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NOMURA
Kichisaburo
Jas
Curtis

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A.	B. X	C.	D.	E.	F.	1.	2. X	3.	4.	5.	6.

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION

SOURCE Close associate of NOLIRA Kichisaburo

(The following is an account of the election campaign waged by NOLIRA Kichisaburo in Wakayama-ken during May 1954)

1. NOLIRA's Agreement to Seek Election -

Ever since the outbreak of the Government scandals, certain political leaders have felt that if NOLIRA Kichisaburo were in the House of Councilors the political world would probably turn to him for leadership. When TOKUGAWA Yoriyada, member of the Upper House from Wakayama-ken, passed away in April 1954 and a special election was called, NOLIRA was urged to run. At first he refused to give an answer because the opportunity had occurred so suddenly, but after continued urging by members of the Progressive, Liberal, and Japan (Splinter) Liberal Parties, and especially by HAKASONE Yasuhiro of the Progressives, NOLIRA finally agreed to run. The news spread at once through the political and financial world and NOLIRA's supporters quickly began seeking financial aid for the campaign. While soliciting funds the following advice was received by NOLIRA's followers from OKUNURA Tsumo, president of Nohara Securities Co., Ltd, of Tokyo:

- Do not try to gather money from all quarters. Concentrate on those sources which seem most promising.
- Do not reveal that former navy men are supporting NOLIRA until the campaign is over.

This advice was considered sound by NOLIRA's supporters and was followed throughout the campaign.

2. The Campaign Begins -

NOLIRA went to Wakayama on 8 May and began the campaign on 10 May. For one month he covered every part of the prefecture from Koyasan in the north to the Shingu-Kuzuno area in the south. He made his first speech in the Koyasan district and it appeared to tire him considerably. This was because he had to do something he had never done before: act like a politician and follow a schedule prepared by professional politicians. On a truck, travelling over bumpy roads, he began his campaign.

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Travelling over the mountainous terrain by truck was perhaps the most trying of all the experiences of the campaign and brought physical suffering to the 76 year-old NOMURA. The people around him were experts at elections and they had prepared a schedule based on their experience with younger candidates. However, never during the entire campaign did he change the schedule to suit his own convenience. His supporters changed one after another, but not he. He was always calmly waving a white handkerchief and smiling atop the truck. His speeches were always delivered in a loud clear voice which could be heard to the end of the hall. On the other hand his opponent, Left-wing Socialist SUZUKI Kahachiro, who at first boasted of his youthful age of 41, towards the end of the campaign developed severe voice trouble.

3. NOMURA's Campaign Speech -

The following is an outline of the speech usually given by NOMURA during the campaigns:

"I am NOMURA Kichisaburo. In view of the domestic and foreign situation I was urged by friends in various quarters to run in this special election despite my old age. I propose to dedicate my efforts to the reconstruction of Japan by unifying the nation. I wish to give you an idea of my opinions:

- 1) I feel that it is good policy to adhere to democracy. However, I feel that it is important for each person to exercise his individual obligations not only in order to protect his individual rights, but also for the benefit of a sound development of democracy in Japan.
- 2) Japan lost the war but it has gained its independence. I believe that we must wipe away the feelings of defeat and, by restoring our self-respect as Japanese nationals, help to lead our government. I myself, as a citizen of this nation, intend to carry out my responsibilities. The new constitution was forced upon us by a victorious nation and no amendments were permitted at the time. In effect it was made in a foreign country and, consequently, has bad points as well as good ones. An independent Japan must give it thorough and judicious study from its own peculiar standpoint.
- 3) Japan must become economically self-sustaining. At the present time we are only able to provide food enough for 60 million of our 80 million people. As for oil, Japan's yearly demands are increasing although domestic production is insignificant. Japan is depending on foreign sources for twenty and some odd million tons of materials each year. We must increase our foreign trade and endeavor to balance the payments. At the present time our foreign trade is almost inactive and it is said that our economy is faced with a crisis. In view of this situation the people must manifest their true qualities and overcome the crisis by cooperation.
- 4) Ideally Japan should maintain the goodwill of all the nations of the world, particularly the neighboring nations. However, since Japan must depend on the free nations for needed materials, it is necessary to maintain friendly relations with the free nations. I believe that the direct cause of the Pacific War was the economic blockade of Japan, particularly with regard to petroleum imports, contemplated by other nations to counter our advance into southern Indochina. This placed Japan in a very difficult position and led to the outbreak of war. If diplomatic policies take these basic problems into consideration the course of Japan will become clear.

4. The Opposition -

NOMURA's opponent in the election was SUZUKI Kahachiro, 41 year-old left-wing Socialist and president of the Wakayama-ken branch of the Japan Teacher's Union.

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SUZUKI ran as an independent with the open support of the Japan Communist Party and the Left-wing Socialists. He tried to appeal to the people with such slogans as "Rearmament leads directly to war," "Bury the scandal-ridden conservative government," and "Don't send your children to the battle fields." Before the start of the campaign NOMURA's weak points were considered to be his former title of Admiral, his open advocacy of rearmament and his outspoken criticism of Prime Minister YOSHIDA's policies and actions. However, after the campaign started it was found that these things were not important. The public knew that NOMURA was a pacifist and a man of exceptionally high character and they looked at him with familiarity and welcomed him.

5. Campaign Problems -

NOMURA had two main problems to overcome in achieving his election. One was the shaky nature of his conservative support, composed of it was of members of the Liberal, Progressive and Japan (Splinter) Liberal Parties. The other problem was a shortage of funds. Having no experience in politics, NOMURA had no other choice but to turn to experienced leaders in the conservative camp. He chose YAMAGUCHI Ikudohira, assistant Secretary-General of the Liberal Party, to be his campaign manager with the assistance of ONO Shunji, Vice-Governor of Wakayama prefecture. YAMAGUCHI is an expert at electioneering, having been elected to office 6 times himself. In addition it is well known that he has never violated the election laws. ONO, a sincere, able man, is considered a pillar of the prefectural world and was said to have the support of 34 of the Wakayama's 38 prefectural assemblies. Unfortunately, however, as the campaign progressed rivalry developed among the various factions supporting NOMURA. Superficially there seemed to be no trouble whatsoever, but if one looked beneath the surface it was easy to see the rival leaders watching for an opportunity to take advantage of each other. Thus the YAMAGUCHI clique was cold to the groups headed by HAKAYAMA Shigeru and KASUYAMA Yoshio², both of whom are members of the Progressive Party. Even within the Liberal Party itself there was friction between cliques headed by BO (fn)³ SEKO Koichi⁴ and TABUCHI (fn)⁵. The danger of this friction becoming a conflagration if the issue of funds became involved was very great.

Campaign chief YAMAGUCHI felt that a fund of 5 million yen was necessary if NOMURA was to be elected by an acceptable margin. HOSHINA Zenshiro was selected to head a group to raise the funds. Thanks to a 2 million yen contribution by MATSUSHITA Kenosuke, President of Matsushita Electrical Industry Co. of Tokyo and numerous small donations it was possible to get the campaign underway. Once the campaign was started, however, additional funds were needed in short order. Just when it seemed that the campaign would bog down because of lack of funds, MATSUSHITA came to the rescue with 3 million more yen. This money disappeared like water in a bone-dry rice paddy.

6. The Last Middle Period of the Campaign -

The middle period of the campaign covered from 15 to 25 May. As a result of the internal strife and lack of funds the NOMURA campaign did not develop according to plan and at times it appeared that NOMURA might be overwhelmed by his opponent. On 24 May, in an editorial, the Kishu Shinbun reported that the odds on a NOMURA victory were about 4 to 6 against NOMURA. As the campaign progressed it became more and more evident that the strong organization of the Socialists gave them a decided advantage. In addition to support from the Japan Communist Party, the Socialists had the support of the Wakayama-ken branch of the Japan Teacher's Union (8,000), the National Railway Worker's Union (5,500) and factory workers belonging to such unions as Sentei, Densan and Sohyo (35,000). Total support from these sources was estimated at about 48,000 votes. Since each person was considered able to influence three sympathetic votes it was estimated that a total of 120,000 to 130,000 votes was already lost to the Socialists before the campaign had even started. The validity of these figures was confirmed later by the results of the election. Because of this fact the Socialists campaigned with confidence.

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while the NOMURA camp was secretly worried. Since it was apparent that the difference of a mere 10,000 to 20,000 votes would probably determine the outcome of the election, both camps exerted their efforts toward obtaining these important votes during the middle period.

7. Establishment of a Combined Tactical Headquarters -

At this point it became obvious that some drastic steps would have to be taken if NOMURA was to emerge victorious in the election. It was decided that a combined tactical headquarters would be established under the leadership of HOSHINA Yasuhiro, FUJIMURA Yoshikazu and FUKUTOMI Shigeru to coordinate and eliminate friction between the various factions. Liaison was maintained at all times with the YAMAGUCHI and ONO groups as well as with the Progressive and Splinter Liberal Party supporters. To solve the problem of funds HOSHINA and FUJIMURA went to Osaka on 29 May where they obtained another million yen from HIRAYAMA Ryotaro, managing director of Nomura Securities Co., Ltd.⁶

8. The Wheels Begin to Turn -

After establishment of the combined tactical headquarters the situation changed completely and the news began to be favorable. The prefectural office under the leadership of Vice-Governor ONO began an all out effort to urge a large turn-out at the polls. Airplanes of the Seinen Koku Renmei (Youth Air Federation)⁷ were used to spread notices urging a large vote. The Veteran's Association (Zaigo Gunjin Kai)⁸, the Wounded Soldier's Association (Shoigunjin Kai)⁹ and the Civil Defense Organization (Minbo Dantai)¹⁰ and other ex-Army and Navy groups all conducted similar campaigns and by the end of May the advantage seemed to have turned to NOMURA.

9. Support of Religious Organizations -

In addition to the support of veterans organizations a successful effort was made to enlist the support of religious organizations in the area. Such groups as Tenri-Kyo¹¹ and Seicho no Iye¹² issued orders from their headquarters urging their followers to support NOMURA. In addition YOSHIMURA Kameji, head priest of the Kawachi branch of the Ise no Taisha Kyo, personally came to Wakayama and every single vote of his followers (a total of 15,000) was cast for NOMURA. This type of vote, including as it did every strata of society, was considered very important.

10. NOMURA's Election -

In the last days of the campaign the arrival of nationally known political figures to campaign for both candidates turned the election into a contest of national significance. From the ranks of the conservatives came ASHIDA Hitoshi, SHIGEMITSU Masoru, ISHIBASHI Tansan and NAKASONE Yasuhiro to campaign for NOMURA. From Socialist ranks came SUZUKI Masaburo, KANAKAMI (fnu) and KATAYAMA (fnu) to urge the election of their candidate. Both sides fought the campaign to the bitter end, but in the final stages the combined tactics of NOMURA's group began to show its strength. The final vote was 254,123 for NOMURA and 127,851 for SUZUKI. NOMURA was the victor by a margin of over two to one.

Source Comments:

1. HAYAKAWA Shigeru was a member of the 1953 Diet as representative from Tanabe City, Wakayama-ken. He now runs a fishing company. An able man, he has organized the young people of the city.
2. KAGUYAMA Yoshio was also a member of the 1953 Diet from Kushimoto, Wakayama-ken. He is a professor of philosophy at Waseda University, Tokyo.

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3. BO is a member of the present Diet from Ito-gun and Naka-gun, Wakayama-ken. He is a rather able man but was not an enthusiastic supporter of NOMURA.
4. SEKO is a member of the Splinter Liberals and occupies a seat in the present Diet. He is well known for having revealed the location of buried treasure during the Occupation, particularly in the Bank of Japan vaults. He is a small businessman; a good man, sincere and honest.
5. FANUCHI is a Liberal Party member of the present Diet. He is a follower of SATO Eisaku. His home is in Shingu, Wakayama-ken. He is not very reliable.
6. A total of about 15 million yen was solicited during the campaign. The breakdown of sources was roughly as follows: MATSUSHITA Konosuke gave 5 million yen plus another million in services (use of cars, firm personnel etc); 2 1/2 million yen were collected locally in Wakayama-ken and in small amounts in Tokyo from friends, local groups etc. The HOSHINA group was very successful collecting 8 million yen in all: Nomura Securities gave 2 million, GOKO (Inu), representing the Federation of Economic Organizations, gave 1.3 million, UENURA (Inu), President of the Employer's Association, gave 1.5 million and Asahi Kasei Co., a chemical firm, gave 2 million.
7. NOMURA is president of this organization. It is organized on a nation-wide basis, with headquarters in Tokyo.
8. NOMURA was invited to be president of the Association but refused because of the press of other duties. It has 10 million members with headquarters in Tokyo.
9. NOMURA is president of this organization. It is nation-wide; has over 100,000 members with headquarters in Tokyo.
10. NOMURA is also president of this organization, which is not large but is growing fast. Its headquarters are in Osaka.
11. Tenri-kyo insisted on being paid for its support, this being one of their basic principles. NOMURA paid \$50,000 each for transportation to and from Wakayama-ken of the three members of this organization who campaigned for him.
12. This sect is very wealthy and has over 2 million members. It was started about 30 years ago. Headquarters are located at Harajuku, Yoyogi, Tokyo. The head of the sect is TANIGUCHI Masaharu, a graduate of Waseda University.

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