded since the end of the war, the Nippon Shakai-to or Social Democratic Party of Japan, held its inauguration meeting at Hibiya Hall on November 2 (details in Appendix 1). The presence within the party of elements of divergent political opinion was indicated by the dispute over the official party name. It was contended from the floor that the absence of the word democratic in the Japanese version of the name indicated a failure to champion true democratic ideals. The platform of the party previously published omits all mention of the Emperor but touches on most present political and social questions. It was criticized in the meeting as being vague in certain of its proposals. Regardless of its many shortcomings, the Socialist Party still appears to represent the most hopeful of the political forces now active in Japan.

Formation of Small Parties

In Tokyo alone at least eighteen political parties have made their appearance (Appendix 2). Without restrictions and with no requirements for registration, numerous small groups representing various shades of political opinion are constantly organizing. Many of them have small or no following and their continued existence and agitation may further confuse the politically uneducated electorate of Japan.

Communist Organ, "The Red Flag"

The first issue of the Communist publication Red Flag has appeared on the streets of Tokyo (Appendix 3). The Red Flag was issued clandestinely during the early days of the Japanese Communist movement. The contents of the present issue were undoubtedly written before the proposal made to the Socialists of a united front, since it is highly critical of the present Social Democratic Party of Japan and of its leaders.

In its article on policy, following the "Appeal to the Japanese people" drafted by the political prisoners before their release, the Red Flag attacks the Emperor system and calls for a People's Republic for Japan. It points out that the Bolsheviks have always been able skillfully to adapt their methods to special situations and that under present circumstances in Japan, the party must change the tactics used during its period of suppression; that the movement must grow from the bottom and propaganda and agitation must be carried on among labor unions, the unemployed, farmers, and youth organizations; and that the end of the war and the Potsdam Declaration provide a great opportunity for the Communists.

The second issue of Red Flag is due to come out soon, and it will be interesting to see whether there is modification in the stand taken or in the tone of the writing. The first issue, written in the heat of new-found liberty, is a diatribe against the Emperor system and the capitalists, an appeal to arouse popular support rather than a sober discussion of practical problems facing Japan.

Appendices

- I. Inauguration of the Social Democratic Party of Japan
- II. Report on Small Parties
- III. Resume of Communist Publication Red Flag dated October 20, 1945

APPENDIX I

Inauguration of the Social Democratic Party of Japan

The Nippon Shakai-to or, by its formally adopted English name, the "Social Democratic Party of Japan", was officially inaugurated at Hibiya Hall in Tokyo at 10 a.m. on November 2. The Hall was filled to its capacity of 2,600 persons.

At this meeting, officers were elected, and the principles, platform, and constitution of the party were approved. In each case, affirmative vote was taken by calling for applause. No provision was made for a negative vote.

Domakichi Matsuoka was elected chairman, Jiichiro Matsumoto and Motojiro Sugiyama, vice chairmen.

A lively discussion arose over the selection of the party name. It was announced that the Preparatory Committee had narrowed its choice to two names, the Nippon Shakai-to (Japan Socialist Party) and Nippon Shakai Minshu-to (Japan Social Democratic Party) and that a majority had favored the former. However, the committee had also decided that in English the official name of the party should be "Social Democratic Party of Japan."

A member of the audience immediately arose and asked the reason for this discrepancy in the Japanese and English titles. He said that he assumed the party was working toward a democratic Japan and if so, why did it hesitate to use the word democratic in its Japanese name? He asked whether this meant that the S a Shakai-to was to be construed as a national socialist party and warned that Fascism in Germany had grown out of a national-socialist party. The speaker was constantly interrupted with shouts of both approval and dissension.

To explain further the choice of the party name, Mr. Suehiro Nishio was called to the platform. He insisted that there was no political significance in the omission of the word "democratic" from the Japanese name, that it was simply a matter of "liking" one name more than the other. From the floor one member explained that there was already in existence a party called the Nippon Shakai Minshu-to (Japan Social Democratic Party) and that it would therefore be impossible to use that name. The uproar con-

tinued until the chairman, Matsuoka, was able to make his voice heard and call for applause to signify approval of the name chosen by the Committee. Thus the names Nippon Shakai-to and Social Democratic Party of Japan became official.

Various party leaders explained the principles, platform, and constitution of the party. In each case opportunity for questions was given and some discussion ensued from the audience. One pointed out that the population problem had been omitted from the platform. Another asked for a more specific plan for solving the food shortage. Still another criticized the vagueness of the party's stand on the agrarian problem. Replies to most of these questions were made by Mosaburo Suzuki who explained the party policies outlined in the platform. He explained that the platform did not pretend to go into detail and that special studies were being made to arrive at concrete solutions of some of the pressing problems facing the country.

Speakers who addressed the meeting were as follows:
Yoshi Suginaga, food problem; Rikizo Hirano, agrarian system; Mitsu Kono, inflation; Suehiro Nishio, unemployment; Koichi Nakamura, housing in devastated areas; Hyu Hara, election law; Shunji Tahara, demobilized soldiers overseas and returning Japanese; Kanju Kato, apprehension of those responsible for the war.

APPENDIX II

Report on Small Parties

So far the Japanese Government has established no procedure for the registration of political parties. Consequently numerous groups are constantly springing up, spreading their posters about, holding meetings, and engaging in a flurry of activity. Many represent only a handful of people; some are on the "lunatic fringe". In some instances, several parties bearing identical names have announced themselves. It would appear that the mushrooming of parties of little or no significance will increase confusion among the people and contribute little toward education in democracy.

In addition to the two principal parties, the liberal and the Social Democratic, the following have been announced:

Shin Nihon-to (New Japan Party)

Adviser, Viscount Takamitsu Mimuroto
President, Takayuki Miyato

Zenkoku Kinrosha Domei (All Japan Laborers League)

Leaders, Masakatsu Yoshimatsu, Yoshio Fuji

Seinen Taishu-to (Young Men's Masses Party)

President, Akinari Inada

Nihon Kinro Taishuto (Japan Labor Masses Party)

Leader, Seiji Mikami

Nihon Minseito (Japan People's Life Party)

Leaders, Hisaki Nishimori, Masaharu Taniguchi

Jichi Kominto (Self Governing Emperor's Subjects Party)

Leaders, Yoshimasa Kato, Taikichi ETO, Tatsuo Hirashima

Seinen Jiyuto (Young Men's Liberal Party)

Leader, Kanji Yanagizawa

Seinen Jiyuto (Young Men's Liberal Party)

Leader, Hideo Kurada

Shin Nippon Minshuto (New Japan Democratic Party)

Leader Shoichiro Chiba

Shin Nippon Kakushin-to (New Japan Reform Party)

Leader, Tomijiro Manaba

Shin Nosei Kurabu (New Farmers Political Club)

Leader, Yoshishige Tanaka

Nihon Jichi Nomin-to (Japan Self Governing Farmers' Party)

Leader, Akira Nagano

Rikken Seinen Shimpo-to (Constitutional Young Men's
Progressive party)

Leader, Takashi Koizumi

Shin Nippon Seiji Domei (New Japan Political League)

Leader, Unkichi Yaekata

Shakai Minshuto (Social Democratic Party)

Leader, Sukeo Toyoiso

Nippon Minshu Domei (Japan Democratic League)

Leader, Kiyoshi Shiraishi

Dai Nippon Kakumei-to (Great Japan Revolutionary Party)

Leader, Sakae Ota

Nihon Kokumin-to (Japan People's Party)

Leader, Yoshio Kodama

John K. Emmerson

APPENDIX III

Resume of Communist Publication "Red Flag" dated October 20, 45

The first issue of the Red Flag contains the "Appeal to the People" issued October 10 in the name of Kyuichi Tokuda, Yoshio Shiga and the released political prisoners and an article entitled "The New Policy for the Struggle", summarized as follows:

1) Attitude toward the new political parties:

Socialist Party

The new Socialist Party states that it supports Socialism but actually its policies have nothing in common with true government by the people. The party supports the Emperor system and the present national polity (Kokutai). So long as the Japanese Emperor system remains there is danger it will lead in the direction of the militarists' dream of world conquest and to a world emperor system. The "cooperative trade unions" proposed by the Socialist party actually mean a Fascist system controlled by monopolistic capitalism.

Toyohiko Kagawa, one of the leaders of the Socialist party, was adviser to the former Prime Minister Higashi-Kuni. Before the war he preached Japanese Imperialism throughout the United States. In the early history of the Japanese labor movement, together with Bunji Suzuki he sold out the strikers and the trade unions to the capitalists.

Chosaburo Mizutani, another leader of the Japanese Socialist party, is an ambitious bureaucrat who before the war supported such organizations as the Kyocho Kai which was no more than a cover for the Home Office police.

In Italy Fascism rose out of the Socialist Democratic party of which Mussolini was a leader. Fascist success in Italy owed much to its close alliance with the Italian Royal House. Hitlerism developed out of the labor groups in Germany. Polish Fascism had its origins in the Polish Socialist party. There is equally great danger that Japanese Imperialism will continue to exist and that its control will pass from the hands of the militarists to those of monopolistic capitalism. The present Socialist party by its strong support of the Emperor system will encourage such a development.

Liberal Party

Outwardly liberal, this party is actually reactionary and a

tool of the capitalists. It supports the Emperor system and the Japanese national polity. Ichiro Hatoyama, its leader, has close connections with Mitsui and Yasuda among the Zaibatsu as do other prominent members of the party. Hatoyama was secretary to Baron Tanaka and he is remembered for his suppression of educational freedom when he was Minister of Education in 1933. The liberal party might opportunistically join the Popular Front temporarily but its policies point toward Fascism.

2) Our Policies

Our fundamental policies have been established for many years. We shall now work faithfully to put them into practice. However, defeat and the fact that the country is under foreign control mean that we cannot use tactics adapted to normal times. The Japanese masses have been suppressed for so many years that they lack initiative to take positive action. Enemies of the Communists will take advantage of this situation and attempt to influence labor and youth organizations. Former methods used by the party during its period of illegal existence are valueless at present.

We must come out publicly and must explain the present situation to the masses. The power of the militarists and the police has been broken by the application of the Potsdam Declaration. With this opportunity the Communist party must become the spearhead to lead the masses to action.

The movement must grow from the bottom. It must be carried on by propaganda and agitation among the unemployed, trade unions, youth groups and farmers. Leadership must be encouraged to emerge from the masses.

The capacity to adapt principles to new situations is the pride of the "Bolsheviks". We must not fear suppression from the bureaucrats, the Rightist groups or corrupt politicians. With the principles of the Potsdam Declaration as a shield we must utilize the results of its realization to our advantage and expand accordingly. We must work with the hard conviction that we are superior in logic, realism and the spirit of sacrifice. We must not depend constantly on General MacArthur's Headquarters; we must not forget that the authors of the Japanese Democratic Revolution must be the Japanese people.

3) Policy Toward Labor Unions, the Unemployed and Farmers

We have three slogans:

a. Down with the corrupt leaders who betrayed the laborers. Such persons are not only class traitors but tools of the militarists and should be punished as war criminals.

b. Down with the policy of split trade unions. We advocate one union for each industry. The breaking up of trade unions must not occur again.

c. Provide work and food. We must open a large scale program for the unemployed. This will include immediate unemployment insurance, minimum wage laws, increase of wages, and, in order to make more work, reduction in hours (from 8 to 7 to 6, if necessary).

With regard to agriculture, the bureaucratic controlled farmer's association (Nogo-Kai) must be replaced by a self-governing organization of the farmers. Local farmer unions should be formed with the objective of later joining the labor unions in a Peoples Liberation Committee which will be the foundation for a Popular Front.

As to land reform we recommend the confiscation of unused land, especially forest land and its distribution to the farmers. This distribution is the key to the food problem. The actual execution of such policies must be entrusted to the local farmer's unions. Cooperative cultivation should be undertaken at a later appropriate time.

4) Industries

Allied Headquarters has taken positive steps to urge conversion of war industries to a peace time basis. However, there is danger of sabotage to such a program on the part of the capitalists. Laborers should be given a voice in the future handling of the problem of industrial conversion; otherwise the danger of exploitation by the capitalists will continue and will increase.

5) Freedom of speech and assembly, abolition of control over the newspapers and distribution of paper.

Equally necessary is abolition of peace preservation laws and the law defining crimes against the Imperial Household. At the present time, 95% of the people are without any organ of self-expression. Through the mass movement of the people we must influence General MacArthur's Headquarters to take action to provide the media of expression for laborers, farmers and clerical workers.

6) Political Education

The realization of democracy will provide political education for the people. Schools and newspapers alone are insufficient. Such political education will be impossible unless the Emperor

system is abolished and a peoples' republic established. If we say that we must use the Emperor and his government until political education is completed then we must wait for a hundred years. Bourgeois ideology is mistaken on this point.

7) Large scale factories and large scale management

The development of the railroads, communication systems and government monopolies has been prevented until now. Effort should be exerted toward a system of large scale factories for the heavy, light and chemical industries. We must remove all traces of the industrial patriotic associations of the war period. We must organize self-governing trade unions. We cannot trust such matters to the government or to the capitalists. Through the political participation of all laborers in our struggle we shall proceed toward success.

SECRET

Tokyo, Japan, October 27, 1945.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WEEK
ENDING OCTOBER 26, 1945

Announcement of Liberal and Socialist Party Programs

Both the Liberal and Socialist Parties have during the past week made public their policies on certain political, social, and economic problems. That of the Socialist Party, is much more specific than the program announced by the Liberals.

HATOYAMA's Liberal Party has so far presented its stand on "diplomacy, politics, and administration". Its policies on finance and economy, culture, women, social problems, labor, education, transportation, unemployment, welfare of war sufferers and war criminals are said to be under study and will be announced later.

The Liberal platform so far announced supports rectification of Japan's "mistaken policy toward China" and recovery of international faith; revision of the Constitution and reform of the House of Peers, authority of the House of Representatives, election laws, and guarantee of human rights; reform in bureaucracy, revision of the system of appointment of officials and election of prefectural governors. A copy is included as an appendix to this report.

The Socialist Part platform outlines policies on labor, agriculture, social affairs, women's affairs, culture, and elections and electoral campaigns. These policies are discussed in the enclosed report on the Socialist Party and a full copy is included as an appendix.

Communist Activities

The Communists have approached the Socialist Party with a proposal for a united Popular Front which has been rejected. The Socialists state that it is too early for complete collaboration between the two parties but that once the parties are well established they will be prepared to cooperate closely.

The Communists held a rally in Osaka on October 19 which was addressed by Kyuichi TOKUDA, Communist leader recently released from prison. At this meeting the formation of a "People's Liberation Federation" was announced. Tokuda called for confiscation of land and its parceling among farmers.

The question of the attitude of the Communist Part toward the Emperor is said to be a subject of heated discussion among the Communists at present. In the meantime the press has carried news items concerning the program of Susumu OKANO (Tetsu or Sanji NUSAKA) which does not call for abolition of the Emperor system. Since release of the original manifesto drawn up by the Communist leaders imprisoned at Fushu (copy appended), no Communist Party platform has been announced.

Activities of Other Parties

The former Japan Political Association (Nippon Seiji-kai) which threatened to split into several factions has now announced that it will remain united and will take its place as a new political party. General Kazuhige UGAKI is still mentioned as leader of the party although Chuji NACHIDA, former president of the Minseitō, is favored by some.

The press carries the announcement that a preparatory committee met on October 25 to form a new party under the leadership of Yoshio KODAMA to be known as the Japan National Peoples Party (Nippon Kokumin-to). Kodama was special adviser to Prince Higashi-Kuni when the latter was made Prime Minister and has the reputation of being a reactionary, long active in nationalistic movements.

Appendices

- 1) Report on the Japan Socialist Party (Nihon Shakai-to)
- 2) Translation of Manifesto prepared by Communist leaders released from Fuchu Prison
- 3) Policies of the Liberal Party on diplomacy, politics, and administration.
- 4) Platform and Policies of the Socialist Party

JKE/jrf

Appendix I

REPORT ON THE JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY (Nihon Shakai-to)

Origins

To understand the leadership and character of the newly organized Japan Socialist Party, it is necessary to trace briefly the recent history of the proletarian movement in Japan.

In March, 1926, the Labor-Farmer Party (Rono-to) was formed with Motajiro SUGIYAMA, one of the leaders of the present Socialist Party, as its president. In December, 1926, a right wing faction seceded from the organization and formed the Social Democratic Party (Shakai Minshu-to) under the leadership of Isao ABE and Toyohiko KAGAWA.

The Japan Labor-Farmer Party was organized under the leadership of Hisashi ASOO on December 9, 1926. This may be described as right of the center occupied by ABE's group.

The left wing was represented by the Japan Proletarian Party (Nihon Musen-to) led by Kanju KATO and, for a while, by the Labor-Farmer Party (Kodo Ronin-to) which was headed by Domo OYAMA, now at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. OYAMA's party was dissolved on April 10, 1928 as a result of the arrests of Japanese Communists on March 15 of the same year. One of OYAMA's close associates was Chosaburo MIZUTANI, one of the prominent members of the present Socialist Party.

When the Social Mass Party (Shakai Taishu-to) was formed on July 24, 1931, it actually represented an amalgamation of elements of ABE's Social Democratic Party and ASOO's Japan Labor-Farmer party.

In December, 1937, following the outbreak of the "China Incident", the Japan Proletarian Party was dissolved and its leaders arrested, including Kanju KATO. The latter made the necessary apologies and was released.

In November, 1938, it was proposed that the Social Mass Party unite with Seigo NAKANO's fascistic Tohokai. Isao ABE and Tetsu KATAYAMA, both members of the present Socialist Party, opposed this proposal.

In August, 1940, Prince KONOYE began his "New Structure Movement". Former members of the old Labor-Farmer Party, such as Hisashi ASOO, Kenichiro KAMEI, and Shoichi MIYAKE supported this new movement toward a totalitarian party. When the parties were dissolved and the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association was formed, ASOO and KAMEI joined. Isao ABE resigned from the Diet and Tetsu KATAYAMA and Sushiro NISHIO refused to participate in the new political association.

In 1940 all labor unions were dissolved and the proletarian movement lost its organization. Kenkichi MATSUOKA, now one of the prominent leaders of the Socialist Party, was head of the Alliance of Labor Unions (Sodomei). With the end of labor organizations, the Industrial Patriotic Association (Sangyo Hokokukai) was formed and most of the proletarian leaders cooperated with the policies of the Government.

After the resignation in 1944 of General TOJO as Prime Minister, there was formed the Society for Protection of the Country (Gokoku Boshikai) to which several members of the former Labor-Farmer Party affiliated, including Shoichi MIYAKE and Seion KAWANATA. Also prominent in this group were Shinzuke KISHI, Minister of Commerce and Industry in the TOJO cabinet and Saki INO.

Formation of Socialist Party

Following Japan's surrender, a group of 12 Diet members banded together to organize a proletarian party. Most had been supporters of the war. As one of them expressed it: In Britain, unlike Japan, members of Parliament were not arrested even though they criticized the war. Furthermore, British prisons are like smart apartments compared to the jails in Japan.

Since all labor groups had been disorganized before the beginning of the war, it was the intention of the group of Diet members to create one party which would unite all factions. They set about to appeal for support. Of the 12 as listed below, the first 5 named were formerly active in the Labor-Farmer Party.

- 1) Jotaro KAWAKAMI, former professor at St. Paul's University, Meiji Gakuin, and Keensai Gakuin; elected to the Diet three times from Hyogo prefecture; executive member of the Social Mass Party.
- 2) Motajiro SUGIYAMA, founder of the Labor-Farmer Party in 1926, as stated above.
- 3) Mitsu KENO, said to have cooperated closely with the militarists. He is reported to have worked for the Japanese Navy, in conjunction with Shoichi MIYAKE and Haruji TANARA, and to have received money from Navy secret funds.
- 4) Shoichi MIYAKE, referred to above; supporter of Imperial Rule Assistance Association; member of patriotic Doshi-kai organization after resignation of TOJO.
- 5) Seion KAWANATA, member of above Gokoku Doshi-kai.
- 6) Kiyocmi TAMAN
- 7) Yosozuka KIKUCHI
- 8) Shoichi MASEAWA
- 9) Sushiro NISHIO, former member of the Social Democratic Party, who, as stated above, did not join the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association.
- 10) Chosaburo MIZUTANI, associate of Hsuo OYAMA in Rodo Mein-to as stated above. Member of the Social Mass Party; former staff member of Chama Social Problems Research Institute; active in labor movements for many years. He was elected to the Diet from Kyoto and was head of the local branch of the Labor-Farmer Party (Rodo Mein-to); said to be an opportunist and to have supported Government policy during the war but to a limited degree.

- 11) Rikiso HIRANO, former chairman, Japan Farmers Union; former chairman board of directors of Kyodo Rengo News Agency (predecessor of Domei; elected to Diet from Yamaguchi prefecture since 1936; said to have supported union of the Social Mass Party with the fascistic Tohokai; has been active in local farmers organizations in Yamaguchi prefecture.
- 12) Jichiro MATSUMOTO, formerly head of the Maritime Union; has had considerable influence in Kyushu; said to be the last labor leader to oppose war openly in public addresses - even after KATO's arrest in 1937, following the "China Incident".

During the early discussions of the group of Diet members, Shoichi NIYAKE and Seion KAWAMATA proposed that Count Rainei (Yoriyasu) ARIMA and Chu FUNATA be brought into the party. ARIMA was Minister of Agriculture in the KONOYE Cabinet; is a member of the House of Peers, and was director-general of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in 1940-41. FUNATA is director of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce; he was a member of the Seiyukai Party and Diet member since 1930 from Tochigi Prefecture, parliamentary councillor of the Foreign Office in 1937 and president of the Legislative Bureau in the KONOYE Cabinet, 1937 to 1939. It was proposed that Count ARIMA head the new party and that FUNATA become secretary-general. This proposal aroused heated discussion as a result of which ARIMA and FUNATA were not asked to join the party. Kenju KATO then proposed that Marquis Yoshichika TOKUGAWA be invited to enter the party; this likewise was rejected.

On September 22, leaders of all former proletarian groups were called to a meeting announced in the names of Toyohiko KAGAWA, Isao ABE, and Iwasaburo TAKANO. The latter is a well known statistician, member of the Imperial Academy, former professor at Tokyo Imperial University, and president of the Chura Institute of Social Research. Koushichi MATSUOKA was made chairman of the meeting which was attended by approximately 200 persons. It is said that the following decisions were taken: (1) to organize one united party; (2) to make the party unmistakably a social mass party and therefore not to solicit the adherence of persons such as Marquis TOKUGAWA, Count ARIMA, and Chu FUNATA; (3) not to reject the affiliation of persons who supported Japan's war effort but to promise a clean slate for the future; and (4) to adopt a flexible policy toward the Right represented by the Liberal Party (Jiyu-to) and the Left, represented by the Communists (in other words, to join forces with either of these groups on issues where agreement is possible).

A Preparatory Committee was chosen, consisting of 19 members to which 9 new individuals without Diet experience have been added. Toyohiko KAGAWA has been made nominal head of the committee; the real power, however, continues to be exercised by the 12 original Diet members.

Party Program

The Socialist Party, in addition to its policies on economic and financial matters previously announced, has now presented a platform outlining its stand on labor, agriculture, social affairs, women's affairs, and culture. The Party has also proposed a proportional representation electoral system and specific reforms in the supervision of campaigns and elections.

The Party advocates establishment of a Labor Ministry, recognition of labor unions, minimum wage laws, the 48 hour week and measures to insure employment. Its proposals for agrarian reform are still rather vague. There is demand for "fundamental revision of the present system relative to the treatment of arable land", for mechanization of agriculture, state control of fertilizers, and organization of farmers' and fishermen's cooperatives. Social insurance is proposed as well as relief measures for war wounded, bereaved families, and air-raid victims, speedy housing construction, expansion of the radio industry and distribution of radio sets. The principle of equal rights for women is upheld, including extension of equal employment rights to men and women, dissemination of political education among women, and the abolition of prostitution. In the field of culture and education, the Party advocates encouragement of scientific research, adoption of the metric system, extension of the period of compulsory education, removal of State restriction on freedom of religion, and encouragement of the adoption of Esperanto as an international language.

Popular Front Proposal

On October 19 Yoshio SHIGA, one of the leaders of the Japanese Communist Party recently released from Fuchu Prison, approached leaders of the Socialist Party with a proposal of collaboration to establish a Popular Front. After discussion between Shiga and several Socialist leaders, including Chosaburo MIZUTANI, Rikizo HIRANO, and Koseburo SUZUKI, the Socialists decided against formal collaboration. It was announced that since the Communist platform had not yet been made public, it was too early for the Socialists to enter a popular front movement. However, they expressed the desire to cooperate after both parties were well established.

Opinion on the question of a united front with the Communists is divided within the Socialist ranks. Quite a few are reported to favor joining the Communists, including some of the lesser known members. Among these are said to be Hideo YAMAHANA and Minoru TAKANO,

The two issues which make it difficult for the Socialists and Communists to reach an agreement are the Emperor question and the question of confiscation of private property. The Socialist Party is far from united on these questions. At the same time there have already appeared evidences of disunity on these issues among the Communists themselves. Some Communists take a line similar to that of the Yen-an (North China) group, holding that direct attack on the Emperor system will alienate supporters, and that it is first necessary to educate the people politically. On the other hand, Kyuichi TORUDA and Yoshio SHIGA, who immediately declared themselves opposed to the Emperor system upon their release from prison, present the view that unless the system is eradicated, it will be revived and will again become dangerous when Allied occupation ends or in the event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia.

Certain observers are of the opinion that if a Popular Front develops, it will begin in local districts. The first evidence is the formation of a group in Nagano Prefecture, calling themselves the Ina Peoples Party (Ina Jemin-to). This organization includes Communists, Socialists, members of the Farmers Youth Union and other local agrarian groups. Also in Yamanashi Prefecture both socialist and communist elements are reported to be active. From such local movements there may arise the demand for a Popular Front on a national scale.

Conclusions

At present it still appears that the Socialist Party may be second in strength to the Liberal Party of Ichiro HAYASHI. However, if it can avoid an open break among its diverse elements, it stands to gain widely in popular support. It still lacks an outstanding leader. Some circles believe that if Ikao GIYAMA were to return from Chicago, he would immediately be accepted as head of the party. The Japanese press has featured interviews which he has given to American correspondents and his reputation in Japan is apparently high. He has the great advantage of having been outside of the country during the entire period of Japan's military aggression.

Appendix II

Translation of Manifesto prepared by Communist Leaders before their release from Fuchu Prison on October 10, 1945

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

By Kyuichi TOKUDA, Yoshio SHIGA, and the others of the JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY who were released from imprisonment.

1. We express profound gratitude that the first step towards a democratic revolution in Japan has been taken through the occupation of Japan by forces of the Allied Powers dedicated to the liberation of the world from fascism and militarism.
2. In respect of the peace policies of America and Britain, as well as of the other Allied Powers, such shall be actively supported by us.
3. Our objective is the establishment of a peaceful government of the people based upon the popular will of the people, through the overthrow of the Imperial Institution.

The tyrannical oppression of the military police type based upon a long-standing feudalistic ideology, the cruel rule that treated people worse than domestic animals, and the colonial exploitation that followed assaults, tortures, imprisonments and brutal killings, are the very outrages that follow military aggressions, that followed the aggression in China, the Philippines, and elsewhere, and then intrinsically and compactly combined with wild phantasies on world Imperial rule. These are indeed characteristic of the real nature of the Imperial institution. Statements made on behalf of the Imperial institution do but expose their own deceptive nature.

Without the thorough clean-up of the combined body of this Imperial system from the ground up, that is to say, of the nobility, the monopolistic capitalists and the parasitical land-owners, the people cannot be liberated in a democratic manner, nor can world peace be established. In effect, it will not be possible to carry out the terms of the Potsdam Declaration.

4. Straightened circumstances of hunger, cold, and homelessness that have brought the people to the brink of the line of death not only cannot be ameliorated by the present government which is a combination of the Emperor's Court Officials, military and governmental officialdom, and representatives of monopoly capital, engrossed in preparing for the revival of militarism by preserving this treacherous Imperial institution, but are actually deteriorating steadily. The complete wiping out of militarism and police rule is a condition prerequisite to the establishment of world peace and the deliverance of the Japanese race from extinction. This mission can be carried out only by a people's government.

5. Without the

5. Without the unilateral confiscation of idle land, consisting chiefly of parasitical lands as well as plains and forests, the gratuitous distribution of these to the farmers, the establishment of collective bargaining rights, and of freedom to labor unions, the improvement of living standards of workers and laborers by including measures providing for unemployment insurance and the 8-hour working day system, without freedom of religion, the removal of controls established for the benefit of monopoly capital and of the military caste and the governmental bureaucracy, without the removal of all controls by which laborers and agricultural workers and others were kept down, without the establishment of a people's diet through the right of vote for men and women over 18 years of age, and without the abolition of such diabolical laws as those concerning offences against the Imperial House as found in the criminal code, the Peace Preservation Law, the Public Peace Police Law, and so on, the establishment and perfection of democracy as sought by the Potsdam Declaration, and even the establishment of world peace, may go up in empty bubble and foam.

6. Such a mission cannot be accomplished under the leadership of those supporters of the Imperial institution who represent the false liberalism and false socialism that flourished by continual compromises with the authority of the Imperial system under feudalistic despotism. Together with the Imperial system, these men have lost the confidence of the people by using deception as a weapon of self-preservation. Moreover, they can wield nothing whatever that could possibly commend them to the confidence of the nations of the world.

7. It is we, the truly democratic political offenders who have been freed herewith, who are the very ones to bear this tremendous mission with the masses of the people. Moreover, creating a united front with all the organizations and influences that have these objectives in common with us, a peaceful government of the people may be constructed on that foundation. And with a selfless spirit of sacrifice, expecting no rewards whatever, we look forward to making progress in carrying out our responsibilities.

Translated by Paul H. Sumida

APPENDIX III

Policies of the Liberal Party on diplomacy, politics, and administration, announced on October 23

The party's policy decided and announced is substantially as follows, according to the Asahi:

Diplomacy: To urge the recovery of national unity and international faith and speedily adopt various measures necessary for participating in the international league; to rectify fundamentally the mistake in our policy toward China that continued so many years.

To Revise Constitution

Politics: To revise the Constitution aiming at the maintenance of the fundamental national character and the establishment of a responsible political structure; to reform the system of the House of Peers and to expand the authority of the House of Representatives to make it the central political organ; to establish standing committees in both Houses for manifesting the functioning of the Diet fully; to revive the election law, enforce women's suffrage, lower the voting age, reject the interference of the Government in election campaigns; to clarify respect of human rights and the guarantee of liberty, and speedily revise various laws and regulations for that end.

Administration: To abolish bureaucracy and carry out a fundamental reform in the present structure of Government officials; to make a great reduction of official personnel and improve the treatment of officials; to revise the system of appointing officials, so that the way for appointing able men would be opened; to elect prefectural governors by public votes; to effect fundamental improvement of the autonomous administration system for increasing efficiency; to adjust and simplify the routine affairs of local autonomous bodies.

Source: Nippon Times, October 24, 1945.

APPENDIX IV

Platform and Policies of the Socialist Party, announced October 20, 1945

(1) Labor

1. Establishment of the Labor Ministry. 2. Official recognition of labor unions; enactment of conventions for corporations as well as a revision of the arbitration act. 3. Participation by workers in the management of industries. 4. Establishment of minimum wages. 5. Enforcement of measures aimed at complete engagement of all workers. 6. Enforcement of 48 hour a week system.

(2) Farming

1. A fundamental revision of the present system relative to the treatment of arable land. 2. Speedy adjustment of arable land for extensive farming. 3. Mechanization of farming by means of cattle. 4. Establishment of an Agricultural Insurance System. 5. Control of fertilizers and fodders by state. 6. Democratization of farming and fishing corporations. 7. Development of corporative associations with farmers forming the backbones. 8. Encouragement of suitable industries in rural and fishing districts.

(3) Social affairs

1. Establishment of Land Construction and Social Insurance Ministries. 2. Establishment of land planning and speedy resuscitation of areas devastated by air-raids. 3. Establishment of social insurance system involving unemployment, health, endowment, and education insurances. 4. Improvement of the relief system for wounded soldiers as well as for the bereaved families of the war dead. 5. Job priority to returning soldiers, and enforcement of training for them to facilitate their return to farming. 6. Extension of relief to air-raid victims as well as to the Japanese nationals abroad. 7. Solution of the housing problem at the risk and responsibility of the state; speedy construction of dwellings for war-victims. 8. Expansion and democratization of the radio broadcasting industry, and distribution of radio sets.

(4) Women's affairs

1. Abolition of all customs and practices, systems, and laws restricting freedom of women based on the principle of equal rights for men and women. 2. Extension of equal employment rights to men and women, and the abolition of all sex discriminations. 3. Dissemination of political education to women. 4. Prohibition of prostitution. 5. Improvement and extension of supplies and facilities for infants and children.

(5) Culture

1. Free importation of universal cultures and construction of new cultures for Japanese nationals. 2. Enhancement
of the spirit

of the spirit of social solidarity. 3. Combination of labor and education and dissemination of the knowledge of socialism. 4. Improvement of the people's training in sciences and techniques. 5. Encouragement of sciences and techniques, expansion of various research institutes, and extension of better treatment to scientists and technicians. 6. Adoption of the metric system. 7. Extension of the period for compulsory education, and a fundamental revision of the education system. 8. State grants for the training of able youths without means. 9. Removal of all interferences by the state in the freedom of religion. 10. Securing of respect for and freedom of art. 11. Encouragement for the adoption of Esperanto as a formal language for international use. 12. Improvement of the Japanese people's physique through encouragement of sports.

Source: Nippon Times, October 23, 1945.

P.T.R. copy

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, October 18, 1945.

JAPANESE POLITICAL PARTIES: DEVELOPMENTS
FOR WEEK ENDED OCTOBER 18, 1945.

Summary. The activities of political parties have been stimulated by the announcement of the special session of the Diet called for December 1945 and the anticipated general elections in January. Campaigns will be handicapped by the shortage of paper and transportation difficulties. Numerous political groups are daily holding rallies in Hibiya auditorium. No party has yet been officially organized. The founding dates of the Socialist (Shakai-to) and the Liberal (Jiyu-to) parties are set for November 2 and 9 respectively. A noteworthy development is the re-emergence of the old Great Japan Political Association (Dai Nippon Seiji-kai) whose members apparently are preparing to organize a political party or parties. At present they are split into two factions, both representing cliques within the old Hinseito and Seiyukai parties.

No clash on important issues has yet occurred. Discussion of the Emperor and the imperial institution by all but the Communists has been scrupulously avoided. Both Liberal and Socialist groups favor revision of the Constitution and general political and economic reforms, including revision of the election laws. The Socialist Party has published the most concrete program to date. It has opposed drafting of constitutional revision by the Imperial Household and has called for popular participation in constitutional reform. However, no specific proposals, such as calling a constitutional convention, has been made.

Communist leaders recently released from prison have stated that they will proceed slowly in the reorganization of their party. They have declared their objective to be the establishment of a "People's Republic" based on the "people's will" and call for immediate punishment of all war criminals, placing of the control of daily necessities in the hands of the people, and the prompt institution of projects to secure food supplies and to build houses.

Ranging from Right to Left, the principal political groups are still the Great Japan Political Association (Dai Nippon Seiji-kai), the Liberal Party, the Socialist Party, and the Communists. Issues are expected to be further

BASIC: Japanese Political Parties Developments
for week ended October 18, 1945.

clarified within the next few weeks. The Personnel of the parties has not yet been completely established. There have been a number of withdrawals as well as new adherents which change the complexion of the groups. Further analysis of the personalities affiliated with the parties will clarify the political direction which they may be expected to take.
End of Summary.

The following is a discussion of the party developments within the past week. (October 12-17, 1945.)

FORMER GREAT JAPAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

There have been evidences within the past few days of the revival of the Great Japan Political Association (Dai Nippon Seiji-Kai). The Nissei as it is popularly called, is the direct successor of Japan's wartime totalitarian party, the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association. It controls 330 seats in the present Diet, and its membership consists largely of politicians formerly affiliated with the Seiyukai and the Minseito parties.

In view of a possible election in January 1946, the members of this party are obviously anxious to mend their political bridges and retain the dominant power which they have previously held in the Diet. Although no formal steps have yet been taken to reorganize the party, discussions are being held and the alignment of members is beginning to take shape.

At present it appears that the Political Association is split into two factions. One is made up of members of both the old MACHIDA and NAKAJIMA factions in the former Minseito and Seiyukai parties respectively. Since this group has chosen to meet in the "A-1" restaurant on Nishi-Ginza instead of in the Diet building, it is becoming popularly known as the "A-1" faction. Among its reported leaders are Kenzo MATSUMURA, Minister of Welfare in the HIGASHI-KUNI Cabinet, Minister of Forestry and Agriculture in the present Cabinet, and former director of the Minseito party; Hyogoro SAKURAI, former Army Senior Civil Administrator, chairman, Nippon Typewriter Company, and Chief Secretary, Minseito Party; Shichiroku TANABE, president, Fujigawa Electric Power Company, director, Keihin Electric Power Company, Toyo Spinning Industry Company; and director, Parliamentary Bureau, Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association; Yasuke TSURUMI, member of the Machida faction of the Minseito, writer, unofficial envoy to the United States to present Japan's case against China in 1937.

The A-1 faction of Nippon Seiji Kai is reported to have sought and obtained the consent of General Kuzushige UGAKI to assume leadership of the party. At the same time they have excluded from their circle a number of former leaders of the Japan Political Association, who may in turn form their own political group.

Division within the party does not seem to have occurred along Minseitō-Seiyūkai lines, since both factions include members of both the old parties.

Among the "ousted" faction of the Nippon Seiji-kai are such politicians as Tsuneo KANEHITSU, long time Seiyūkai Diet member, former vice-speaker of the House of Representatives, director of numerous Japanese corporations, and chief of the Political Research Bureau in the defunct Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association. Others are Tadao OASA, Minseitō member, former prefectural police chief, government official, officer of the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association; and Kunio TSUGUMI, member of the Kuhara clique within the Seiyūkai, one time adviser to Yasuda, Furukawa and Shimotsuke Banks, five times elected to the Diet from Tokyo, and former chief of the intelligence and propaganda bureau of the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association.

Newspaper rumors are to the effect that this second group of Nissei members is supporting Prince KONOYE for leadership of their party and is at the same time trying to sound out the attitude toward them of General MacArthur's Headquarters.

So far as can be ascertained, there are no important differences on matters of policy or ideology between the two groups. The split appears to be along personal lines. Certainly it can be said without contradiction that both groups represent reactionary political opinion. Diet members who participated actively in the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and its political offspring supported Japan's effort during the war. No effective leadership in a new democratic Japan can therefore be expected from this group.

THE LIBERAL PARTY

The New Japan Liberal Party (Shin Nippon Jiyu-to) under the leadership of Ichiro HATOYAMA will be formally organized on November 9, 1945. In the meantime, preparatory committees are laying the groundwork for the party's activities. The name of the party has not been finally determined; this and other questions of organization will presumably be settled in committee meetings to be held on October 17 and 25.

So far, no very concrete or detailed proposals for reform have been put forward by Liberal Party leaders. A Six-point program recently published in the press follows:

1. Economic and political freedom
2. Reform of the law establishing the House of Peers

3. Reform or abolition of the Privy Council
4. Reduction of the age limit for voters; women suffrage
5. Abolition of bureaucratic controls
6. Renovation of the educational policy

Japanese of liberal views have expressed disappointment in Hatoyama's party. They so far find little real liberalism, no freshness of viewpoint, and a lack of virile leadership in the party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

It was formally decided in a meeting of the preparatory committee on October 15 that the name of the new party should be Nippon Shakai-to or Japan Socialist Party. Formal organization will take place on November 2.

General principles advocated by the party have been announced as follows:

1. As an organization of the working class of the Japanese people, the party aims at the acquisition of political liberty of the people and the establishment of a democratic structure.
2. By rejecting capitalism and putting into effect socialism the party intends to attain the stability and improvement of the people's livelihood.
3. The party opposes all militaristic ideas and actions, and aims to bring about permanent peace through the cooperation of all the peoples of the world.

More specific proposals made in the name of the party are:

Domestic policy:

1. Democratization of the Constitution according to the will of the people.
2. Investigation of the causes of and responsibility for the war.
3. Abolition of the Privy Council and the position of the elder statesmen.
4. Establishment of a bicameral legislature with regional and functional representation.
5. Establishment of responsible cabinet government.
6. Adoption of proportional representation election system; granting or right of suffrage and eligibility for candidacy to men and women 18 years of age and over.
7. Fundamental reform of administrative and judicial organs and of govt service.
8. Democratization of local self-govt; selection of all prefectural governors, mayors of cities, towns, and villages by public election.
9. Abolition of peerage system.
10. Complete eradication of militarism, fascism, and bureaucratism and prevention of their revival.

Foreign policy:

1. Abolition of secret diplomacy; development of people's diplomacy.
2. Execution of international obligations based on the Potsdam Declaration.
3. Participation in international security organization and international labor organs; recovery of international position.
4. Cooperation with socialist and other proletarian parties in other countries.
5. Establishment of permanent world peace through world disarmament and abolition of oppression and exploitation.

6.
The party has openly declared itself opposed to revision of the Constitution solely by officials within the Imperial Household and certain invited scholars. The party's leaders call for a draft constitution, democratic in principle and fully reflecting the will of the people.

The Nippon Sangyo Keisai, in an editorial published October 17, appeals to the Socialist Party to recognize its responsibilities and work toward a realistic program of reform for Japan. It points out that within the near future the proletarian party may inherit the responsibility of forming a cabinet. As such time socialistic theories will be valueless; a concrete program for total renovation of Japan's economic system will be essential. It states that if the proletarian party interprets Japan's economy only in terms of a struggle between capitalists and laborers, landlords and farmers, it will fail in its duty.

From the point of view of personnel and program, the Socialist Party at present seems to offer the most hope for political and economic reforms in Japan. Its weakness is its disunity; there is a vast difference, for example, between the right wing represented by Toyokiko KAGAWA and the left of Kanju KATO. It remains to be seen whether the party can hold its various component parts together. If so, it may attain considerable political power.

OTHER PARTIES

Minor political groups whose formation has been announced are as follows:

New Japan Party (Shin Nippon-to)

This party has announced the following program:

1. Reform of election law and establishment of constitutional govt.
2. Abolition of police board and establishment of new "Peace Preservation Bureau."
3. Immediate repeal of all war control laws.
4. Public election of prefectural governors.
5. Private ownership of telephones.

**National Alliance of Laborers
(Zenoku Kinrosha Domei)**

This organization, under the leadership of Masakatsu YOSHIMATSU and Yoshio FUJI, has issued the following declaration: "Communism is not the only method of obtaining security for the laboring classes. We declare that we will fight relentlessly against Communism which aims to destroy our national polity."

Youth Liberal Party (Seinen Jiyu-to)

Leader, Kenzo YANAGIZAWA.

Youth Mass Party (Seinen Taishu-to)

Leader, Akinari INADA.

**Great Japan Revolutionary Party
(Dai Nippon Kakumei-to)**

Leader, Shigeru OTA.

Ret. Gen to P.K. Rowat, Maj. I.C.
Govt. Section, C.I.B., S.P.A.R.

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

CONFIDENTIAL.

Tokyo, Japan,
October 11, 1945.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN

Japan's political parties declined in prestige and influence during the 1930's. While the elections of February 1936 revealed the considerable sentiment against the policies of the militarist leaders, increasing police suppression silenced most opponents. From the beginning of the "China Incident" in July 1937, the parties moved to a point of impotence and insignificance. The two leading parties, the Seiyukai and Minseito, lost their individuality and their ability to formulate policies. The Social Mass Party (Taishu-to) because of the trend of the times was forced into practical oblivion. It was therefore no revolutionary step when the parties "voluntarily" dissolved themselves in 1940.

The Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei Yokusen Kai) was organized in 1940 as a kind of national, totalitarian party to embrace all the people in united prosecution of the war against China. Diet members still made some feeble attempts to be vocal and after various experiments with the "Diet Members Clubs" and other organizations, the Government formed the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association. Later during the war the Dai Nippon Seiji Kai (Great Japan Political Association) was organized, to be dissolved following Japan's surrender.

Defeat presents Japan for the first time with conditions under which it may be possible to evolve a genuine party form of government. How successfully and how soon this can be achieved is of course a matter of conjecture.

Leaders of the old Minseito, Seiyukai and Taishuto are long time Diet members with experience of frustration or political corruption. They lack the freshness of viewpoint to face Japan's new situation. Many of them, whether by necessity or not, have participated fully in Japan's prosecution of the war. Younger, untainted leaders are without political experience.

New political parties in Japan at the present can at best reflect little more than the efforts of professional politicians, able to work in an atmosphere of considerable freedom, to gather a following about them and secure some political power. This is not to say that the leaders who are coming to the front now are not all sincere. Some are doubtless men of good-will seeking to establish genuine democracy in Japan. Most of them have worked too long in a pattern, however, to change fundamentally. Cliques will develop, as in the past history of Japanese political parties, and there may be expected little vision, imagination, or inspired thinking on the destiny of a truly democratic nation.

New political parties are still in the process of formation. None has yet been officially organized. The most prominent ones to date are the group led by Ichiro HATOYAMA which

at present

at present calls itself the New Japan Liberal Party (Shin Nihon Jiyuto) and the Socialist group, called also the Proletarian or Labor Party. While not yet reorganized, the dissolved Nippon Seiji Kai (Japan Political Association) still remains a political force, representing conservative, right-wing elements. The Communist Party will undoubtedly become active with the release of several prominent leaders from long imprisonment. Numerous other smaller groups have held meetings and may later emerge as political parties. So far they are little more than discussion groups.

During the past eight or ten years almost all intelligent Japanese have been forced to direct their efforts to problems of war or preparation for war. The younger men instead of following normal pursuits have been taken by the Armed forces. In the face of great destruction and the sudden end of the war and of termination of military direction and control of every phase of Japanese life, there is widespread anxiety over Japan's future. There is also great uncertainty over how far Allied demands will go in altering Japan's traditional way of life, over how long military occupation will last, and over how well Japan will be able to support its population and prevent revolt and chaos should bare necessities become unavailable. For these and similar reasons, Japanese are reluctant to come forward as political leaders. However, as greater confidence develops and as our policies become clarified, these fears (including the fear of being classed by the Japanese as a "quisling") will lessen, and political parties of nation-wide strength and of well-defined purpose can develop to the point where they can lead the Japanese people and control the Japanese Government. The political education of the Japanese will require time. New leaders must rise from all classes including the younger intellectual groups and from the long oppressed proletariat.

Present indications are that early political activity will be characterized by the formation of a large number of political or quasipolitical groups in all parts of the country. The announced programs of each group will undoubtedly be to "liberalize" or to "democratize" Japanese life, to promote the welfare of the people, and to restore Japan to a respectable position in the family of nations. Differences among these groups will probably center around the question of how far and how rapidly they wish to alter traditional social and economic relationships, especially the traditional prerogatives and position of the imperial institution and of the inherited nobility.

There follows a brief discussion of the "Liberal," Socialist and Communist groups, based upon material now at hand. It is still premature to make accurate estimates of the potential strength of these groups and of their ultimate character and objectives.

THE LIBERAL PARTY

From present indications the strongest of the parties will probably be the Liberal Party (tentatively named (Jiyu-to) whose guiding spirit is Ichiro Hatoyama:

Hatoyama, formerly executive director of the Seiyukai party, is a professional politician and Diet member of long standing. He is a lawyer, sixty-two years old. He was chief

secretary

secretary of Cabinet of Giichi TANAKA in 1927 and Minister of Education in the Inukai Cabinet in 1931. Baron Tanaka is, of course, well-known as a nationalist and expansionist and has won fame as the reputed author of the Tanaka Memorial. Hatoyama's career as Minister of Education is reputed not to have furthered academic freedom in Japan. It is also reported that Hatoyama was one of the organizers of the nationalistic Veterans Association (Zaigo Gunjin Kai). However, he has apparently not taken an active part in the prosecution of the war and may be able to gain considerable support for his party.

Announced members and supporters of the Liberal Party represent principally professional politicians with a sprinkling of writers, journalists, diplomats, and college professors. According to the press, fifty-two present Diet members have signified their intention to affiliate with this party.

Hatoyama has in interviews with the press and at committee meetings outlined the party's policies. He has stated that Japan is a monarchy and not a democracy but that his party respects the rights of the individual and will promote democratic tendencies. He advocates return of political and economic freedom to the people, reform of the Diet, especially the House of Peers, and election reform, including granting of women suffrage. He has proposed that Japan set up a court to try war criminals and advocates solution of the problems of food and shelter as speedily as possible.

Hatoyama's party might far better be termed Conservative than Liberal. Certainly he represents no fresh or revolutionary viewpoint. Until the proletarian parties have time to organize and develop a following, the Jiyuto will probably win most support. It is likely that it will emerge from the first elections as the predominant party. It is represented in the present Cabinet by two members, Hitoshi ASHIDA, Minister of Welfare and Wataru NARABASHI, Chief of the Legislative Bureau.

SOCIALIST PARTY

If the history of Japanese proletarian parties repeats itself, there will be little unity in the present Socialist or Proletarian Party (name not yet determined). It is now composed of divergent elements and its strength will depend upon the ability of its leaders to keep the elements together. Included in the party are Diet members, a number of university professors and former trade union leaders. Strenuous efforts are being made to keep the right and left wings together.

One of the influential organizers of the Socialist groups is Komakichi MATSUOKA, formerly president of the Association of Japanese Labor Unions. He was active in the Social Mass Party. He is accused by the Communists of making deals with the capitalists, of buying off strikers, and of being actually an agent of the Zaibatsu.

Another outstanding figure with long experience in Japanese labor movements is Kanju KATO.

One of the best known leaders is Toyohiko KAGAWA, the Christian socialist. Kagawa is regarded, however, as a front man rather than a powerful figure in the party. Although he is

respected

respected in the United States, his record in Japan during war years is not spotless. He is reputed to have made numerous broadcasts to the United States supporting Japan's war policies. So far as is known, he has not denied making these broadcasts and liberal Japanese say that he readily "repaints his signs".

From the preliminary meetings of the Socialist group no detailed political platform has yet emerged. On October 2 it announced that a special meeting would be held on October 5 to demand the release of political prisoners. One of the issues reported to be under discussion is whether the party shall in its platform pay homage to the Emperor or whether it shall omit mention of him. There is no indication that the party will oppose the imperial institution. The Communists derisively call the party the "Socialist Emperor Party" (Shakai Tenno-to).

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

With the release of political prisoners as a result of the directive of October 4, the Japanese Communist leaders who have been imprisoned for many years will immediately begin the work of reorganizing their party.

It is estimated that there are approximately 3,000 members of the Communist Party in Japan. Communists state that an organization is already in the process of formation both in Tokyo and in Ibaraki prefecture. In Tokyo, 5,000 supporters are expected for a party to be called New Proletarian Party (Musan Shin-to).

Probably the three outstanding Japanese Communist leaders are Kiyochi TOKUDA, Yoshio SHIGA, and Sanji (Susumu) NOSAKA (OKANO). The first two are being released from Fuchu prison after eighteen years of incarceration. Okano is still in Communist China, so far as is known. Tokuda claims to be the only surviving charter member of the Japanese Communist Party, organized in 1922. He has been in Moscow three times on special missions to the Comintern and in spite of his long imprisonment is remarkable well-informed on Japanese political events and personalities. He has qualities of leadership which may well translate themselves into a vigorous Communist Party organization in Japan.

The Communists are the only political group openly and vigorously advocating the abolition of the imperial institution. They believe that democracy is incompatible with the existence of the Emperor and the Imperial Household and blame much of Japan's reactionary nationalism and militarism on the Emperor system.

Communist leaders who are now being released from prison state that since the announcement of their coming release they have been deluged with communications from sympathizers. They are confident that within two or three months they can organize a political party of considerable strength.

Like the Communists in China, the Japanese deny association with the Soviet Communists. They advocate a period of "democracy" and only expect true communism in the distant future. They demand social and political reforms, breaking up of the capitalist monopolies, and repeal of oppressive legislation.

It may be

* * * * *

It may be that after a period of time various groups in different parts of the country will amalgamate and eventually only a small number of national parties will emerge. These parties will probably be along the usual political lines somewhat as follows:

(a) Conservative, industrial and commercial elements who will favor policies designed to revive Japan's trade and commerce to promote the profit motive and to preserve the capitalist system. They will probably favor social legislation along traditional paternalistic lines and will foster closely regulated trade unions and collective bargaining as a means of preserving peaceful labor relations without allowing a real threat to their economic system. They will be likely to favor an orthodox view of the nobility and the imperial family. The landed gentry may well support this group unless they are divided over questions of taxation.

(b) Liberal, middle class, and certain intelligentsia elements who will favor greater emphasis on social rather than economic legislation and policies. While basing private ownership, the small factory owner, farmer, and businessman, they will perhaps urge monopoly restrictions, steadily improved conditions for labor, decreased cost of living, and other measures in line with "middle-of-the-road" policies. It is to be expected that they will eventually favor a position for the emperor and the nobility resembling that of the British king and nobility.

(c) The socialists will favor socialization of Japan's economy and will make a strong bid to win the support of labor and farmer elements. They will probably favor retention of the emperor and at least some of the nobility in a restricted position removed from politics.

(d) The communists, who, while advocating a transition period of "democracy", will work for a communist society and state with abolition of the emperor and of capitalism.

The role which will be played by these elements which support the emperor and the nobility for reasons of traditional loyalty is not yet clear. It is believed that for the most part their political activity will be in support of the above first two broad groups.

There is appended a list of political parties or groups which have been announced in the press. (These groups will be later subjects of individual study.)

Appended:

List of political parties
or groups.

APPENDIX

PARTIAL LIST OF LEADING PERSONNEL

ON NEW POLITICAL GROUPS

New Japan Liberal Party (Shin Nippon Jiyuto)

The name has not been decided nor the party formally organized. The date for formal founding of the party has been announced to be November 9, 1945.

President: Ichiro HATOYAMA
Vice President: Tsuruhei MATSUNO
Adherents:

Hitoshi ASHIDA (present Welfare Minister)
Seiji Seijun ANDO
Wataru NARAHASHI (Chief, Cabinet Legislative Bureau)
Ichiro KONO
Reikichi KITA
Shinji SOGO
Ken KIKUCHI
Yusaku SHIMANAKA
Ryozo MAKINO

Japan Socialist Party (Nippon Shekai-to)

The name has not been determined nor the party formally organized.

Toyohiko KAGAWA	Jotaro KAWAKAMI
Mitsu KONO	Yonosuke KIKUCHI
Bunji SUZUKI	Motojiro SUGIYAMA
Suehiro NISHIO	Komakichi MATSUOKA
Kanju KATO	Shigesaburo SUZUKI
Tetsu KATAYAMA	Masamichi TAKATSU
Isao ABE	Chosaburo MIZUTANI
Tatsuo MORITO	Jiichiro MATSUMOTO
Iwasaburo TAKANO	Yuzo HIRANO
Ryoji INOUE	

Japan Political Association (Nippon Seiji-kai or Nissei Kai)

Dissolved following surrender. May be reorganized under new name.

The following groups are not of sufficient importance to merit the name of political parties. Some of them may in the future develop adherents and some influence.

New Japan Party (Shin Nippon-to)

Kiyoshi TAKASHI
Sanetaka ICHIZO
Tekayuki KANTO

Society of

Society of Comrades (Doshin Kai)

Hyoel OUCHI
Teizo TODA
Daisetsu SUZUKI
Shuizo KOIZUMI

Peoples Cultural Association (Jinmin Bunka Domei)

Institute for the Study of Permanent Peace (Sekai Kokyu
Heiwa Kenkyu-to)

Organizer Prince Yoshichika TOKUGAWA

Free Discussion Group (Jiyu Kondankai)

Hitoshi ASHIDA
Isao ABE
Nosei ABE
Chiko ISHIHAMA
Tsunego BABA
Toyohiko KAGAWA

International Peace Society (Kokusai Heiwa Kyokai)

Organizer: Toyohiko KAGAWA
President: Prince HIGASHI-KUNI
Teisaburo SEKIYA

Japan Intelligentsia Association (Nihon Bunka-jin Renmei)

Takashi TATSUNO
Hitoshi ASHIDA

Society for the Study of the Reconstruction of New Japan (Shin
Nippon Kensetsu Chosakai)

Ken INUKAI
Y. MORISHITA

Reasons and Basis for the Restoration of the Governing Power to the Southern Dynasty

1. Based on the Imperial Rescript of Osaga Tenno, 88th in the Jino lineage, the legitimate successor to the Imperial throne lies with the Daigakuji Dynasty or namely the Southern Dynasty. Thus the present Imperial lineage is contrary to the Imperial Rescript.

2. Going back a step, based on the Treaty of Union between the Northern and Southern Dynasties, both lineages exist today. However, during the 9th year of the Genchu (元中) reign the Northern Dynasty by virtue of superior power wrested the supreme authority from the Southern Dynasty and continued to rule for 553 years. In accordance with the Treaty of Union, therefore, the Southern Dynasty has maintained a right to the throne for 553 years.

3. From an impartial historical standpoint, the present Emperor is a continuance of the Northern Dynasty which was secretly supported by the ancient Ashikaga Gumbatsu and is established in contradiction to the Imperial Rescript of Osaga Tenno and to the intention of the original nation, and is not the legitimate emperor. Thus there can be no claim that there is a true unbroken line of emperors.

4. Regarding the responsibility of the Imperial Household in this war, the Emperor as Commander-in-chief of the nation's might held the supreme power to declare war. His retainers merely carried out the wishes of the emperor and thus the latter must be classed as the No. 1 war criminal.

5. The Emperor is the No. 1 war criminal. This responsibility is not only toward his subjects but is the darkest scar against the nation in its 3000 years of existence. He has greatly offended our Imperial Ancestors.

6. The Japanese Constitution speaks of the absoluteness of the statement that "The Emperor is sacred and inviolate", but this divinity has already been shattered.

7. Doubt has been cast upon the authenticity of the Three Divine Treasures of the present Imperial Family.

a. When Professor Tetsujiro Inouye, Lit. D. once stated that the Three Sacred Treasures were not of the age of the Gods, it gave rise to much public commotion.

b. Historically, in view of the Genan cho (後南朝) disorder, the stand that the divine spirit had once again returned to the Northern Dynasty after it had been regained by the Southern Dynasty is very weak and questionable.

c. Contrary to history books that teach that the Imperial Throne was recovered by the Northern Dynasty, the descendant of the Southern Dynasty lineage claims to be the Southern Emperor and hints as to the whereabouts of the sacred treasures. The naming of the succeeding Northern Dynasty as the "Meio" (明應) casts more doubt on these already questionable facts.

8. Emperor Meiji has stated that the Southern Dynasty was illegitimate. The present Emperor has declared that upon completion of the provisions in the Potsdam Declaration he would abdicate.

9. If the Southern Dynasty were eradicated, then the Northern Dynasty was enthroned as the only possible alternative. Yet rationally, since it has been proven that the Southern Dynasty has a right to the throne, it should be restored to the throne immediately.

10. Emperor Meiji had declared that the Southern Dynasty was legitimate, and the present Emperor has declared that upon completion of the provisions in the Potsdam Declaration that he would abdicate. Thus the throne can rightfully be restored to the Southern Dynasty and there would be no misgivings nor suspicion on the part of the people.

11. On the occasion of the recent unconditional surrender terms, the one stipulation acknowledged by the Allied Powers was the maintenance of the National Polity. The chief retainers of the Emperor had naturally hoped to retain the present Emperor under this stipulation. However if one were to take the interpretation of the original meaning of this stipulation, it would be more logical to enthrone the Southern Dynasty at this time.

Reasons for Restoration in view of the National Policy.

a. From the standpoint of foreign relations, the restoration is necessary to soften hardened public opinion in foreign nations and to bring about a peaceful political scene in the future. For example, the American newspapers are saying, "We have never before seen a change in the governmental system with the supreme ruler permitted to remain on the throne." "We can have no faith in a suddenly democratized Japan."

b. From the standpoint of internal affairs, continued rule by a defeated supreme ruler has made the people lose spirit, and there is no desire for the achievement of ambitions. Thus elevation from the ruins of war and reconstruction of a new enlightened Japan would indeed be a most difficult task.

Reference Material Pertaining to this Petition

- A. Petition to the Emperor from Kumazawa, Daizen for the 18th direct descendant of the Southern dynasty Emperor Gokameyama, addressed to the then House-Hold Minister Tokudaiji, Mitsunori in the 11th year of Meiji, 2 November (1878). Supposedly in the possession of the Household Ministry.
- B. The same petition mentioned above sent to the then House-Hold Ministry Katsura, Taro in the 1st year of Taisho (1912)
- C. Petition to the Emperor from Kumazawa, Hiromichi for the 19th direct descendant of the Southern dynasty Emperor Gokameyama, addressed to the then Lord Keeper of the Privy seal Matsukata, Seiji in the 18th year of Taisho (1919). Supposedly in the possession of the Lord Keeper of the Privy seal.
- D. Petition C sent again in the 9th year of Taisho (1921).
- E. Petition C sent to the then Lord Keeper of the Privy seal Matsudaira, Tsunoo in the 11th year of Showa (1936). Supposedly in possession of the House-Hold Ministry.
- F. Documents containing historical facts of the nation presented by Sumida, Kiyohiko to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, House-Hold Minister, elder statesmen, Chairman of the Privy Council, and chairman of both houses of the diet, and members of the Saito Cabinet in the 8th year of Showa (1933).
- G. Petition to the Emperor addressed to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Yuasa, Kehel by Inagawa, Ataka in the 15th year of Showa (1940), April. Supposedly in the possession of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.
- H. A request to investigate various old tombs for confirmation of facts, sent by Choze, Yoshida in the 16th year of Showa (1941) to the then House-Hold Minister Matsudaira, Tsunoo.
- I. The minutes of the Privy Council proceedings concerning the question of the direct descendant of the Southern Dynasty in the 44th year of Meiji (1911). Supposedly in the possession of the Privy Council.
- J. When the Yoshino Shrine was built at the Imperial wish of the Emperor Meiji, in his proclamation, he said, "Adopt Sori, a descendant and a loyal subject of the southern Dynasty, as the chief retainer of this shrine." This document is supposedly in the hands of the House-Hold Ministry.
- K. In revising the national history textbook in the spring of Meiji, 44th year (1911), it was the Imperial desire to emphasize more strongly the direct lineage of the Southern Dynasty. This desire and the Emperor's desire before and after this time, is supposedly in writing, and is being kept by the Privy Council.

Genealogy of the Southern Dynasty

Godaigo Tenno (後醍醐天皇)

Gomurakami Tenno (後村上天皇)

Chokei Tenno (長慶天皇)

Prince Okuramiya Yoshoyasu (小倉宮良泰親王)

北朝後村主小松天皇

實仁親王

Northern Dynasty Gokomatsu Tenno

Crown Prince Mistuhito

Southern Dynasty Restoration ruler Songie (南朝中興天王尊義王)

Jitensō Senshuo (自天王尊孝王)

Nanteno Chikawaniya Songao (南天王市川宮尊雅王)

Nantei Kumano miya Shingao (南帝熊野宮位雅王) (Prince Kumazawa Hirotsugi) (熊澤廣次)

Kumazawa Hiroshi (熊澤廣敷)

Kumazawa Heisaburo Genri (熊澤平三郎玄理)

Kumazawa Ki saburo Morihisa (熊澤喜三郎守久)

Kumazawa Shosaimon Moriyuki (熊澤庄右衛門直行)

Kumazawa Kaiheiei (熊澤九兵衛)

Kumazawa Sononemon (熊澤園衛門)

Kumazawa Gineson (熊澤儀右衛門)

Kumazawa Gineson II (二代目熊澤儀右衛門)

Kumazawa Kohelji (熊澤小平治)

Kumazawa Kohelji II (二代目熊澤小平治)

Kumazawa Shigezaimon (熊澤繁左衛門)

Kumazawa Daizen (熊澤大然)

Kumazawa Hironichi (present descendant) (熊澤寬道(當主))