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26 SEPTEMBER 1986

JAPAN REPORT

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

NAKASONE SPEAKS ON ELECTION VICTORY, FUTURE PLANS

OW301223 Tokyo KYODO in English 1201 GMT 30 Aug 86

[By Antonio Kamiya]

[Text] Karuizawa, Nagano Pref., 30 Aug (KYODO)--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, basking in the afterglow of a landslide election victory last July, Saturday declared the emergence of a new political landscape which he claims the ruling party is best positioned to dominate and serve.

Taking time out from a month-long summer vacation in this resort town north of Tokyo, Nakasone entertained a 200-strong group of LDP supporters with an hour-long discourse on his political philosophy and vision of the country's future.

Nakasone, who has been assured of an extension of his term of office as LDP president--and hence prime minister--beyond October, displayed tremendous exuberance and confidence. Painting his future vision of the country, Nakasone said the government is drafting a blueprint of what he calls a "human frontier program" in a bid to place Japan at the forefront of high-technology in the world.

The program, he said, will become the Japanese answer to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative and the European "Eureka" program, except that the Japanese program will be aimed at extending the use of computers to an increasingly large field of human activities.

As with the SDI, "will also invite other nations to take part in our human frontier program," he said.

The prime minister made no references to current policy, except for a brief mention that there is an "extremely strong possibility" that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will come to Japan for a visit and that the second summit meeting between Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan is expected to take place this year.

Nakasone opened his anecdote-laden speech with an admission that he was "flabbergasted" by the magnitude of the LDP victory in the 6 July Diet elections, in which it won a record 304 seats in the 512-seat Lower House

and 79 seats in the 252-seat Upper House, where it now has a total strength of 143.

Like a seasoned political pundit, Nakasone then went on to give a blow-by-blow analysis of the elections, which sent the opposition parties reeling. He said the election results indicated that the LDP has extended its electoral support beyond its traditional right-of-center voters to those on the left--previously the political base for the opposition.

"This marks the emergence of an '86 political system," Nakasone said, adding, "this is a new start for the LDP."

He said he is certain that this political landscape will replace the 1955 structure which saw the merger of the liberal and democratic parties into the current LDP as well as the merger of the right and left wings of the Socialist Party.

The prime minister attributed the LDP victory to what he called the "flexibility" of the LDP as a political party and the ability of the party to project a sense of stability to the voters.

Another factor, he said, is the ability of the party leadership (meaning himself) to project a high-profile image among the voters.

He then recounted his fondness for playing tennis, swimming, playing golf and taking up Zen meditation, hobbies that he said have made him popular among sports lovers. "If I were shown playing tennis on TV, I suppose lots of girls would say, 'how nice Nakasone-san is,'" he quipped.

Behind this political metamorphosis, he said, is the advent of a new generation of voters born in the computer age and hooked to television.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

TALKS BEGIN ON POSSIBLE NAKASONE VISIT TO SEOUL

OW210615 Tokyo KYODO in English 0605 GMT 21 Aug 86

[Text] Tokyo, 21 Aug (KYODO)--Japan and South Korea have started negotiations on a possible visit to Seoul by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in September to coincide with the Asian Games, government sources said Thursday. They said Nakasone is most likely to go to Seoul 20 September when the 10th regional sports event will get under way.

But Nakasone said Thursday, "nothing definite has been decided." He is now vacationing at the summer resort of Karuizawa, northwest of Tokyo.

If Nakasone goes to Seoul, it will be his second visit to South Korea since his first trip there in January 1983 after becoming prime minister two months earlier. Nakasone's predecessors normally chose the United States as the destination of their first overseas trip as prime minister.

Speculation of Nakasone's Seoul visit followed to [as received] postponement of a trip to South Korea by Crown Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko this autumn.

They also called off a U.S. visit, scheduled for May due to health conditions of the princess who underwent a hysterectomy operation in March. The prince was invited by President Chon Tu-hwan to Seoul on behalf of his father, Emperor Hirohito.

Nakasone is considering a "goodwill" visit and that it will have nothing to do with the postponement of the trip there by the royal couple, the sources said.

The Seoul visit by Nakasone will also be aimed at demonstrating Japan's support for the Chon government, the sources stated.

Nakasone's visit to Seoul depends largely on Japan's domestic political situation, the sources added. The next Diet session will convene on 11 September.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ABE ON GORBACHEV VISIT, ISLANDS ISSUE

OW291121 Tokyo KYODO in English 1101 GMT 29 Aug 86

[Text] Karuizawa, Nagano Pref., 29 Aug (KYODO)--Former Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe Friday predicted that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will pay a visit to Japan "in the near future" but said he did not expect any progress in the territorial dispute between the two countries.

Abe, now chairman of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party's Executive Committee, made the forecast during a speech at an LDP seminar here, during which he reviewed his three years and eight months as foreign minister before he assumed his current post in July.

Abe devoted most of his 40-minute speech to personal reminiscences from his term as foreign minister, describing his impressions of the foreign leaders he met.

Turning to Gorbachev, whom he met for two hours in Moscow in May, Abe said he does not expect the Soviet leader will easily yield on Japan's claim to four Soviet-held islands off northern Hokkaido. However, he said the Soviet agreement to keep the territorial issue open during Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Japan last January was a "step forward." "(Shevardnadze's predecessor Andrey) Gromyko would not even entertain the (territorial) issue," he said.

Abe predicted Gorbachev would pay a visit to Japan in the near future, but gave no further elaboration.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

YANO TO REPLACE TAKEIRI AS KOMEITO CHAIRMAN

OW240819 Tokyo KYODO in English 0745 GMT 24 Aug 86

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Aug (KYODO)--Junya Yano, secretary general of Komeito, will succeed Yoshikatsu Takeiri as party chairman at the 24th party convention to be held in early December as part of changes aimed at giving new vigor to the party, party sources said Sunday.

Naohiko Okubo, vice secretary general and chairman of the party's Diet Policy Committee for the past eight years, named the new party secretary general at the same time, the sources indicated.

Party Policy Board Chairman Yoshiaki Masaki will be replaced by Hiroichi Sakai, vice chairman of the policy board. The new appointments are said to have already been approved by Daisaku Ikeda, honorary chairman of the Buddhist lay organization Soka Gakkai which supports Komeito.

Insiders say that the changes are intended to rejuvenate the party and change it into one which cannot only depend on continued support from the religious group but also attract a broad spectrum of people with no particular party affiliations.

The resignation of the 60-year old Takeiri, who has been party chairman for about 20 years since his election to the lower House for the first time in 1967, comes at a time when both ruling and opposition parties face a generational change.

The 54-year-old Yano as secretary general supported Takeiri for the same period under the Takeiri-Yano leadership. Takeiri and Yano at one time had policy differences, including the question of the possibility seeking a coalition with the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP).

The two restored their close relationship after they agreed that Komeito will pursue an independent course in order to win a broader base of popular support, party sources said.

Komeito lost one seat to drop to 57 seats in the 512-lower House in the 6 July general election.

Takeiri, currently visiting China as head of a party mission, is expected to announce his resignation shortly after returning to Japan on 4 September.

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

KYODO PROFILES NEWLY ELECTED JSP CHAIRMAN

OW060437 Tokyo KYODO in English 0307 GMT 6 Sep 86

[By Irene M. Kunii]

[Text] Tokyo, 6 Sept (KYODO)--The heralded "Ishibashi age" is over--Japan Socialist Party (JSP) members voted overwhelmingly in favor of a 17-year career politician, JSP Vice Chairwoman Takako Doi, to lead the top opposition party out of its decline. The 57-year-old Doi will become the first female to head a major political party in Japanese history when she is officially appointed at the JSP convention in Tokyo Monday to replace outgoing Chairman Masashi Ishibashi.

Officials from regional poll headquarters announced Saturday that Doi was assured of victory only 30 minutes after vote-counting got underway at 10 am. The results came after party members, estimated at 85,000 nationwide, cast their votes at regional polls Thursday and Friday.

Doi, already regarded as Japan's most powerful female in the male-dominated Lower Diet House, has pledged to revive the flailing JSP party which suffered a crippling defeat in the 6 July general election and plans to appoint her supporters to at least half of the executive committee seats.

Although she faced a powerful opponent in the campaign race, JSP "star player" Tetsu Ueda, 58, political forecasts had predicted Doi would be swept into power due to strong regional and party elder backing as soon as she announced her intention to run for party head 22 August.

Doi, a former instructor in constitutional law at Kyoto's renowned Doshisha University, has been elected seven consecutive times by her Hyogo constituency since 1969 when she was recruited by JSP officials.

In a recent interview, Doi explained that her political support comes in the form of citizen action groups and the women who support her. "When I ran for a seat in the December 1969 election, I was concerned about negotiations over the Japan-U.S. security treaty scheduled to take place in 1970. But it was the voters in Hyogo, where the percentage of females going to the polls is high, who wanted to oppose the treaty."

Commenting on the low percentage of female politicians in Japan where women account for almost 45 million of the 86.6 million registered voters, Doi pointed out, "until now it's been the men who decided what type of woman will be fielded in an election, and it's because of this the number of serious politicians is not increasing."

Doi, single and the second child of a Kobe medical practitioner, has taken an active role in feminist causes, urging the Japanese government in 1976 to support a United Nations Female Women Rights Convention by 1985. It is these very links to women voters, as well as groups crusading for local causes, that JSP officials hope Doi will cultivate in the post-Ishibashi period.

While chairmanship hopeful Ueda had been regarded as a likely party head, dating back to his term as leader of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) labor union, he was linked to the JSP's declining union era.

Union membership has dropped from a high of 55.8 percent in 1949 to one-third of the workforce by 1980. Moreover, traditional JSP support among union members has been knawed away by Japan's minor opposition parties.

By selecting Doi as the 10th party leader, JSP planners are hoping to attract the powerful women's lobby and to win back the support of ordinary citizens the party has sacrificed over the years. But Doi, already dubbed the made-in-Japan Thatcher and the JSP's Aquino, in the tradition set by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Philippine President Corazon Aquino, faces major party-building tasks that will determine the future of the JSP.

Although former Chairman Ishibashi had engineered the formation of a less-radical "New Socialist Party" in an attempt to garner voter support, the JSP lost a humiliating 24 Lower House seats in the July election, falling from a total of 111 to 87.

Commenting on her new job to reporters Saturday, the statuesque Doi admitted that she felt a "great responsibility" as well as some concern. But she added, "I want to open up the party to the people and make it easy to understand, a party to stand up to the (ruling) Liberal Democratic Party."

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

DOI CONDEMNS LDP POLICIES AT JSP CONVENTION

OW081133 Tokyo KYODO in English 1012 GMT 8 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, 8 Sept (KYODO)--Takako Doi, officially appointed leader of the top opposition Japan Socialist Party (JSP) at a convention here Monday, slammed ruling party policies and pledged to garner support among women and citizen groups to usher in a "new start" for the JSP.

New JSP Chairperson Doi, 57, who won 80 percent of the votes in the party's 4-5 September chairmanship election, became the first woman to head a major political party in Japanese history when outgoing Chairman Masashi Ishibashi handed over his position at the convention.

In her acceptance speech, the former vice chairwoman declared that the JSP was taking the "first step" toward a "new age," and would put new emphasis on female political and social activities as well as encourage local citizens to participate in the party. "I am going to turn enthusiasm (for politics) into action and ask the people of this country, not just the members of this party, to take part in making decision," Doi said.

Doi also called on the JSP to "confront" the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) in the Diet session starting Thursday on such major issues as the move to privatize the Japanese National Railways (JNR) and Japan's participation in research for the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

Touching on the recent diplomatic problem concerning a remark by Education Minister Masayuki Fujio, Doi declared, "the entire responsibility for criticism from Asian countries lies with the Nakasone administration."

Fujio told the monthly magazine BUNGEI SHUNJU in a recent interview, to be published Thursday in its October issue, that the Japanese 1910 annexation of Korea was "justified" due to agreement by the then-Emperor Kojong.

Doi, known for her moderate stance toward China and South Korea within the JSP, made an example of the recent remark strongly denounced by South Korea and called on the party to forge tighter links with Asian nations.

Outgoing Ishibashi, who announced his resignation following the staggering JSP defeat in the 6 July general election, told the convention that the JSP had failed to devise an election strategy and to challenge the LDP concerning major issues. Ishibashi also called on Doi to carry on in his plan to form a "new JSP," adding that the JSP "should become a party that has the confidence of all the citizens."

While former teachers union leader Tsuruo Yamaguchi was appointed to the second most influential position as JSP secretary general, the designation of four women parliamentarians to top party positions for the first time in JSP history has attracted the greatest attention.

Lower House Diet woman Mitsu Kaneko, a former University of Tokyo assistant professor, became one of the three JSP vice chairpersons.

Veteran feminist Manae Kubota, Upper House representative, now heads the JSP Women's Bureau, while former teacher Terumi Kasuya becomes head of the Education and Culture Bureau. Yaeko Itohisa will serve on the party's Executive Central Committee.

The emergence of Doi, a moderate within the party who draws her support from citizen and women's groups as opposed to labor unions, is remarkable in Japan where only seven women occupy seats in the 512-member Lower House.

Although Doi is noted for her finesse on matters of foreign diplomacy and her skill in Diet debates, JSP critics maintain that she lacks managerial skills, as well as links to the important unions the JSP has depended upon for support.

Party elders, however, have selected Doi specifically for her "ties" to the people--the local citizens and women voters the party hopes to attract--as the union era enters a decline.

The question now remaining is whether Doi will be remembered as the leader who revived the party or the woman who oversaw its further decline.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

LDP: STRUCTURE OF MONEY-POWER POLITICS DISCUSSED

Tokyo KADOKAWA BUNKO in Japanese 25 Aug 86 pp 22-91, 98-147

[Paperback Book by MAINICHI SHIMBUN Political Section]

[Text] Part 1. Structure of Money-Power Politics

Expenses to Acquire Party Members

Realities of Defeat with Three [Y300 Million] and Victory with Five [Y500] Million]

As "the first step toward inexpensive elections," the proportional representation system was introduced in the 1983 House of Councillors' election but it can hardly be said that the results were as planned. Especially, for the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], a number of problems were left behind. A typical one was the competition to acquire "party members."

Kimitaka Kuze (former president of Jichi Medican School), who was ranked at the bottom of the candidates' list and was defeated, stated:

"Since there was no need to publicize oneself under the new system, savings were definitely made in costs for posters, postcards, part-time help to write addresses, etc. However, what required money was probably the 'recruitment of party members.' If 100,000 members were obtained, the cost would be Y300 million with the party membership fee at Y3,000 per person. Persons who were elected probably spent, at least, Y500 million."

In drawing up the candidates' ranking list, the LDP overturned the original policy of "priority on incumbency" and emphasized "recruitment of party members and supporters" and, as a result, newcomers, who gathered a large number of party members and supporters, leaped over a number of incumbents to enter the top rank and were elected. In the party membership drive before the ranking was decided, the competition became so heated that someone appeared, who assembled 280,000 party members and 4 million supporters' signatures, far exceeding the party's individual goal of "100,000 new recruits, 50,000 affiliated members."

Kuze added that, "Unlike asking a person for his vote, it was not easy asking a person to become a party member and there was strong resistance even among my supporters."

In the LDP's presidential election in the fall of 1982, the following incident occurred. At his working place, Mr "T," who lives in Kansai, was asked to join the party, "even in name only," and consented. Subsequently, postal matters addressed not only to him but to over a dozen unknown males and females began arriving from the LDP. Soon, when the ballot forms for the presidential primary election were delivered, a man came to pick them up. There is no doubt that votes of these "ghost party members" were cast collectively for a specified candidate.

Mr "T's" family says indignantly, "Still, how can such irresponsible...."

It would be of interest to know whether such "irresponsible acts" were conducted repeatedly in the drive to gather party members when the "list" was drawn up for the proportional representation system. It appears that, at least, there were a number of cases where the company registers of supporting enterprises were collected and reproduced intact.

For example, an influential supporter of a Diet member, a former bureaucrat who was elected for the first time, confesses that, "To be honest, of the several thousand party members pledged, only about one-third were bona fide and the rest were suspicious. However, as party fees, the full amount of Y3,000 per member, were paid in."

Another Diet member, who likewise pledged over 100,000 members, claims: "In my case, I think Y2,000 per member sufficed."

The party fee of Y3,000 is supposed to be divided three ways among the party headquarters, metropolitan and prefectural federations and various branches but if the local branch, based on city-town-village units, is bypassed and a new "occupational-unit branch" is created with 50 or more members, that share is refunded so that the actual fee will come to Y2,000.

"How much did we save through the proportional representation system? Don't joke about it. Actually, it was not a question of savings. Everyone in our party, from the chairman on down, is boiling over with anger."

The proportional representation system was supposedly implemented to "conduct an inexpensive election." However, the first to admit that "costs doubled" is the Komeito [Clean Government Party]. Out of concern, the party continually put out TV spots, newspaper advertisements, posters, etc., on a national scale, which appears to have been the big factor in the doubling of expenses.

Also, it appears to have been the result of more extensive use, than heretofore, of the favorite telephone-call tactics and word-of-mouth communication because of the feeling that, "for many years, elections have been conducted on the basis of individuals rather than parties so how can you get elected if you only publicize, at random, your political party?"

The Democratic Socialist Party [DSP] states that, "expenses did not double but increased by 40 percent over the past." According to Masao Takahashi, deputy secretary general of Domei [Japan Confederation of Labor], approximately Y1.5 billion were spent to have four candidates elected.

In order to increase the volume of votes, the DSP-Domei bloc had to field many "sacrifice candidates" in local electoral districts and this appears to have been the big reason for their increase in expenses.

Takahashi states that, "Essentially, this system is intended for large parties which can field candidates evenly in local electoral districts. At least, from the financial aspect, this point was proven without question."

Putting aside the "perennially poor" Japan Socialist Party [JSP], even the largest party, the LDP itself, is not pleased. Although it did not have sharp increases, even the LDP could not cut down expenses at all.

A certain LDP leader states as follows:

"As tactics in the proportional representation districts, in addition to TV and newspaper advertisements, our party started a campaign against the 3 million party members, whom we had assembled through strenuous efforts. We sent materials, like pamphlets, one after another, and requested that they recruit nearby residents. The printing and mailing costs were not piddling sums and eventually, approximately Y8 billion were spent as heretofore."

Still, that account pertains to only up-front matters and according to another leader:

"If 'surreptitious payments' made to various factions and Dietmen are included, that sum is too small. With regard to the last election, funds were gathered on the assumption that a double election of the two houses will be held, so the amount is unusually large. The party leadership spent nearly all of that on the upper house election alone."

On 28 July, the National Police Agency [NPA] disclosed violations made in the 1983 upper house election. According to the report, the number of arrests decreased to one-fifth and arrested violators to one-third of the previous election. The main reason given was that the former national constituency, which had been a hotbed of violations, had changed to the proportional representation system and that violations decreased to one-twentieth of the previous election.

That gives an impression that a truly clean election was conducted. However suspicion increased when one listens to the above firsthand accounts of parties and candidates, and it becomes clear that as far as "money-power elections" are concerned, there are problems which cannot be rectified through reform of the system.

Money-Power Politics of Opposition Parties

In the 1983 upper house election, the Kanagawa electoral district became one of the most hotly contested districts in the entire nation. For the two Diet seats, 15 candidates ran and among them, the 5 strong LDP, DSP, Komeito, Japan Communist Party [JCP] and independent candidates fought furiously, and the outcome could not be predicted until the very end.

However, when the results were in, it became known that the contest was not close, but very uneven. The top winner was Shingo Hattori of the Komeito ticket and the second-place winner, Tsuneo Sugimoto (LDP), had 160,000 fewer votes while Katsuji Kataoka of the JSP was out of the running with a gap of over 200,000 votes.

The JSP, in particular, lost four of the reelection seats (local districts) and the weakening of its political base was noticeable. Even in the Kanagawa electoral district, where it had maintained one Diet seat for a long period, it can be said that the JSP was dealt a severe blow.

Even at that, it cannot be said that the Komeito, itself, had suddenly increased its party strength in the past few years. Judging from only the basic votes, it can be said that this result was absolutely impossible.

The reason is obvious. In the 1983 upper house election, the Kanagawa district became one of the few "Komeito-DSP coalition" districts. This provided highly successful results.

In the previous election, and the one prior to that, the Komeito had diverted their votes to the DSP candidate. In those elections, Diet seats could not be won, but in this election, in return for the favor, it was DSP's turn to help the Komeito.

Also, because a barter-type election cooperation had been planned in the next lower house election in Kanagawa, the opportunity ripened early only in this prefecture. As a result, if the votes obtained in the proportional representation district are to become the fundamental votes of the respective parties, the votes garnered by Hattori will be practically equivalent to their total.

However, in looking over the course of developments, it cannot be said that an ideal arrangement had been made from the beginning. At first, there was even strong opposition from a sector of the DSP camp. Even prefectural assemblymen, who openly declared "noncooperation," appeared.

"Strangely, as the election neared, the DSP camp suddenly began to show a cooperative attitude toward the Komeito," (local JSP member).

A Komeito-affiliated person gave the following explanation of this problem:

"At first, it was true that the situation was such. We went around asking again for the support, principally of the Domei. We carefully visited all the branches and even their affiliated, subordinate organizations and of course, on each occasion, we gave a monetary gift. In accordance with the 'common understanding' of opposition parties, the amount was only sufficient for the various branches to hold one or two 'appreciation' parties...."

The Domei side denies that, stating, "Putting aside what happened until now, there was an understanding among the parties on this occasion and such a thing never happened." (Statement of Masao Takahashi, Domei's secretary general.)

However, a certain JSP Dietman says, "When we do such things, even our party will give monetary gifts. Nowadays, who will do anything for free?" It seems than when it comes to elections, even the opposition parties do not have enough "money," no matter how much they might have, because of unexpected expenses.

Proceedings Which Were Deleted

Diet Proceedings No 4

Proceedings should accurately record discussions. That is particularly true when it comes to those of the Diet. However, this particular proceeding cannot be deciphered in eight places. When one comes to an important place, one always finds that it is lined out.

"Committee member Yano... regarding that item, I wish you to check on it immediately and give me your reply before I complete my interpellation."

It is exactly the same as the newspapers which were smeared with ink by military censorship during the war.

These minutes were the genuine proceedings of the Diet, the highest organ of national sovereignty. To be precise, it is called "Lower House Budget Committee Proceedings No 4." It is dated, "23 March 1967." Then, what did happen?

At a little past 1:30 pm of that day, Junya Yano of the Komeito, who stood up for general interpellations in the lower house Budget Committee, started as follows:

"I do not believe that the 'black fog' has disappeared. The actual circumstances still remain as strongly as before. From the beginning, his remarks were provocative.

In 1965, the previous year, the Sato cabinet, which was then in power, was shaken by a series of scandals, such as the Kyowa Sugar Refinery incident, and he chose the course of Diet dissolution and general elections. That was the "black fog dissolution."

The Komeito first appeared in the lower house at that time. After the elections, the party reorganized and the new setup of Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri and Secretary General Yano began party operations. Yano's interpellation of this day can be termed the "debut performance" of the newly born Komeito.

He was in a spirited mood. Yano pressed Eisaku Sato, then prime minister, and said, "it is desirable to have open politics," and then challenged Home Affairs Minister Sensuke Fujieda, "(reference the Home Affairs Ministry) with regard to the income-and-expenditure account submitted by the LDP in 1965 and 1966, I request an explanation of the expenses designated as Diet management expenditures."

The home affairs minister, who oversees the income and expenditures of political funds, called for the source materials and began to read aloud "On 23 January 1965, the sum of Y200,000 to Hideyo Sasaki. Furthermore according to this...."

What became clear from the home affairs minister's statement was the fact that the LDP had paid out, just from the account books, Y25.75 million for 14 items during the first half of 1965, Y119.4 million for 19 items during the second half of 1964 and Y104.2 million for 18 items during the first half of 1966, for "Diet management expenses."

Yano strongly requested that Prime Minister Sato reply on "for what purposes were such money spent?"

Prime Minister Sato replied, "Diet members affiliated with our party number 420 (lower and upper houses combined). Even if we spent only Y100,000 on each to facilitate his activities, the sum would soon become enormous. Please understand that money is required for items which cannot be readily imagined."

Yano was not convinced. "Isn't there any relation between the movement of this money and Diet operations?"

Yano went directly to the heart of the problem. That was the first and the last time that "Diet management expenses" became the subject of Diet deliberations. This incident soon developed into an uproar over "deletion from Diet proceedings."

With regard to the "Diet management expenses" recorded in the financial account submitted by the LDP to the Ministry of Home Affairs, is there any relation between the movement of money and Diet operations?

The interpellation conducted by Komeito Secretary General Yano in the lower house Budget Committee meeting on 23 March 1967--his aim was just that.

The "bases" pointed out by Yano are, for example, the following points: "In late December 1965, Y63 million were paid out to Secretary General Kakuei Tanaka (at the time) on two occasions. That was immediately after the stormy Japan-ROK Treaty ratification Diet session and the Diet finally returned to normal operations after agreement between the LDP and the JSP."

He did not go so far as to say, "Wasn't that money given to the opposition party to compensate for its cooperation in Diet operations? However, hinting at such suspicion, Yano severely questioned Prime Minister Sato.

However, the prime minister's answer was not relevant. Finally, Yano asked for submission of the source materials and the scene changed to the secret council of the Budget Committee. Just then....

There is a rule in the Diet that public-stage troubles will be resolved in the council meeting. The idea is that principles can be disregarded in a "secret chamber" to facilitate agreement of opinions.

It happened on the following day, the 24th at the secret council meeting which was convened. First of all, the LDP asserted, "It is absurd to have to submit materials concerning party expenses to the Budget Committee." Then, even the JSP called the Komeito to task by stating, "The Komeito is attacking the established parties as though it alone were righteous," and the DSP also concurred.

The odds became too heavy. On the 26th, the Komeito prepared an apology that "it regrets having caused trouble for other parties." However, the three parties--LDP, JSP, and DSP--were not satisfied.

The three parties agreed on the following two points: (1) the request by the Komeito to present source materials was unwarranted and the committee chairman will instruct its withdrawal; and (2) sections which are unjust to other parties will be deleted from the stenographic record. Yano's statement was "lined out" in eight places from the Diet proceedings, as mentioned earlier.

In two copies of the originals, deposited in the Data Section of the lower house's Proceedings Division, the text of the statement is accurately recorded beside the "lined out" sections. However, it is said that these originals will not be publicly disclosed, semipermanently.

It was the start of the custom for political parties to unite and disallow outside criticisms when it came to the issue of money."

Furthermore, another disturbing matter still continues. In 1983, after 16 years had elapsed, Secretary General Yano still reflects frequently that, "I did it with the intention of wildly sounding the alarm bell but I forgot the basic precept that there should be no questioning without investigation. I was carried away by my youthful ardor." The noble spirit, which shouldered the future of the newly born Komeito, fell incredibly short in the pursuit of suspicions surrounding Diet management expenditures. Then, was Yano's questioning really off the mark?

Lunch Allowance of Y100 Million

Until then, the LDP had explained the Diet management expenses as "lunch allowances." "When Diet deliberations are prolonged deep into the night, midnight snacks are prepared for Diet members and party workers. This type of miscellaneous expense is generally summed up as Diet management expenses."

Judging by the commodity prices at the time (around 1965), it is difficult to believe that "luncheon expenses" should cost in amounts of Y1 or Y2 million but it is true that the statement cannot be labeled as an outright lie.

However, the figures which became known through the Diet interpellation of Komeito Secretary General Yano ridiculed this "explanation."

First half of 1965--14 items, Y25.75 million.
Second half of 1965--19 items, Y119.4 million.

These are figures which cannot be explained away as "lunch allowances," and the figure for the second half of 1965 spiraled to over four times that of the first half.

Why did the Diet management expenses suddenly increase by nearly Y100 million? This point is also a problem. There are two keys to solving this "puzzle."

First, the person responsible for handling Diet management expenses within the LDP changed from Secretary General Takeo Miki to Secretary General Kakuei Tanaka in the reelection of party officials on 2 June. Unlike Miki, Secretary General Tanaka was already noted then for his high-handed political tactics.

Another factor was that since October 1965, the Sato cabinet had been facing its most crucial test, the Diet session to ratify the Japan-ROK Treaty.

When Prime Minister Sato took over the government reins the year before, he targeted the Japan-ROK negotiations as his biggest task. At the time, the Vietnam war was intensifying and it became necessary to respond swiftly to the U.S. Government's request for "strengthening of the Japan-U.S.-ROK setup."

Prime Minister Sato concluded the negotiations at a fast pace and signed the basic treaty and various agreements in June 1965.

However, the opposition parties centered on the JSP and the JCP showed indications of strong resistance toward this development. Claiming that "the treaty will make the North-South division of the Korean Peninsula a permanent one," they indicated a show of force to restage the "1960 anti-Security Treaty struggles" of 5 years ago.

The LDP's Diet management expenditures suddenly increased at this time.

There were accounts, such as the following, at the time. Shizue Kato, former JSP upper house member, said: "At that time, there was a vote in the Foreign Affairs Standing Committee as to whether or not a consulate general should be established in Seoul."

Kato, who had not received any special instruction from her party, stood up in "approval." Other JSP colleagues on the committee followed suit and stood up.

Kato was one of the few JSP supporters of the Japan-ROK Treaty.

"Then, the LDP member, who had been serving as the committee chairman, suddenly ordered the stenographic recording stopped and asked the leading JSP member, 'the JSP is supposed to oppose, at this point, but what happened?'"

It appears that a script for such details in Diet operations had been written by leaders of the LDP and the JSP.

Kato stated: "Around this time, there were a number of members who shouted opposition during the daytime but at night, would go out drinking with LDP officials."

Diet management is difficult. It is sometimes necessary for government and opposition parties to conduct unofficial negotiations in various forms. Even if they were conducted over drinks, should they be scorned altogether?

But still, it is only natural that there should be moderation in conduct.

During the Japan-ROK Diet session of 1965, even the JSP members, who were supposed to have spearheaded the opposition against ratification of the basic treaty, were noticeable because of their strange actions.

Shizue Kato, former JSP upper house member who has been introduced earlier, was a witness to these "weird movements," but in addition, there is another person who speaks conclusively, as follows.

A former JSP employee, who had engaged in Diet-related work during the days of the two major parties, LDP and JSP, says: "A certain JSP member meets a certain LDP member at some restaurant and makes behind-the-scene deals--'we shall present such-and-such a bill around this date,' 'then, we shall rest for so many days (abstain from deliberations).' I know everything about such matters. However, this type of account must be taken to the grave."

From this testimony, it can be readily imagined that political negotiations conducted at the time over drinks between the government and opposition parties had greatly exceeded moderation.

Was it the result of that? Just as the Diet struggle began to intensify, there were a number of occurrences which the general members of the JSP sensed as "odd."

When information spread that the LDP was going to force a vote, the JSP followers joined hands to form picket lines in front of the Diet chamber and committee rooms, but Koichi Yamamoto, JSP Diet Policy Committee chairman, appeared and said, "we have reached agreement," and had the picket lines removed.

According to secretaries [of Diet members] of that time, many still have suspicions that "something had happened behind the scene."

The following is an account of a worker who was with the JSP National Movement Bureau at the time: "I supervised the demonstrators surrounding the Diet building and I did that on 36 occasions. When demonstrations were held outside the Diet, there were strange movements within the important Diet chamber on each occasion. For this reason, the leaders, especially, began to vacillate, and the demonstrations gradually weakened."

Regarding this, the said Yamamoto first made a preliminary remark that, "I do not remember since it happened long ago," and then flatly denied the allegations, stating, "I was called the 'compromiser Yama-Ko' and I believe that politics means to discuss until the fullest agreement can be reached. However, on the Japan-ROK issue, I could not compromise."

With regard to social intercourse with LDP Diet members, he explains: "When you are invited, you have to go along, at least, once on every three occasions. I had dinners, costing about Y3,000 to Y5,000 each, with them in restaurants in the Kudan (Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo) area. I also played mahjongg for money but only with prominent men such as Bamboku Ono and Shojiro Kawashima (both were former LDP vice presidents). I won Y150,000 but my partners avoided me because I was too strong." It's his understanding that it was "association in moderation" but isn't there a facet which can arouse suspicion?

Japan-ROK Diet Management Expenses

From the testimonies of those who appeared earlier, it is practically certain that, at least, during the Diet session to ratify the Japan-ROK Treaty, government and opposition party officials dealing with Diet management conducted "secret chamber negotiations" mainly in restaurants on the particulars of Diet operations.

Based on this fact, let us examine once more the movements of Diet management expenditures which were made clear through the interpellation of Komeito Secretary General Junya Yano.

Diet operation fees paid out by the LDP, in relation to the Japan-ROK ratification Diet, totaled Y97.7 million on 15 occasions, as recorded in the political funds income-and expenditure report alone. Of this sum, 11 big expenditures of over Y3 million were made during the crucial period of the Diet session.

"21 September 1965, Y3 million, payee Shiro Nakano."

This is the day the government decided on 5 October as the date to summon the Diet session. Shiro Nakano was then the LDP Diet Policy Committee chairman.

"5 November, Y3.6 million, Shiro Nakano."

This is the day the DSP, which had delayed clarifying its position, finally decided to approve the treaty. On the following day, the 6th, the LDP steamrolled the Japan-ROK Treaty through the lower house Japan-ROK Special Committee.

"15 November, Y3 million, Shiro Nakano."

On the 12th, 3 days prior, at 0017 hours, Japan-ROK bills have been given a package approval on the speaker's prerogative and the Diet had come to a standstill.

Even after the stage moved to the upper house,

"1 December, Y3 million, Kakuei Tanaka.

"Same date, Y3 million, Shiro Nakano.

"Same date, Y4.5 million, Shunji Shiomi."

On this day, the LDP railroaded the closing of the upper house plenary session through the upper house Standing Committee on House Management.

Of course, "Kakuei Tanaka" was the secretary general, then, and "Shunji Shiomi" refers to the upper house Diet Policy Committee chairman.

LDP's Diet management expenditures cease temporarily at this point.

On 11 December 1965, the Japan-ROK bill is passed in the upper house plenary session with the approval of the LDP and the DSP, but subsequently, the JSP opposes on the grounds of LDP's violent actions. The reason seems to be that the prospect of opening the regular Diet session became far from certain.

However, on the 19th, with the submission of his resignation by Naka Funada, lower house speaker, agreement is reached between the LDP and the JSP on Diet normalization. And on the 20th, the regular Diet session is called....

"20 December, Y30 million, Kakuei Tanaka.

"21 December, Y33 million, Kakuei Tanaka."

The foregoing are the main trends of the LDP Diet management expenditures at the time of the Japan-ROK Diet session but the point to specially note is the fact that the Diet operation expenses suddenly surpassed Y30 million immediately after the Diet was normalized. Approximately two-thirds of the Diet management expenditures incurred at the time of the Japan-ROK Diet session are paid out to Secretary General Tanaka, simultaneously with normalization of the Diet.

Normalization was this Diet's most critical point. Prior to this, it appears that "secret chamber negotiations" were conducted frequently between the government and opposition parties. Immediately thereafter, particularly large Diet management funds were paid out to Secretary General Tanaka.

Was it a mere coincidence? Or...?

A person has appeared, who made the following comment, regarding this suspicion.

"Well, it is a fact that money moved."

One of the persons who testify that political manipulation funds flowed from the LDP to opposition parties, in the midst of the Japan-ROK ratification session, is Yoshikata Aso, a former DSP lower house member.

First of all, Aso admitted the custom of money passing from the LDP side to opposition parties, on the individual level, and then, related his experiences:

"When I became a member of the House Management Committee, I was handed Y500,000 with 'best wishes' from the committee chairman (LDP Diet member). At that time, I refused because I had no reason to accept but soon after that, he brought the Y500,000 as a bon-voyage gift for my overseas trip. I accepted this."

After recognizing that such associations are common, Aso said, "In the Japan-ROK diet session, there was a strong move (finally) from the LDP. The reason was that the DSP did not make its position known until the very end."

The DSP was established in January 1960, as a splinter group from the JSP, but since its formation, it had internal, ideological differences on such issues as the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, etc. Personnel-wise, there is the mainstream faction of Chairman Suehiro Nishio and the anti-mainstream faction controlled by Jotaro Kawakami, former JSP chairman.

The Nishio faction was wholly in favor of ratifying the Japan-ROK Treaty. The anti-mainstream faction opposed, since the spring of 1965, taking the position that priority should be placed on the North-South unification of the Korean Peninsula.

The DSP's strong inclination toward ratification was triggered by an occasion in August 1965 when Deputy Secretary General Ikko Kasuga, who was returning from an inspection trip to the Vietnam frontlines, boarded the same aircraft as the ROK Prime Minister Chong Il-gwon (at the time).

It is not certain whether this meeting was intentional or coincidental but according to Kasuga, aboard the aircraft, the DSP proposed a meeting and enroute home, the two persons stayed overnight at the President Hotel in Hong Kong and held a secret conference.

At the meeting, both agreed on the position of "freedom and democracy" and "anti-communism," and after returning to Japan, Kasuga was busily engaged in getting his party to approve ratification. At the time, since Kasuga was a neutral in the party, power relations within the party began to show subtle changes.

As a means to convince the opposing faction, Kasuga proposed, "let us send an inspection team to ROK and after determining the political and economic realities of ROK, make the proper decision."

Aso testifies that, "Actually, expenses for the ROK trip came from the LDP. The LDP claimed that it would be rude to counterpart countries if foreign relations measures were ratified with the approval of only one political party."

With regard to this testimony, Keigo Ouchi, present lower house member who served as the executive director for the Japanese delegation to ROK, flatly denies that, "I held the purse strings for the delegation to ROK but I did not receive any money from the LDP."

It is impossible now to try to determine the factual relations. The only clear fact is that the DSP delegation which visited the ROK to view the actual conditions for 4 days from 3 October 1965, reported that, "we judge that the assessment of Korea, in general (with deep-rooted anti-Japanese feelings), toward the Japan-ROK treaty is that, though not satisfied, it is on the side of approval," and created the environment for the DSP to move toward ratification.

Preparation of Rigged Questions-and-Answers

Whether to approve or oppose the ratification of the Japan-ROK treaty--the agony of the DSP continued to smolder even after the report of the delegation to the ROK.

The DSP held Policy Board meetings on five occasions but without a consensus of opinions, Policy Board Chairman Isamu Imazumi had to conduct the general interpellation at the lower house Japan-ROK Special Committee. This was an unusual interpellation without a clear position of approval or denial.

This happened the day before that. Prime Minister Eisaku Sato appeared in Imazumi's office located on the 9th floor of Tokyu Building in Tameike, Tokyo. Prime Minister Sato hailed from the same Yamaguchi Prefecture as Imazumi. He had an office on the eighth floor of the same building and his visit did not draw public attention.

The following is based on Imazumi's testimony:

Prime Minister Sato stated, "The JSP is insisting it will continue to oppose but I have made my move. They are claiming that they will be a big boisterous, but they will consent if pressed strongly. You might not be aware of it, but I have also taken measures so that the DSP will swing around to approval." Upon questioning, it appeared that Sato knew every detail of the DSP Policy Board discussions.

He also said, "I came today to ask you how I should reply to make it easier for the DSP to approve." Imazumi stated that he remarked, "Well, if you are going to that extent," and on that day, the two of them prepared a "rigged list of questions-and-answers."

The DSP officially decided on approval the day before 6 November 1965, when the bill was steamrolled through the lower house Japan-ROK Special Committee. On this date, DSP Secretary General Ikko Kasuga called on LDP Secretary General Tanaka in the latter's office.

According to Kasuga, there were indications in the LDP to force a vote so he requested, "single-handed approval will hamper the reapproachment of feelings between the two countries' people. Please wait 1 day because I will put my political life on the line to get the party to approve." Secretary General Tanaka accepted this request and restraining Diet Policy Committee Chairman Shiro Nakano, who was asserting that "on the government's and LDP's responsibility, consent will be given today," he extended the date of approval by 1 day.

Kasuga immediately called a general meeting of Diet members and on the basis of the report of the delegation to ROK and the contents of Prime Minister Sato's reply, he convinced the opposing faction, and on the evening of the same day, the DSP decided to give "approval."

Soon thereafter, Kasuga sent a memo, "I deeply appreciate your warmhearted move," to Secretary General Tanaka through a Diet office worker. It was the signal of "DSP approval."

In this way, the DSP swung around to ratification and in the end, cast their votes of approval, together with the LDP, in the full upper house session. The question is what happened behind the scene?...

In 1983, 17 years later, Kasuga denies strongly that political manipulation funds were received. On the other hand, the following reminiscences by Imazumi are also "factual": "I knew right away what he meant by 'I made a move.' In the DSP, too, there is a custom to pass out Y100,000 as 'money to buy rice cakes' to each Diet member in late December, but that year it was Y300,000. When queried, the party leaders explained that 'there is more money because we received a Japan-ROK gratuity from the government and the LDP.'"

Was there a similar story in other political parties? The "Diet management expenditure problem," which was deleted from the Diet proceedings, is still being ignored today although it is tainted with deep suspicions.

Realities of Diet Management Expenditures

How Diet Management Expenditures Came About

When Komeito Secretary General Junya Yano pursued suspicions about Diet management expenditures, he was counting on the income-and-expenditure reports which political parties are obligated to submit to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

However, until today, no political party had listed "Diet management expenses" as an expenditure item, with the exception of the LDP, and they were not recorded in the financial reports of both the Liberal and the Democratic parties, the predecessors of the LDP.

At one time, items which appeared to be similar like "expenses within the Diet" and "liaison and contact expenses" appeared in the JSP and DSP reports but the amounts were minimal and LDP's enormous sum of "Diet management expenses" must be termed as "unique."

Even the LDP did not report "Diet management expenses" from the beginning of its formation on 15 November 1955.

In the report for the second half-year period, July-December 1957, "20 items, ¥12.65 million" first appears as Diet management expenses.

The annual income-outgo scale of the LDP in 1983 was roughly 20 times that of 1957. With the use of a simple slide rule, the amount would be ¥253 million. What were the reasons for requiring so much money?

The latter half of 1957 was the LDP age of Secretary General Shojiro Kawashima and Diet Policy Committee Chairman Isamu Murakami. Takeo Fukuda, former prime minister, who succeeded Kawashima as secretary general relates how "Diet management expenses" began to be reported:

"Until then, the party's income-and-expenditure report was a so-called 'generalized account.' In his (Secretary General Kawashima) time, it was decided to use 'item' and 'type' [of expenditures] as in the government budget and the item, 'Diet management expenditures,' was included. There were such expenditures previously but at this time, an 'official designation' was given for the first time."

Fukuda would not explain any further, but what is certain, at any rate, is that at the stage when "Diet management expenditures" was included in the income-and-expenditure report, no one thought that this would create a problem in the Diet.

Therefore, the LDP continued its "Diet management expense report" without giving it a second thought: first half of 1958--20 items, ¥13.17 million and second half of the same year--28 items, ¥17.91 million.

However, as mentioned earlier, in the second half of 1965 and first half of 1966, the sum exceeded ¥100 million and became a Diet problem.

LDP Diet operation leaders, who were familiar with conditions at the time, explain, "In daily practice, we grouped public relations fees, party activity expenses incurred by the Organization Bureau, lunch allowances and even administrative expenses of the Diet Policy Committee as Diet management expenses. At the time, we (thoughtlessly) grouped them all in the same account."

However, on comparing and checking the income-and-expenditure reports, prior to and following this period, it does not appear that the format of the reported items changed noticeably.

Immediately thereafter, "Diet management expenditures" are limited to ¥50 or ¥60 million, at the most, and suddenly revert to an average of only ¥20 or ¥30 million so the explanation that "it was written thoughtlessly" does not stand up. Strange things still continue.

It was on 4 July 1975 that the revision bill of the Political Fund Control Law, aimed to prevent political corruption, was passed together with the revision bill of the Public Office Election Law which included items such as prohibition of contributions to electoral districts. It was on the final day of the regular Diet session which had lasted for 190 days.

The revised bills barely passed, following the unusual procedure of having the presiding officer decide the issue because of a tie in votes in the full upper house session, but as for the contents, the assessment was generally favorable as "a step forward" because of such points as restrictions on contributions by business firms and individuals, control of contributions to factions and supporters' associations, encouragement of public disclosures of political parties' finances, etc.

On the other hand, because the reporting of expenditure items, which had been left up to the presenters before, became unified, "Diet management expenses" disappear in later LDP income-and-expenditure reports.

Regarding the "Diet management expenses" which had been submitted in the income-and-expenditure reports from before, many in LDP said, "Most of that was for food and drinks for persons associated with Diet operations, and were not of a dirty nature as 'opposition party manipulation expenses.'" However, was there really no intent on the part of the government and LDP to "utilize this opportunity to eliminate 'Diet management expenses' which arouse public criticisms?"

Takashi Hayakawa (died on 7 December 1982), who complied with the wishes of Prime Minister Miki and worked on the revision drafts as the party's Elections Investigation Association chairman, recollected that, "In the midst of increasing criticisms of money-power politics, at the time, placing a ceiling on business contributions was the main point, and no thought was given to the elimination of the Diet management expense item."

Takeshi Yamamoto, who was formerly chief of the Administration Section, Election Department, Home Affairs Ministry (presently, director of New Energy Foundation) states: "The chief objective of the revision was to make the incomes and expenditures of political parties as open as possible to the public. I recall

that in organizing the expenditure items, what to do with Diet management expenses was not even discussed. Of political organizations, which number over 1,000, probably only the 5 major parties might require such an item. If it were considered necessary, it can be added as a supplemental detail in the report."

It is difficult to believe that no discussion was held, at all, on Diet management expenses which created such a big problem in the Diet. At any rate, as a result of this revision, "Diet management expenditures" will be hidden, even more, "in the dark." Expenditure items in the income-and-expenditure reports were unified later as follows:

(Operating expenses) Personnel expenses, light and fuel expenses, office equipment and supplies, administrative expenses.

(Political Activity Expenses) Organization activity expenses, election-related expenses, publication of party organ paper and other business expenses, investigative and research expenses, contributions and subsidies, and other overhead expenses.

Home Affairs Ministry officials say that the past LDP "Diet management expenses" should have been included in the above "organization activity expenses."

According to the LDP income-and expenditure report (for 1981), which was officially released in 1982, expenditures totaled Y12.46 billion. Of that sum, "organization activity expenses" amounted to Y2.36 billion.

However even in the itemized list of "organization activity expenses," expenditure labeled "Diet management expense" cannot be seen.

Designation Which Disappeared

When the Political Fund Control Law was revised in July 1975, the recording procedure for the income-and-expenditure report was changed and the item, "Diet management expenses" disappeared from the LDP report. Whether it followed suit or not, there is such a document as the following.

It is a copy of the statement of accounts distributed as "internal material" to Diet members and local party representatives who attended the LDP convention. According to it, the party's annual income for 1982, including money carried over from the previous year, totaled Y15,894,296,000. Expenditures totaled Y15,379,582. The breakdown of expenditures is as follows (Y1 million and below omitted):

Policy-making expenses--Y2.27 billion.

Organization activity expenses--Y2.67 billion.

Public relations expenses--Y2.87 billion

Various-level elections and political activity expenses--Y2.65 billion.

Expenses related to presidential primary election--Y720 million.

Redistribution of fees for National Conference for Freedom--Y360 million.

Personnel and operational expenses, such as office costs--Y3.02 billion.

Other expenses (redemption of loans, interests, etc.)--Y830 million.

The remainder, approximately Y500 million, is carried over to 1983 but to sum up, "Diet management expenses" cannot be seen in this document. The label aside, doesn't Diet management expenditure exist at all?

When questioned directly, everyone gives an evasive answer. This issue is the top secret of the very select leaders, such as the successive prime ministers (LDP presidents) and secretaries general, and to make various inquiries into this subject is considered a taboo.

"Members of the Diet policy and Diet management 'tribes' consider silence their greatest 'asset.' They do not leak information to outsiders." So states an influential, former "Diet policy tribe" member of the LDP. However, corroborative evidence is not entirely lacking. From the tight-lipped persons who were associated, let us select a few testimonies which seem to be highly authentic on the basis of their experiences and positions....

(Diet member "A" who was formerly responsible for Diet policy): "The total sum of Diet management expenses does not reach Y1 billion. Of course, there are no receipts. There are no ledgers. There are no itemized accounts. It is money controlled by the president, secretary general and Diet Policy Committee chairman."

(Diet member "B" who was formerly director of the Party's Treasury Bureau): "Diet management funds are divided into two shares--one to be passed to the Diet Policy Committee chairman and the other to the secretary general. The share of the Diet Policy committee chairman is about Y100 million a year. The total amount was about Y1 billion during the days of Kaku-san (former Prime Minister Tanaka) but the amount should have decreased to about Y300 million now. This is because the party's fund, itself, decreased due to the revision of the Political Fund Control Law as well as reflections on the 'Kaku-san style' of operations."

(Mr "C" who was formerly associated with Diet operations): "The total sum was, in reality, Y3 or Y4 million. At the time of a certain Diet Policy Committee chairman, because of his complaints that, 'I cannot bear to have the party think that I am receiving the entire sum,' it was decided to divide it between a genuine Diet management fund of several tens of million yen and the remainder as the secretary general's confidential fund."

There are variances in the estimates but the total sum was, at least, in amounts of Y100 million. It appears to be a "confidential expense fund," a portion of which was passed to the Diet Policy Committee chairman and the major share to be spent by the secretary general on his own discretion.

"The 8 June court decision? There will be an uproar for 2 or 3 days but when all is said and done, it is transitory. It is like a speck of dust as compared with past Diet fracasas."

On 8 June 1982, the first court ruling was handed down on politicians who were defendants involved in the Lockheed incident. The above remark was made nonchalantly by a leader of the Tanaka faction soon thereafter.

The court decision, itself, conformed to the recommendations of the prosecutors' side.

Tomisaburo Hashimoto, former minister of transport, was sentenced to 2 years and 6 months in prison (suspended for 3 years) and Takayuki Sato, former parliamentary vice minister of transport, was sentenced to 2 years in prison (same suspension).

The biggest repercussions were expected in the political circles. It was anticipated that even the Tanaka faction would be shaken and taking advantage, the various opposition parties and the anti-mainstream LDP factions, too, would strengthen their anti-Tanaka offensive.

However, within the Tanaka faction, those who wavered were only a section of the younger hands and new Diet members. The leaders were calm and composed. This atmosphere was best symbolized by the foregoing statement.

Of course, the various parties were not as taciturn as accused. Especially, soon after the decision, they took actions in their own way.

They demanded a resolution to recommend the resignation of an incumbent Diet member (Takayuki Sato, former parliamentary vice minister of transport), who was found guilty, and summons for "gray-colored high officials," such as LDP Secretary General Susumu Nikaido and others, to testify. They also took a united stand on the reactivation of the Special Committee on Investigation of Aircraft Import Problem and the issue of newly creating a Political Ethics Committee.

However, it was only 2 days after that. A meeting of Diet Policy Committee chairmen of the ruling and opposition parties was held suddenly and a "tenuous" agreement on the political ethics problem was hastily contrived bringing the Diet, which had been at a standstill, back to "normal operations."

However, when the deliberations were resumed, the various parties shifted the focus of discussions to the problem of revising the Public Office Election Law and even created the impression that the political ethics issue was secondary.

This revision was to introduce the proportional representation system from the next election, i.e., the 1983 upper house election, as "the first step to conduct inexpensive elections." Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and other lauded themselves that "this was the breakthrough to clean politics."

There was some leaders in the Sohyo [General Council of Trade Unions of Japan], who without scruples, declared openly that, "if the public election law is revised, we can save several billion yen in election funds. By comparison, we cannot make a cent from the political ethics issue." The feeling is obvious that if several billion yen in election funds can be saved, nothing else matters....

Thus, before the court ruling, indications are strong that, first of all, a tacit agreement has been made between the LDP and the JSP to "take it easy on the ethics problem and put their maximum efforts on the revision of the public election law."

If this is true, this is the way things are with the ranking opposition party. It is no wonder that the Tanaka faction leaders made light of the political repercussions from the court ruling.

Additionally, there is the statement of an influential Diet member of the LDP mainstream faction: "Well, that was a reason. However, that was not the decisive factor."

In May 1982, when the 96th Diet regular session was drawing to a close after 150 days, the LDP leadership was in a quandary as to the future course of action.

Election preparations had to be started gradually because the upper house election was due in 1 year. But at the time, the lack of funds was noticeable in the LDP.

According to one account, Y3 billion had been held in reserve as election funds since the leadership changed with the cabinet reorganization and reelection of party executives held toward the end of the preceding year, but expenditures increased for some reason and even that reserve was used up.

Of course, the situation was not such that no step could be taken to make up for that share. It was to introduce the proportional representation system by eliminating national constituencies through revision of the election law.

Regarding the revision of the public election law, as mentioned previously, both the LDP and the JSP were in favor, but the middle-of-the-road parties, Komeito, DSP, etc., vehemently opposed on grounds that "it favored the big political parties." In order to pass the revision bill in the Diet, it was necessary to allow an appropriate period for deliberations.

However, the Diet was about to close soon. In order to see the bill through, the Diet session must be extended greatly.

In that case, the following misgivings would arise. Entwined with the period for the initial ruling against the politician-defendants in the Lockheed case (8 June 1983), the political situation might be thrown into a great turmoil if not handled properly. Eventually, it was decided to be cautious and for a while, the view that "we must give up the idea of a long extension of the Diet and revision of the election law" became prevalent within the LDP.

However, one day, while was going on... one of the LDP leaders called for the finance officer and gave the following instructions: "I am going to see Mr 'P' now. Prepare Y30 million in cash for me."

Mr "P" refers to a well-known leader of a middle-of-the-road party. Known as a person of serious and sincere character, he was regarded as one of the "coordinators" not only of his party but of all the opposition parties.

According to an influential Diet member of the LDP mainstream faction, there had been similar monetary transactions with Mr "P."

Therefore, on that occasion, too, there was nothing strange about the passing of cash to Mr "P." Also, to the demand of the party leadership, the office staff could not put up any opposition.

However, the finance officer was a big puzzled by the amount. As compared with the periodic "greeting fees," this was three times more. As he was thinking, "something is going on," the aforementioned party leader muttered, as though he saw through his suspicion, "Isn't it cheap if this can buy (Diet extension and) the public election law? At any rate (unless the national constituencies are abolished), election will cost Y3 billion."

There were other things which were difficult to understand. Just prior to and after the court decision, in question, the secretary general-level officials of the Komeito, DSP, New Liberal Club and Shaminren [Social Democratic Alliance] left, one after the other, for the UN Disarmament Conference and all disappeared at the same time from the Diet. The reason given was that it was "part of the anti-nuclear movement," but the timing was "abrupt and unnatural."

Conference of Diet Policy Committee Chairman

The 98th regular Diet session of 1983 was reconvened on 24 January but the first half, in particular, was a continuation of troubles.

The reason was that the public trial, in which the prosecutor made his closing appeal for conviction of former Prime Minister Tanaka, had opened only 2 days prior and, also, as part of their plan to attack the hawkish attitude of the Nakasone cabinet, the various opposition parties brought up the issues of providing weapons technology to the United States and restoring the bombing mechanism on F-4 fighters of the Japanese Air Self-Defense Force [JASDF], and whenever they had the opportunity, they used the tactic of "suspending deliberations."

To counter this, the LDP leaders strongly pressed the opposition parties to make concessions, on the one hand, by hinting at "early dissolution" of the lower house and openly threatening the opposition parties, which were not prepared for elections, and, on the other, by suggesting a "forward-looking" posture such as on the tax reduction issue. The effect succeeded and to "normalize the Diet," a number of conferences of the Diet Policy Committee chairmen of ruling and opposition parties were held and the following happened on 27 February, at one of those meetings.

Naohiko Okubo, Diet Policy Committee chairman of the Komeito, had just begun to say, "We have not been informed, yet, about the government's view toward providing weapons technology to the United States." Tokuichiro Tamazawa, LDP Diet Policy Committee vice chairman who was present, shouted, "That's a lie!" It was Okubo who was most surprised.

"What do you mean by 'that's a lie'?" he retorted and saying, "If it's going to be this kind of a meeting... I'll leave," he abruptly departed in furious anger. The meeting, which had been held after much trouble, withered and was suspended.

They said Tamazawa had until then been elected only three times. Belonging to the anti-mainstream Fukuda faction of the LDP, he was not close to the LDP

leadership and had only joined the "Diet policy tribe." Thus, this "misconduct" was blamed on Tamazawa's unfamiliarity with Diet operations and the pending problem of Diet normalization was resolved with the opening on the 19th, after a delay of only 1 day in the schedule.

However, repercussions started after that. With this as a turning point, rumors began to spread throughout the Diet.

One of the LDP Diet members made the following allegation: "A considerable amount of money was passed out even in this Diet. From a 'preconception' that opposition parties were included, he probably shouted inadvertently to the effect, 'why are you talking so haughtily?'"

Tamazawa flatly denies this, "that's ridiculous." He says, "That's only a self-assumption." However, there were others in the LDP who claimed: "The important point in Diet management is the establishment of the ultimate goal. In the case of this Diet session, it is the permanent shelving of the Tanaka problem. To accomplish this, I think the LDP leadership will choose whatever means necessary. Though imperfect, Tamazawa is still a member of Diet Policy Committee. He could not have been totally unaware of such matters."

That is to say that Tamazawa, who had assumed that Diet management expenses were spent even in the 1983 Diet, and that part of the money should have flowed to the Komeito, uttered, "that's a lie," as a gibe thrown out of righteous self-indignation (?).

Between February and March in 1983, the LDP leaders were urged repeatedly by the party's Tokyo metropolitan machinery: "This year, too, we managed to put up a joint battle (with the middle-of-the-road parties). We want you to pay them a courtesy visit immediately."

In the election of the Tokyo Metropolis governor 4 years earlier, the LDP conducted a "joint campaign" officially with the middle-of-the-road parties for the first time and competed with the joint candidate put up by the JSP and the JCP.

That was when Shunichi Suzuki, the incumbent governor, won the election for the first time. There is testimony that, on that occasion, the LDP presented an "election cooperation fund" of considerable size. The total sum is said to be in the hundreds of million yen but in the account books, the party's metropolitan officials covered it as "election expenses."

On this occasion, too, the request was none other than to hand over the money soon.

The Tokyo governor's election of 1983 also shaped up into a confrontation between the alliances of the LDP and middle-of-the-road parties versus the JSP and the JCP. The agreement between the LDP and the middle-of-the-road parties on this course of action was reached on 19 January.

However, according to the party's metropolitan leaders, the LDP had not yet made a "courtesy call." For the officials directly involved, it was difficult to proceed with business.

For this reason, upon receiving the request, the LDP seems to have passed a similar amount of "money" as on the previous occasion to some quarters after entering March. However, the purport appear to have differed, significance-wise, from the previous occasion.

The time was opportune.

"Just at that time, the LDP leadership was making strenuous efforts to dispose of the proposal for a resolution to recommend the resignation of Kaku-san [Tanaka] from the Diet. Thinking that this was a timely request, the LDP must have handed it, with various intentions behind it, to 'request your cooperation through the gubernatorial election.'"

That is a statement of an influential Diet member of the LDP mainstream faction.

With the prosecutor's final appear for former Prime Minister Tanaka's conviction as the turning point, debates on political ethics became active again and, at this time, the various opposition parties showed, each in its own way, an "anti-Tanaka" posture. It would not be strange if the LDP made it appear that the "election cooperation fund," which was believed to have been turned over under these circumstances, should take on the "color" of Diet management expenses.

"Whether the party's metropolitan officials realized it or not, it was important for the party's leadership to hand over a considerable amount of money at this time. Money is easy to pass on if there is a reason. To pass it over without hesitation when there is a chance is the skill of a politician." (Statement of aforementioned influential Diet member.)

Among the opposition parties, there was one which brought up the problems of providing weapons technology to the United States and the F-4 fighters when the Tanaka issue was about to reach the critical stage.

Immediately prior to 25 February 1983, when the substantive explanation of the "Tanaka" resolution was to be made in the lower house Diet Management Committee, [the opposition party] made the government present unified views on "weapons," "tax reduction," and "National Personnel Authority recommendations," and claiming them unsatisfactory, deadlocked the Diet and consequently, postponed the "substantive explanation" to a later date.

The "Tanaka" resolution was shelved for a month, after its presentation, and the substantive explanation was finally made on 4 March but subsequently, similar situations were repeated and the Diet, itself, recessed on 26 May.

Many incomprehensible things happened in the 1983 regular Diet session.

Suspicious Surrounding Compensation Funds

Shady Portion of Cabinet Secretariat's Fund

Seiichi Inaba of the JSP, who had been questioning Prime Minister Suzuki's stand on the Lockheed case and political ethics, suddenly directed his attack on

Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa. This happened at the lower house Budget Committee hearing on 25 June 1982.

"In the Cabinet Secretariat fund, there is a provision for compensations. The amount is Y1,458,164,000. Earmarked for the chief cabinet secretary is Y1,222,000,000, and for cabinet relations, Y230 million. What is the nature of this money, amounting to over Y1.2 billion, which the chief cabinet secretary holds?"

Secretary Miyazawa's face stiffened for a moment and the committee room, which had been noisy, quietened. Rumors had floated frequently that the money is probably spent by the government for various "political maneuvering expenses" but the "compensation fund," which had never been publicly discussed for some reason, was suddenly brought up at this time.

"Regarding the monetary sum just mentioned, the same amount has been appropriated for FY80, FY81, and FY82. The compensation fund should be used by the government fluidly, in ways considered most appropriate for the occasion, in order to smoothly advance the nation's tasks. As I understand it, this fund is to be expended, as the situation demands, to compensate for the cooperation, efforts and services associated with the undertaking of a nation's prime minister to advance smoothly over a wide area, both at home and abroad, or in a case where it is considered desirable to encourage such contributions."

Miyazawa's reply was brusque, and yet, his circuitous manner of speaking was typically "bureaucratic." No one can expect Inaba to be satisfied with this reply.

Inaba: "Can you disclose how the money was spent--in detail and entirety?"

Miyazawa: "The accounting is inspected by the Board of Audit. The accounting of the compensation fund must be done in utmost secrecy and I cannot reveal the details."

Inaba: "Can it be spent on anything? Though you said highly secret, isn't it being spent for bon-voyage, mid-summer and year-end gifts to Diet members?"

Miyazawa: "For what purposes and how the money is spent are as I have replied. Whether the money is spent properly or not is a moral question, but I believe it is being spent judiciously."

To Minister Miyazawa's replies, which tried to evade the heart of the problem, Inaba tenaciously pursued his questioning as to whether the compensation fund wasn't being spent for operational expenses of the party and its factions or to "manipulate Diet members," such as in the form of giving bon-voyage gifts to Diet members traveling overseas.

The minister did not flatly deny the charges and maintained that the "details were secret."

Just at this moment, some committee member from the LDP side jeered, Mr Inaba, aren't you in trouble asking those questions?" The jeer seemed to imply that money from this fund was also being passed to opposition parties.

Inaba retorted to the jeer with, "No, we are not involved. Of that, I am certain." Without digging out the true details of the compensation fund, the interpellation changed, at that moment, to another subject.

Why did he suddenly take up the subject of how the Cabinet Secretariat's compensation fund was spent on the Diet stage?--Inaba, himself, relates as follows:

"Well don't you often hear the rumor? That when taking over the reins of government--was it from Tanaka to Miki--the safe in the chief cabinet secretary's office was empty, or that the reason why Diet members visit the prime minister's residence before leaving on overseas trips is to stop over in the chief cabinet secretary's office to receive send-off gifts, after making the courtesy call on the prime minister."

"Doesn't that appear strange? I thought so and questioned it. Miyazawa (then cabinet secretary) is a cool person, by nature, but he turned red and shouted, 'it's a secret,' and hotly claimed, 'there was nothing underhanded'.... No one questioned, 'is it underhanded?' Judging by how angered he became, I think that, after all, there is something that is not aboveboard."

Inaba asserts that if government funds, i.e., the people's tax money, is being spent for LDP's special "operational expenses" of factions, he cannot allow it.

In contrast, the only confirmatory basis for the explanation that, "the compensation fund is aboveboard and assumed to be spent judiciously," in his Diet reply by Minister Miyazawa is the "inspection of the Board of Audit." Then, how thoroughly is it conducted?

In Article 90 of the Constitution, it is clearly stated that: "Final accounts of the expenditures and revenues of the State shall be audited annually by a Board of Audit and submitted by the cabinet to the Diet, together with the statement of audit, during the fiscal year immediately following the period covered."

There are no exclusionary stipulations in this provision. The Board of Audit has the authority and responsibility to closely check all revenues and expenditures of the State to determine whether any item violates the law or is considered improper.

However, this is strictly in principle, only.

According to Kentaro Jujii, executive director of the Board of Audit, as far as state revenues and expenditures are concerned, in practically all of the cases, receipts and integrated accounts, in detail, are required to be submitted and inspected by auditors.

However, with the "compensation fund" in question, receipts are screened by the inspectors but their submission is not requested. In other words, this is called "simplified certification" and investigative expenses of the police are handled in the same way.

Then, is it possible that a part of the "compensation fund" is being spent for government opposition party maneuvering, as rumored? Is the Board of Audit fully knowledgeable on such matters? Executive Director Fujii states frankly, "When there is an expenditure item called conference fee, we do not question what the objective of the conference was, and even if the meeting were held in a restaurant, we do not inquire as to the aim of their actions."

Even from the aforementioned definition given by the government, "used fluidly to advance the nation's tasks smoothly," it appears certain that the compensation fund is money which the prime minister or chief cabinet secretary can use with considerable "freedom of discretion."

Expenses To Manipulate Diet Members

As to how the "compensation fund," which is openly appropriated in the budget each fiscal year, is concretely spent, not only the explanation of the Cabinet Secretariat but those of the Ministry of Finance and the Board of Audit contain many vague points.

A sketchy note, resembling a definition, on "compensation fund" is given in the "Budget Affairs Manual," published by the foundation, Okura Zaimu Kyokai [finance association], as reference for budget formulation tasks. In the note, after an abstract explanation like the one given in the Diet by Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa (around June 1982), the following passage, which throws a little more light on the truth, appears:

"For example, with regard to state affairs or enterprises, funds to be used on persons with meritorious services, particularly to reward their efforts, or in cases where it is deemed appropriate to encourage such contributions, and also, funds to be used as gratuitous, compensatory fees to cooperators outside of government service."

Gratuitous, compensatory fees to cooperators outside of government service--the definition seems to aptly fit the "fees to manipulate Diet members" pointed out by Seiichi Inaba.

Also, Executive Director Fujii of the Board of Audit said earlier that receipts for compensatory expenditures are not required to be submitted but auditors look them over. However, there is a person who asserts that, "actually, receipts in the strict sense are not needed."

This person is Mr "Q" who was a high official in the Board of Audit. Mr "Q's" explanation is easy to understand.

1. The compensation fund is the same as the secret fund which existed in the various ministries, such as the War and the Interior Ministries, prior to World War II. After the war, since it was said that a secret fund would not be recognized as a budget item by the GHQ [General Headquarters], in desperation, the Finance Ministry thought up the designation of compensation fund, which is not familiar to Japanese. The item was probably approved with only an ambiguous explanation to the GHQ.

2. Before World War II, a secret fund was treated as a sanctuary, "exempt from inspection," even by the Board of Audit. After the war, as a rule, no item was exempt from the examination of the Board of Audit, including the compensation fund, and an audit inspection is conducted annually.

3. However, with social expenses, in general, receipts are mandatory from places where the money was spent, from restaurants to florists, but in the case of compensation expenses, only evidence of to whom the paying officer (finance section chief, et al) passed the money, e.g., signatures indicating that the chief cabinet secretary or the general affairs section chief received the money, is sufficient.

4. If the disbursement memo and signatures are in order, the auditor rarely questions how the money was spent. Then, a report is made to the president of the Board of Audit that, "'convincing belief' was obtained that the expenditure was actually made."

In effect, the pre-World War II secret fund, which was effective in intelligence collection and various types of behind-the-scene maneuvers, eluded the scrutiny of the GHQ and survived intact, and is actually being used even today with only the signature of the chief cabinet secretary.

Mr "Q" says with a grin, "Although it is claimed to be gratuity to cooperators outside of government service, isn't it 'effective' because it is passed secretly and no receipt is requested? If receipts are demanded, the counterparts would not cooperate." Without question, it is that type of money.

It has become clear that the "compensation fund" is practically the same type of money as the pre-World War II "secret fund." What about it in actual practice?

"The 'Cabinet Secretariat's secret fund' is the money kept in the vault in the chief cabinet secretary's office. About ¥50 million is always available in cash. It is not in the prime minister's working office. One of the reasons why everyone (including cabinet members) wants to become the chief cabinet secretary is control of this fund. The one who passes out the money is not the prime minister but the chief cabinet secretary. The entire amount is not spent as expenses for ruling and opposition Diet members but a portion is used on the occasions of the prime minister's trips abroad and receptions for foreigners." The foregoing is the statement of a former prime minister's secretary.

The said former secretary adds, "Not only the Cabinet Secretariat but a number of other government offices have this 'secret fund.'" At the annual budget formulation, the handling of the "compensation fund" was practically never the subject of debate and its designation is not generally known but a close examination of the budget sheet reveals that a surprising amount is distributed among the various ministries. The following table shows the compensation fund budget (unit: ¥1,000) in the FY 83 general account:

Table 1. FY83 Compensation Fund Budget (Unit: Y1,000)

Imperial Household Expenses	65,926
Courts	272
Cabinet	1,429,001
National Police Agency	105,508
Defense Agency	189,072
Ministry of Justice	24,915
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	4,765,787
Ministry of Finance	2,646
Ministry of Health and Welfare	9,244
Ministry of Transport	5,872
Ministry of Labor	2,131
Ministry of Home Affairs	69,641

The Defense Agency's share is for the headquarters only. Most of the compensation fund for the Ministry of Justice is for the Public Prosecutors Office. Of the Foreign Affairs Ministry's share, which is overwhelmingly large as compared with others, nearly Y3 billion is for overseas offices and the remainder for the main office. The Finance Ministry's share is actually for custom houses and the National Tax Administration Agency while the Transport Ministry's share is used by the Maritime Self-Defense Forces. It can be seen that distribution is centered on offices deeply involved in "intelligence collection" and "investigations."

Because of the government's policy which holds financial reconstruction to be its supreme task, these compensation funds have been restricted in recent years but in the FY83 budget formulation, at the stage when the government and the LDP three executives entered into political negotiations, over Y300 million was added as compensation fund but only for the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

This surprised the Foreign Affairs Ministry, itself, which did not request supplemental funds, and in the midst of large cuts for other expenses under the "minus ceiling" policy, the "large increase" in the Foreign Affairs Ministry's compensation fund was noticeable.

"To display diplomacy which can promptly meet the changing world situation" (leaders of the LDP Foreign Affairs Association) was the justification given at the time.

The amount was originally large and since overseas diplomatic establishments can actually spend it with considerable freedom, with only the signatures of the ambassadors stationed in the various countries, there was gossip that, "perhaps, the Diet members increased the 'reception expenses' of embassies abroad so that they can help themselves during their overseas trips."

Such suspicions constantly surround the "compensation fund." At the lower house Budget Committee meeting in June 1982, Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa stated that he cannot answer as to the usage of the compensation fund because it was "a highly classified secret," and flatly refused but it will soon be revealed that there was no legal basis to his assertion.

Dissatisfied with the chief cabinet secretary's reply, lower house Diet member Seiichi Inaba submitted a written inquiry in August 1982, through lower house Speaker Hajime Fukuda, to the government.

When a Diet member wants to query the cabinet, he must submit a written inquiry beforehand, which is referred to the cabinet if approved by the house speaker. As a rule, the cabinet must reply within 7 days after receiving it.

This is a Diet member's distinctive privilege stipulated in the Diet Act and opposition parties, particularly Diet members belonging to small parties, are not restricted by time limitations as in committee interpellations, so it is a widely used procedure.

Furthermore, the replies are to be officially considered by the cabinet and has the "authority" of representing the united view of the government.

A cabinet decision was reached on the reply concerning the compensation fund in early September, nearly a month after Inaba's written inquiry was submitted. It seems that the government went through great trouble to formulate a reply on this problem.

The core of Inaba's query was, "The chief cabinet secretary claims that the usage of compensation fund is a 'highly classified secret,' but there is no such explanation in the budget report. Are there 'highly classified secrets' in Japan?"

To this question, the written reply was inarticulate: "The cabinet believes that to publicly disclose the concrete manner of usage would create serious complications to the smooth operations of the government and for that reason, the reply was given that it is a secret." That it is a "highly classified secret" is the judgment of the government and has no legal basis. That becomes much clearer in the following exchange:

(Written inquiry)

I want an explanation of the law which protects "highly classified secrets." In case even part of the usage is disclosed, what legal, political responsibilities would the chief cabinet secretary, et al, have to bear? I was given the reply that the details of the compensation fund cannot be revealed in the Diet but I would like a detailed explanation, citing the Constitution, Diet Act, or other legal provisions.

(Written reply)

In our country, no such special law as you have mentioned has been established but we believe that for a national government organ to carry out its duties, withholding public disclosure of certain matters, is permitted from the standpoint of protecting public benefits. We believe that the concrete manner in which the cabinet secretariat's compensation fund is spent cannot be publicly revealed, because of its nature, for the reason mentioned above. Furthermore, we believe that in accordance with the legal provisions concerning the appointment and dismissal of government officials and other government workers, which

are in effect until the application of the provisions of the Government Officials Act, the chief cabinet secretary is subject to Public Service Regulations Article 4, i.e., the duty to protect secrets.

This is the "secret protection obligation," which the government brings out whenever it is in a bind. A former high official of the lower house Secretariat states: "There is a limit to the questioning of the compensation fund problem by an individual Diet member. It would be another matter if the Diet were to request the government for source materials as to the 'Diet's intent.' Of course, the LDP is not likely to consent and there might be some negatively inclined persons among the opposition parties."

He seems to imply that part of the fault for keeping the problem ambiguous lies with the opposition parties but what is the truth?

Hidden Customs of Nagata-cho

LDP Rule

Behind the Kannon [Goddess of Mercy] temple in Asakusa, Tokyo, there is a small red-light district.

Because it is away from the business center in the heart of the metropolis, it has local color and caters mainly to downtown shop owners, but one restaurant, called "Fujita," is in a different category.

LDP Diet members, who are aware that the inner sanctums of Nagata-cho are the leading restaurants in Akasaka, sometimes take the trouble to go out to "Fujita." On such occasions, unfamiliar opposition party Diet members are frequently present at the "restaurant." This is because they are not easily spotted here.

Former lower house Diet member, Tsunehiko Ataka, of the JSP was first invited to "Fujita" in 1962, soon after he assumed the post of a director in Diet management. He was informed by his senior Diet member that "he had been offered an invitation."

Although he was a new Diet member, who had won only two elections, he was assigned a car by the Diet upon assuming the directorship and his black limousine pulled alongside the restaurant. Ataka, who rose from the ranks of the labor unions, states, "it was a rather pleasant feeling."

In the restaurant room, two LDP officials were already waiting and they immediately sat around a mah-jongg table. Upon being seated, the three persons took out Y10,000-bills from their wallets and placed them on the table. He continued, "They played according to the LDP rule and there weren't enough mah-jongg sticks to count the score so 'go' [Japanese checkers] pieces had to be used, too."

This was a very inflated mah-jongg game and because of that, Ataka recalls that winnings or losses of Y500,000 a night seemed to be common.

"I won, at that time, but I was surprised at the high stakes and I quit after playing once. I went to Fujita after that but I played with the geisha girls for lower stakes. However, that did not affect my bargaining position on political bills."

He says that he was even more surprised the following day. The senior Diet member, who had invited him, declared boastfully that, "Well, yesterday, I played mah-jongg with so-and-so of the LDP. I won about Y300,000." Why is he so insensitive?

Under the pretext that Diet management members of the government and opposition parties must not be lacking in mutual understanding in order to carry out Diet operations smoothly, these "mah-jongg goodwill sessions" had been tacitly sanctioned. At any rate, it had become one of the "hidden customs."

This custom is still continuing. Not only is it continuing but it has become even more inflationary.

According to a Diet member of the LDP mainstream faction, "Since then, the minimum is said to be 'su fan.' The rule has changed to 'Diet policy rule' and situation is such that Y1 to Y2 million are paid out all the time to opposition parties. This is from the days of the Tanaka cabinet."

A certain person affiliated with the lower house also claims, "That game is played in order to let the opposition parties win. Once, I participated with the Diet management members of the LDP and the JSP but I won by mistake. Then, the Diet Management Committee chairman was seen playing for the losses of the opposition party."

The customary socials between the government and opposition parties are not limited to "goodwill mah-jongg."

On the pretense of smoothing Diet operation, the ruling party members aggressively seek socials with the opposition party members. "Money" is often involved in such socials.

For example, there is the pretext called "visiting a sick person." In the early 1960's, Suichi Yanagida (deceased), who had served as the JSP Diet Policy Committee chairman, could not play mah-jongg and never appeared at the "goodwill mah-jongg sessions."

Around 1969, the wife of Yanagida entered a hospital in Gotanda, Tokyo, with internal troubles. On the day that she was hospitalized, a floral wreath and a paper parcel arrived from an influential LDP member. The parcel contained cash.

In society, in general, the custom of giving money as a get-well gift is not common and, at times, even considered rude. Yanagida is said to have returned the money promptly. That is the statement of his secretary, at the time.

Utilizing the occasions of mid-summer and year-end gifts. Money is given sometimes. Former lower house Diet member of the JSP, Tsunehiko Ataka, who has

been mentioned previously, confesses that, "While serving for many years as a Diet member, one experiences various incidents which he later regrets."

"During the year-end, when I was returning to my home, an LDP Diet member, who is a close acquaintance, passed me a parcel saying, 'it must be hard on you since the JSP does not have money.' The parcel was given in lieu of a year-end gift but it contained about Y100,000." Furthermore, Ataka recalls that he was given money even when there were no special reasons, such as for ceremonial occasions or mid-summer and year-end gift-giving.

It happened on his way home after a late night Diet session. As he was about to leave the Diet in a car, he saw a drunken person who was trying to hail a taxi with both hands raised. "Please give me a ride." That was Ichiro Nakagawa (deceased). Both had never spoken to each other but after this occasion of a shared ride home, both became friendly. Several days later, money was delivered from Nakagawa. The intent seemed to be that, "My mother's residential district is under your very special care." Requesting an explanation, he learned that Nakagawa's mother was born in a village next to Ataka's birthplace and the mother had moved to Hokkaido but the village was being looked after [politically] by Ataka.

"The LDP members do not pass out money and make you cooperate only when there is some trouble in the Diet. In daily associations, they find a reason (with special effort) to distribute money." (Statement of Ataka) The "custom" is a conciliatory measure carried out on a daily basis.

When this type of relationship develops, there is fear that the sharpness of the political pursuits in the Diet would be blunted.

Around 1977, the said Ataka was spearheading the pursuit of suspicions regarding the problem of export of the ROK but one day, in the midst of election campaigning deep in the mountains of Yamagata Prefecture, he received a phone call from an influential leader of the LDP who said, "It is alright to pursue the issue but do not reveal my name." Ataka did not divulge the name because, "the purpose was to disclose the incident to the public and not to attack the individual." He claims that he was not becoming dependent on the "custom" but....

The "ceremony to award a Diet member for long years of service," held on 19 February 1981 at the Hotel New Otani in Kioi-cho, Tokyo, for lower house Diet member, Susumu Kobayashi, was the center of conversation because it was considered "too extravagant" for a JSP Diet member.

Approximately 1,600 persons were present. Led by Prime Minister Suzuki, VIP's including the lower house speaker and the upper house president, overflowed the stage and leaders of the financial circle gave speeches, too, but the special topic of conversation was the appearance of former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, a criminal defendant, as one of the ceremony's sponsors.

"I criticize the JSP but I have never spoken ill of Kobayashi. He is also known to criticize the LDP but he has never disparaged me." Kakuei's statement was eloquent. Both were elected from the Third District of Niigata Prefecture and

are on freindly terms, as individuals, but one is the principal figure in the Lockheed case while the other is leading the attack on the incident and served as a director of the lower house Special Committee on Lockheed Cast Investigations.

Will it not appear that the JSP lent a hand in "watering down" the Lockheed incident?--as to be expected, this sisue was taken up later in the party's Central Executive Committee meeting. The said person [one who was honored] expressed regrets that "he did not expect him [Tanaka] to make any speech," but the general mood of the executive group was extremely tolerant--"it was as though he appeared at some marriage ceremony." They judged that he merely acted as a personal gesture.

However, this type of party is basically different from other gatherings, such as wedding receptions. This is an event to collect political funds and is more appropriately called a "production" staged by politicians. To attend means to contribute political funds.

How much in gratuities did the LDP Diet member contribute to Kobayashi's party? There is this source material. According to the FY81 political fund financial reports submitted by political organizations to the Ministry of Home Affairs....

The political organization, "Misuzu-kai," of Hajime Tamura (Tanaka faction), the LDP Diet Policy Committee chairman, contributed Y100,000. The "New National Land Development Research Association" of Shin Kanemaru (same faction), a leader who had been rumored as the actual "behind-the-scene Diet Policy Committee chairman," contributed Y100,000 to Kobayashi's party. Even if only Y100,000 each, it is apparent that Kobayashi had received a considerable sum of contributions from LDP Diet members.

Incidentally, in this connection, the financial report of Kanemaru's "New National Land Development Research Association" for this year records an expenditure of Y50,000 to LDP member, Hyosuke Niwa (Komoto faction), on 29 May for a party honoring the publication of his book. However, an expenditure of Y200,000 is reported on 27 November to Ikko Kasuga, permanent consultant to the DSP, for his "celebration honoring conferment of an academic degree."

In the case of Kanemaru, as rumored (behind-the-scene Diet Policy Committee chairman), he seems to place more importance on social relations with the leaders of the opposition parties than his own LDP colleagues.

"When parties are held, I have many occasions to ask my LDP acquaintances to introduce businessmen to me and I can sell a number of 'donation' tickets." So confesses a middle-ranking Diet member of the opposition party.

Doesn't this type of monetary cooperation far exceed the bounds of personal social relationships?

Overseas Inspection Trips of Diet Members

On Sunday night, 21 August 1983, abroad the Japan Air Lines jumbo aircraft which left Narita International Airport for Paris, via Anchorage, were the following

Diet Policy Committee chairmen of the various parties: Hikosaburo Okonogi (LDP), Toshio Yamaguchi (JSP), Naohiko Okubo (Komeito), Eiichi Nagasue (DSP) and Mamoru Tajima (United Progressive Liberal). Except for Tajima, all were accompanied by their wives. The purpose of the trip was to accompany lower house Speaker Fukuda on his goodwill tour of various European countries.

However, the group was to meet the house speaker 1 week later. Before then, they were to "inspect" Paris and Rouen and the Normandy area in France, then fly to Athens to "visit" various places in Greece. Because of his mother's death, Yamaguchi and his wife left hurriedly for home but Zenmei Matsumoto, JCP Diet Policy Committee chairman, who departed Japan later was met in Vienna and the group got together with the house speaker on the 28th.

Then, the Diet delegation made official visits to Hungary and Romania but even here, ample time was reportedly taken for "sightseeing." The itinerary called for the group to leave the speaker again, stay overnight in London and return to Japan on 3 September (the speaker on the 5th).

At the government and opposition parties' Diet Policy Committee chairmen meeting, 4 days prior to departure, no progress was made, at all, on the tax reduction problem in question. Although the opposition party side should have strongly opposed this and despite the fact that an extraordinary Diet session, certain to be turbulent in view of the Tanaka decision, was imminent, this group of travelers seemed to be a very cordial one.

This type of overseas trips by Diet members during summer vacations has become customary and other Diet delegations, including members of the lower house committees on Diet management, budget, foreign affairs, audit, finance, coal, commodity prices, etc., visit various countries. The situation is the same for the upper house.

Diet members, who make overseas trips at government expense, number from 100 to over 200 persons a year.

The budget for the lower house is Y170 million and for the upper house, nearly Y100 million.

However, at this point, we are not questioning the Diet members overseas trips, in themselves. Putting aside the necessity of "diplomacy by Diet members," the question is rather, how to consider the fact that there are too many of the following accounts behind these trips by Diet members.

Mamoru Kotani, former upper house Diet Policy Committee chairman of the JSP who retired recently, makes the following statement: "When I went to Europe before, the delegation leader (LDP Diet member) offered Y200,000 in cash, at the time, saying he had been requested by the chief cabinet secretary. Wondering whether there was such a custom in the Diet, I asked a senior colleague with whom I traveled but he said he didn't know. When questioned, a person of another opposition party said that the offer was also made to him. The two of us talked it over and deciding it was not proper, returned it."

Seiichi Tagawa, representative of the New Liberal Club, also testifies: "When I visited China, the deputy cabinet secretary delivered something in an envelope as a bon-voyage gift. Since I rejected it, I do not know the amount but there must have been between Y500,000 and Y1 million."

As might be expected, there are few who declare that they "accepted." However, there are many opposition party Diet members who admit such overtures. And it cannot be said that all the members are refusing. There are statements to confirm that.

Overseas trips of Diet members are becoming more and more extravagant each year and criticisms are increasing that "these are actually pleasure junkets conducted for inspections and observations, in name only." On the other hand, there are voices that, "Today when the world has become so small, it is highly significant for Diet members personally to see and to experience directly situations in various parts of the world which are changing daily and from moment to moment." (Lower House Foreign Affairs First Section.)

Recently, even the number of ordinary Japanese citizens who travel abroad has grown to nearly 4 million persons a year. It is not strange for Diet members, who are responsible for administering state affairs, to feel free to travel around the world whenever the opportunity presents itself.

However, the story would be entirely different if behind the scenes, a great amount of money is being constantly distributed under the guise of "send-off gifts."

"When negotiations were held for reversion of Okinawa (1971), I asked the chief cabinet secretary to give me Y100,000 because I was going on an inspection tour. I was told that an appropriate sum was already handed over to your party leader through the prime minister."

As explained earlier, bon-voyage gifts are not given by the government or LDP leaders to all Diet members who leave on overseas trips. There are probably many who refuse even if handed the money. However, a former opposition party Diet member calmly admits that he even made such a request.

A former "Diet management tribe member or another opposition party states: "Send-off gifts are received all the time. As you know, we go on the customary trips to foreign countries in the summer together with LDP members. Sometimes, we are unexpectedly in the same group as the committee chairman. On such occasions, the chairman gives the touring delegation a dollar amount equivalent to about Y300,000 per person. The money is distributed among everyone but once, it was discovered that the delegation head had taken all the money for himself, and a great uproar was raised."

According to the recollection of former Chief Cabinet Secretary Ichitaro Ide, the Doyen of Diet members, overseas trips of the "Diet management tribe" started around 1949-50. The reason was that with changes in U.S. occupation policies, peace problems with Japan, which could not be handled by the government party alone, began to appear on the daily agenda.

Ide, himself, belonged at the time to the opposition National Cooperative Party and National Democratic Party but when it was decided to hold the U.S.-Japan Peace Conference in San Francisco in September of the following year, 1951, he visited the United States with four others, including Zentaro Kosaka (then, with the Liberal Party, a government party), ahead of the government's plenipotentiary delegation.

This is Ide's recollection of that period. "The aircraft was provided by the other side (U.S.). We were put aboard on what appeared to be a transport aircraft, and for expense money, we were handed a per diem of \$10 from the GARIOA fund. The amount was insufficient and it seems that there was one person who made up for the inadequate sum through his own efforts. Even so, I do not remember receiving 1 cent from anyone as a bon-voyage gift. While traveling in extreme frugality, we finally joined up with the main delegation."

When he thinks of the "indiscriminate ways" of Diet members on overseas trips today, Ide seems to feel that he is living in quite a different age.

From Parties To Golf

Upon assuming their positions, the presidents, vice presidents and chairmen of standing committees of both the lower and upper houses have a "task" to assemble the committee members at receptions, ostensibly to reward their services. According to concerned authorities, expenses to hold these social gatherings, about twice a year, are appropriated in the Diet management budget and in that sense, this might be called an official practice rather than a "backstage custom."

According to former upper house member of the JSP, Mamoru Kotani, who served as a Diet Policy Committee chairman, "At the reception given by the upper house vice president, various party members associated with Diet management bring special products of their native places and drink together at the official residence--that is about the extent." Most of this type of social gathering is within the realm of common sense.

However, even this event has inside stories. A LDP Diet member, who served as chairman of the Agriculture and Fishery Committee says: "Since there are political parties which claim they cannot attend gatherings at restaurants, only stand-up affairs have been held recently in the Constitution Memorial Hall but separately, parties are held in restaurants. Expenses are paid from the party treasury."

A former leader of the DSP states: "Though it happened long ago, Budget Committee members claimed that it was not exciting enough in the city and so, whooped it up with females at a hot spring in Izu Nagaoka." This person named the attendees and honestly described the happenings on that occasion and it seems that among the participants, there were Diet members who conducted scandalous acts.

Probably carried away by their desire to run the committee smoothly, there are chairmen who make extra efforts in the gift-giving tactics. According to an

LDP member associated with Diet management, the contents of the gifts are various, from beer to merchandise coupons and men's suit materials with tailoring coupons included, but during the first half of the 1970's, a Diet member who served as the Budget Committee chairman became the subject of conversation because he sent too extravagant gifts.

He attached gift cards, "from Budget Committee Chairman so-and-so," and sent a batch of color TV's to the committee members' room in the Diet Members' Office Building. Since parcels of the same size arrived all at once, the returning of the gifts took some time.

Also, as part of "reception politics," there is the following account"

It happened in April 1982. The FY82 budget has passed the Diet and the tenseness had dissipated but in the lower house Finance Committee, skirmishes between the government and opposition parties continued over the establishment of a subcommittee on tax reduction problems. The various opposition parties, which strongly demanded reduction of income taxes, requested that a subcommittee be established and that its report be finalized in the fall's extraordinary session, but the LDP left its position open.

In the midst of this situation, the Finance Committee's large goodwill golf tournament was held for both government and opposition parties.

It was a grand affair, with even the Prime Minister's Cup and the Finance Minister's Cup in readiness, but from the standpoint of the unsophisticated people's feeling, this was an aspect which was difficult to understand.

A LDP member associated with Diet management confesses, "In bygone days, when opposition parties were invited to social gatherings, there were some who refused to attend upon hearing the word, 'restaurant,' while there were others who appeared at the restaurant's entrance and returned home after making excuses so it was difficult to stage. Nowadays, there are those who bluntly ask for invitations saying, 'I haven't been invited recently.'" Has "conscience" deadened because social party politics has become customary?

It happened on 20 February 1959. On this night, Diet management personnel of the LDP and the JSP held a "goodwill party" at a restaurant in Kagurazaka, Tokyo.

It was the time when both parties were confronting each other over deliberations of the minimum wage law draft and the Diet was deadlocked, particularly because a vote had been forced through the lower house Social and Labor Affairs Committee only 3 days prior. Of course, contrary to outward appearances, the meeting proceeded to find ways of resolving the situation.

Compiling the testimonies of those present at the time, the main point of agreement that day was: "For the LDP, a vote cannot be taken again now in the committee. However, the schedule for future deliberations will be extended somewhat so please say what you want during that period in the committee."

Following that line, agreement was reached at the meeting on the secretary general level on the next day, the 21st, to officially decide on Diet normalization, after which a lively party was held before final adjournment.

The story becomes complicated because the full details of the happenings were reported in the various newspapers the following morning. Reportedly, LDP insiders leaked the story and the JSP, in particular, was taken by surprise.

For the JSP, which was originally opposed to this bill, it must make it appear outwardly that the party was not responsible for subsequent developments and that the bill was passed because of the one-sided "despotic action" of the LDP. The earlier meeting had been held to devise a scheme to fulfill this purpose but if this secret plan were revealed, the JSP would be placed in a dilemma vis-a-vis the Sohyo, which had sought defeat of the bill.

The JSP explained repeatedly that, "really, it was only a goodwill social gathering," and strongly rebuked the LDP for this "breach of faith."

Diet operations were deadlocked, even more than before, and even Takeo Fukuda, LDP secretary general, got into the act and held a press interview to explain that, "at last night's social gathering, this subject did not come up."

Historically speaking, this type of meeting became completely submerged after that. On the other hand, it might have been one of the underlying causes for dampish behind-the-scene customs to become rampant in the political world.

One of the middle-ranking JSP members stated as follows: "In 1982, soon after I became a director of the Budget Committee, a black car suddenly parked alongside my house. Abruptly, a thick paper parcel was handed to me with the words, 'I shall appreciate whatever you can do.' When questioned, he replied, 'This is something which others have always accepted.' I rejected it, 'Don't Joke! Of course, it would be another matter if it contained Y500 million.' I do not understand why it is being accepted all the time by opposition parties."

However, the LDP side seems to think that it is strange that one should raise his eyebrows about this.

"Especially since about the time of the Tanaka cabinet, it has become a tacit custom to hand over this type of money before budget deliberations begin." (Statement of a middle-ranking LDP Diet member of the mainstream faction.) The amount is said to be about Y2 million but if that is a fact, the fog surrounding Nagata-cho is even thicker than imagined.

LDP Treasury Bureau Director

When Caught--

The Treasury Bureau, which handles the finances of the LDP, is located on the 2d floor of the party headquarters in Nagata-cho, Tokyo.

Upon entering, a female receptionist is sitting and individual offices of the Treasury Bureau chief and Finance Committee chairman are adjoining while the

Accounting Section, in the rear, is separated by a door which can be locked with a key. That is because the "vault room" is located in the back of the room.

At dawn, on 15 June 1983, in the midst of the upper house election, a burglar entered the Treasury Bureau office. After prying open the door with a screwdriver, the culprit ransacked the receptionist's desk and lockers and finding the key to the inner door of the Accounting Section, entered the vault room. He opened the cabinet behind the Treasury Bureau chief's chair and stole Y26.65 million in cash and four checks amounting to Y42.25 million from the cash deposit box.

After that, the culprit put the money in envelopes he had prepared and tried to escape but suddenly, he had a temptation to break into the "main vault" and placed his hand on the dial.

This vault, which was next to the cabinet in which the cash deposit box was placed, was 1-meter high and made of steel and rigged to that the alarm system installed in the guard room would go off.

For that reason, he was soon discovered by the guards and taken to the nearby Komimachi Police Station. The criminal was Jun Ito, secretary to Kazuya Ishibashi, an LDP lower house Diet member.

It was a case of "when he was caught, he was found to be one of us," but why did Ito set his sights on here? Probably because he knew there would be a great deal of money here since he was the secretary to an LDP Diet member.

If over Y26 million were contained in the simple cashbox, exactly how much was in the "main vault"? A certain person connected with the Treasury Bureau states: "Of course, the amount is in the hundreds of million yen. Since unexpected things can happen, that much money is always available. When elections or the presidential primary election are to be held, the amount increased by two or three times." Furthermore, he points out: (1) the approval of the secretary general is needed to take out the money; without his approval, there are cases when the party president's request is denied; (2) the secretary general can withdraw the money, without exception, by a phone call; (3) the financial report is made only to the secretary general; and (4) the Finance Committee chairman (serves as treasury auditor) is informed only of the main items and is not given the full details.

In other words, there is always cash amounting to hundreds of million yen in the vault and the secretary general is almighty as far as deposits and withdrawals of the funds are concerned.

Without question, it can be seen how advantageous it is to the faction which controls the secretary general, although his personal character is a reckoning factor.

However, the secretary general has a "vulnerable point." That is the Treasury Bureau director who is responsible for the vault.

A Treasury Bureau director states: "If the secretary general orders the withdrawal of money, there is no way of refusing." (Formerly served as Treasury Bureau director.) However, when the reelection of party executives is held, that position is the biggest point of contention, though not openly.

Unwritten Law Which Was Broken

On the successive Treasury Bureau chiefs, the present (around 1983) incumbent, Eisaku Sumi, is the 20th since the merger of the conservative parties in 1955. Of them, the one who served the longest is Eiichi Nishimura with 4 years and 8 months of service. He was in that position all throughout the days that former Prime Minister Tanaka served as secretary general.

Nishimura was second in command of the Tanaka faction from its formation and until he lost in the 1980 general elections. During that period, with the strong support of former Prime Minister Tanaka, and others, he served as the vice president.

When the secretary generalship changed from former Prime Minister Tanaka to former Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, the Treasury Bureau chief changed to Kiichi Arita (former minister of economic planning) and when Shigeru Hori (former lower house speaker) became secretary general, the position changed to Shinzo Tsubokawa (former minister of construction).

Arita was a leader of the Fukuda faction and a close acquaintance of Fukuda since the days of the former Kishi faction. Hori and Tsubokawa belonged, at the time, to the Sato faction. Subsequently, when the majority of Sato faction switched to the Tanaka faction, both opposed and formed the "Shuzan-kai."

Later, the political regime changes to the Tanaka cabinet and Takao Kameoka (former minister of agriculture) and Tatsuo Ozawa (former welfare minister) served alternately as the Treasury Bureau director. Even in the case of both directors, they were considered the closest of the close acquaintances of former Prime Minister Tanaka.

As can be seen from above, the Treasury Bureau directorship was a position to which the most trusted confidant of the serving secretary general or the party president was placed. Even if the predecessor were of the same faction, if the secretary general changed, a corresponding shift was made in the Treasury Bureau directorship.

A person who served as secretary general states: "That is only natural. The secretary general has absolute power over handling of money but the Treasury Bureau director is in the best position to know about the transactions. If the Treasury Bureau chief is an odd person, especially one from another faction, there would be fear that the most effective means of political manipulation, i.e., movements concerning money, would be leaked out.

For that reason, when the strength of the president's or mainstream factions weaken, strict conditions are placed on these personnel appointments. Other factions would insist, first of all, on "separation of president and secretary

general" to "eliminate the concentration of power." They asserted that "the secretary general should not be selected from the president's faction." Next, they would demand that the secretary general and the Treasury Bureau director be chosen from different factions so that they can "keep an eye on each other."

Such a trend was already noticeable during the days of the Miki cabinet and practically became a reality during Fukuda's and Ohira's regimes.

However, subsequently, the "restriction" was broken flagrantly. In late 1981, Susumu Nikaido, who switched from chairman of the Executive Council to secretary general under Suzuki's regime, retained Yoshiro Hayashi of the same Tanaka faction, who had served as Treasury Bureau director since July 1980.

The anti-mainstream factions criticized this as "disregard of traditional practice" and called for the "removal of Hayashi." However, Nikaido said, "until the party convention in January of next year," and then stating, "until the end of the fiscal year," and "until August," dragged his feet.

It seems that the Tanaka faction had special reasons at this time.

In 1982, particularly in the latter half of the year, the mainstream and anti-mainstream factions confronted each other directly over the problem of whether it was proper for Yoshiro Hayashi of the Tanaka faction to remain as Treasury Bureau director.

What were the reasons?

First of all, from the standpoint of the anti-mainstream factions, there were various ostensible reasons but essentially, it was because they were extremely wary of its involvement in the presidential election to be held at the time.

Ultimately, in this election, the anti-mainstream factions suffered a total defeat and Yasuhiro Nakasone, who was supported by the mainstream faction, won the position of the new president.

At any rate, it is already known that the various anti-mainstream factions paced their maximum efforts on "charging into the primary election," and boldly displayed a number of maneuvers.

However, even the optimistic and combative anti-mainstream factions admit that the problem of Nikaido-Hayashi combination was in their minds constantly.

As far as the anti-mainstream factions were concerned, this setup was akin to handing over the party's treasury to the Tanaka faction. They even imagined a large-scale "paper money offensive," at the worst, and even considered measures to cope with it. Therefore, as a risk-prevention step, the demand was made to "remove Hayashi" so that in place of Hayashi, a person outside of the Tanaka faction can be assigned to "watch over" secretary General Nikaido.

In contrast, as a countermeasure to the anti-mainstream factions, the Tanaka faction insisted on the "retention of Hayashi," but actually, the Tanaka faction had been harboring the following ulterior purpose.

A leader of the mainstream faction explains: "The Tanaka faction wanted to carry out a 'lower and upper house double election.' That plan eventually collapsed in June 1983 but 1 and 1/2 years before, when the Niakado-Hayashi combination emerged in late 1981, this scheme was probably being devised already."

In order to promote "double elections," which are strongly resisted by various parties and factions, it is for certain that the priority consideration is the establishment of a strong team of secretary general-Treasury Bureau director combination from the standpoint of assuring a funding source. Thus, the Tanaka faction probably had to be zealous about "Hayashi's retention" for the above two reasons.

However, on 5 October 1982, the Tanaka faction finally gave in and the Treasury Bureau chief changed from Hayashi to Eishaku Sumi of the Suzuki faction. Was it because the repercussions even within the mainstream faction were too big because of too much prodding? Or, possibly, because it was decided that, for now, coping with the anti-mainstream factions was the urgent task and that the "double" could wait until the future.

In any event, the Tanaka faction did so not out of its true intentions. The position of Treasury Bureau director is tied directly with the designs of the various factions. Even in the future, depending on the circumstances, it can easily become the fuse of smoldering strife within the party.

Source Of Power To Control Party

"Money" Is Token Of Appreciation

"How disappointing, master. I feel chagrined because I think you misunderstand me."

Finance Minister Kakuei Tanaka (at the time), who had been sitting with an overbearing demeanor until then, suddenly drew himself back by about a meter and bowing with his hands on the tatami mat, began to cry with large tears flowing from his eyes.

"I am not trying to continue the separate taxes on interests and dividends out of self-interest and self-gain. In order to strengthen international competitive power, our country's supreme task is capital accumulation. With that in mind, I am beseeching your cooperation...."

This took place in a room of an ultra-first-class restaurant in Akasaka, Tokyo, with only about 2 weeks remaining in the year, 1964. The person at the head of the table, whom Finance Minister Tanaka called the "master" and to whom he appealed with tears, was Hideo Bo, chairman of the LDP Tax System Investigation Committee (then, Fukuda faction).

On 11 December, soon after the formation of the Sato cabinet, after the fall of the Ikeda cabinet because of the prime minister's illness, the Tax System Investigation Committee, an advisory organ of the prime minister, finalized

its report on the repeal of the separate taxation on interests and dividends, which had a bad reputation as a "favorable treatment for capitalists." Prime Minister Sato, who had just assumed office, promised to "respect the report," but Finance Minister Tanaka, who had continued in that office from the previous regime, took the tax investigation committee's report reversely as a "challenge to stockholders," and began to stage a fierce rollback with the support of the financial circle which opposed the report.

First of all, he had the Finance Ministry draft a FY65 tax reform bill, which emasculated the committee's report, and then, he began to work on the LDP in serious earnestness. Becoming involved were the party's Tax System Investigation Committee Chairman Bo, and others.

The Finance Ministry's draft provided for a 15-percent source-selective taxation system for dividend income, whereby the taxpayers can opt to pay composite taxes or 15-percent separate taxes. On the other hand, the income tax reduction for the general populace, proposed by the government's tax investigation committee, was severely cut.

At first, there were not a few who were dissatisfied with this Finance Ministry's draft but they seemed to have been subjected to individual pressures by Finance Minister Tanaka, and others, and the opposition disappeared, one after the other, and finally, only Bo was left. Bo states that "it was just about that time," when he was invited to a restaurant in Akasaka by Finance Minister Tanaka who wanted "to meet him."

After food and drinks were brought and the waitresses were asked to leave, Finance Minister Tanaka suddenly placed a parcel, believed to contain several million yen, in front of Bo and said, "Regarding that matter--with this, I ask for your cooperation."

The ruling faction at the time was Sato faction. In the group, fast-rising Finance Minister Tanaka was younger but had won elections three times more than Bo, and was the favorite to become the next secretary general.

However, faced with the crude political tactic of pressuring someone with money, Bo flared up in anger. Bo demanded, "What is the meaning of this?" It was at this time that Finance Minister Tanaka behaved in the manner described at the beginning of this section of the article.

"I have no intention, at all, of trying to get you to change your mind with such a small sum of money as this. If I can get your cooperation, I wanted to show, by all means, my feeling of appreciation. That was all." At Finance Minister Tanaka's crying figure, Bo was dumfounded.

The words of former Prime Minister Tanaka, "to show my feeling of appreciation with money," were not blurted out just to mend the situation.

For former Prime Minister Tanaka, who sincerely believed that, "next to life, money is important," the passing of money was the highest expression of appreciation. There is, also, the following account.

It happened in July 1972 when former Prime Minister Tanaka finally took over the "government reins." Approximately 1,000 supporters from his native place, Kariwa County and Kashiwazaki City of Niigata Prefecture, sponsored the prime minister's inaugural party at the Chinzanso restaurant in Tokyo.

As the celebration neared the end, two girls, about first or second graders, presented a floral bouquet to former Prime Minister Tanaka. With his face reddening, the former Prime Minister Tanaka repeatedly said, "thank you, thank you," to the two girls, and then... "Hey," he shouted to his secretary waiting in the wings of the stage. He had his wallet brought over and taking out two ¥10,000-notes, gave one to each of the girls.

Even the "Tanaka watch" reporters, who were viewing from the foot of the stage, were taken by surprise. Reproachingly, they asked former Prime Minister Tanaka, who descended from the stage, "Did you give them money?" At that instant, the former prime minister became stern: "What do you think is important in human existence?" "...[no answer]" "It is life, isn't it? But next to life, money is most important. I give others money, which is the second most important thing after life, because I am happy. I was very happy today. That is why I gave them money!"

Eiichi Nishimura (former party vice president), who was one of the aides closest to former Prime Minister Tanaka, also says: "It is true that Tanaka has bad habits. One of them is to put money bills in his pocket and to pass them out freely. I have cautioned him a number of times that it was 'disgraceful for a nation's prime minister.' However, he said that, 'you have education and a social position as a high government official. But I have nothing. For an uneducated person and the son of a poor stone crusher, only money matters.'"

When he was unsuccessful in having the money accepted, former Prime Minister Tanaka showed brilliance in his chameleon tactics. When he realized that he could not inveigle the party's Tax System Investigation Committee Chairman Bo, who opposed the Finance Ministry's draft of the FY65 tax system revision, he changed his tactics immediately to entreaties to win him over.

The confounded Bo said, "Well, I fully understand your feelings. Anyway, please sit up. I cannot accept this money but I am not opposing because I am personally against you." Raising Finance Minister Tanaka's body in his arms, he made a hasty retreat from the restaurant.

On 17 December 1964, a meeting of government and LDP leaders was held and the FY65 tax system revision was approved as advocated by Finance Minister Tanaka. Bo was also present but ultimately, he withheld comments. On looking back, it seems that it was a big mistake for Bo to have succumbed to personal affections at that time. When Bo became the finance minister, he was constantly plagued by this fact.

Okitsugu Tanuma [1719-85] of Showa-Genroka Periods [Modern Times]

On Christmas eve of 1976, the Fukuda cabinet was inaugurated and as its finance minister, Hideo Bo was selected.

Upon entering his Finance Ministry's office, Bo immediately received top-level briefings from his various bureau directors. At that time, one of the leaders, whom he had trusted most since his days as chairman of the party's tax committee, whispered in his ears: "Perhaps you are aware, minister, but to run the ministry smoothly, I would like you to distribute suitable mid-summer and year-end gifts. That has become the custom since Finance Minister Tanaka's days. I think that something like cosmetics would do for telephone switchboard operators. For the ordinary employees, neckties, Saint Laurent neckties for the senior staff members. For section chiefs and above, 'sealed envelopes' would be appropriate...."

During his news reporter days in the early Showa period, Bo was assigned for over 10 years to the Finance Ministry. For that reason, he was well acquainted with the Finance Ministry before World War II. In particular, he was treated as one of the family members in dealings with Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi, who was killed in the 26 February 1936 incident, but he had never heard of such things.

Especially, when the unfamiliar words, "sealed envelopes," were mentioned, he retorted, "What is that?" The said director, without flinching, replied, "Well, a sum about equal to their bonus is enough."

There are over 200 persons, section chiefs and above, in the Finance Ministry. Even at an average of Y500,000 per person, the amount would exceed Y100 million. Furthermore, there are two such occasions for gift-giving--mid-summer and year-end.

When the thought entered his mind that "this was actually a bribery of the entire ministry," Bo burst out in anger. "How can we pay out such money?" If the ministry cannot operate without such payments, I do not give a damn!"

It is said that the "sealed envelope" system became a custom since Finance Minister Tanaka's days but is that true? Upper house Diet member, Ichiro Hatoyama, an experienced Finance Ministry hand who even served as its administrative vice minister, says, "That probably depends on the person. For example, I do not remember having received from Nagata (Mikio--former finance minister)...."

Actually, as far as that "person" is concerned, there is another story. The following is a confession of a Finance Ministry bureaucratic official: "One day, I was told by the Tanaka faction, 'we want you to explain such-and-such a law. Concerning that, we want you to bring the essential papers.' Since the requested papers were not classified, at all, and already publicly announced, I thought nothing of it and went to explain but when leaving, they said, 'thank you for the very valuable materials; this is just a token of appreciation,' and handed me a thick brown envelope. I thought that it might be money but the atmosphere was such that I could not return it so I took it home and when I opened it, there was Y500,000 in cash. I was surprised and discussed it with my superior but he said, 'if you expect to function in this circle, you should accept it in silence.' I learned later that my superior was said to belong to the 'Tanaka line.' From then, while forming an undesirable yet unseverable relationship

with this superior, I began to receive money, for one reason or another, and a type of criminal association began to develop."

In the midst of the 1983 upper house election, "petitions" like the following were sent, one after another, to non-Tanaka factions, particularly to the Fukuda faction: "As a result of elections involving vested interests using public works as the 'bait,' the actual state of [contract] designations by local agencies of the Ministry of Construction in our prefecture has become an extremely unfair one under the guidance of the Tanaka faction, Construction Ministry bureaucrats and enterprisers. We petitioned the local bureau of the Construction Ministry for fairness in designations but received a brusque reply, 'we cannot ignore the faction.' There are many cases where the leaders of the Tanaka faction in this prefecture (taking advantage of this situation) are threatening various enterprisers that if they cooperate with candidates of the Tanaka faction, the latter will arrange for contracts with the Construction Ministry but if not, they will not be designated."

The Fukuda faction was astounded and representing the faction, former Labor Minister Masayuki Fujio called on the Construction Ministry and the Finance Ministry to lodge strict protests.

However, it seems that the ministries did not have any intentions to conduct investigations of the actual situation. They showed a meek attitude only in front of Fujio. A ranking member of one of the ministries went so far as to mutter, as soon as Fujio left, "You good-for-nothing, what are you babbling?"

It is true that the Fukuda faction, too, cannot claim that it is absolutely clean in money matters. The FY82 political fund financial reports were publicly revealed in late August 1983 and on that occasion, the fact was disclosed that upper house Diet member, Kanzo Tanikawa, of the said faction had received over Y55 million in political contributions from operators of "salaried-men financing ventures" over which there had been scandalous problems.

However, that does not mean that such acts should serve at all, as indulgences for some bureaucrats who have become truly corrupt. A former bureau chief of the Welfare Ministry says, "(At terrible places, starting with mid-summer and year-end occasions and speaking to childbirths and promotion celebrations, a great deal of money is being passed out and now, even as 'thank you for your efforts,' when a bill is passed or when the Diet session ends."

To repeat, this became a custom after the Tanaka cabinet. Or, is it because of it (?)....

The Second Ad Hoc Investigative Committee on Administrative Reforms was formed, with great fanfare, by former Prime Minister Suzuki. During deliberations on it, there was the following episode.

A committee member, who began to have suspicions about financing criteria and subsidy rates, regarding the disposition of subsidies amounting to nearly Y10 trillion, and who judged that these were ultimately decided through "political power," requested the concerned ministries and agencies to submit source materials since he wanted to investigate the conditions in Niigata 3d District, as a sample case.

Niigata 3d District is the electoral district of former Prime Minister Tanaka. The various ministries were hesitant to comply with this request and that night, there was a sudden telephone call to the aforementioned committee member's home by a ranking leader of the Tanaka faction. Upon picking up the receiver, an intimidating voice was heard: "Do not make too unreasonable a request."

Happenings not only in the Ad Hoc Committee on Administrative Reforms but at other similar deliberative councils are leaked to the big LDP factions, through various ministries and agencies, and so arranged that any movement not conforming to LDP's wishes is immediately crushed.

Roots of Corruption

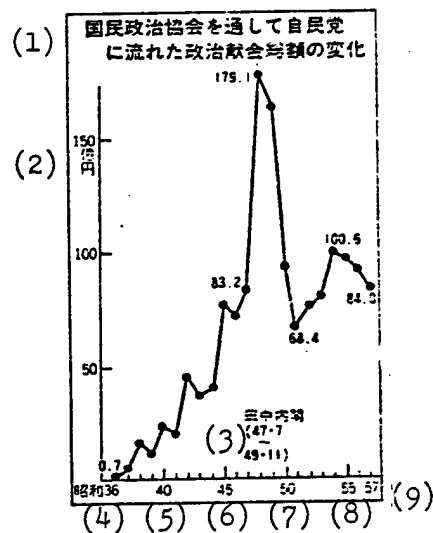
Drastically Changing Political Contributions

The treasury of the LDP is being supported by the financial circle. However, the financial circle does not provide funds directly to the LDP. As a rule, funds pass once through an organization called the "People's Political Association." The purpose is to make fund contributions rational and aboveboard.

Of course, it appears that there are other various sources of money for the LDP. However, from the standpoint of amount, and other reasons, it seems that this "People's Political Association" is the principal route.

The said association stems from the former "People's Association" (established in 1961), which was reorganized when the LDP was criticized for "business-related elections" and "money-power politics" in the 1975 upper house elections. Therefore, if one pursues the movements of money since the establishment of the "People's Association," one should be able to grasp the general trend of LDP's political funding. The graph below shows the trend.

Figure 1. [Trend of LDP's Political Funding]



[key on next page]

Key:

1. Changes in total amounts of political contributions flowing to the Liberal Democratic Party through the People's Political Association
2. Y100 million [unit]
3. Tanaka cabinet (July 1972-November 1974)
4. 1951
5. 1965
6. 1970
7. 1975
8. 1980
9. 1982

At first glance, the surprising fact is the unusual increase during the Tanaka cabinet days. Whatever the reason, when one takes into consideration the currency value at that time, it can be seen that, in actuality, about three times more money, than present, had been flowing into the LDP.

Furthermore, indications are also clear that former Prime Minister Tanaka and his cohorts spent the money like water. The Miki regime, which succeeded Tanaka, was shocked at not only the party's empty coffer but a debt of nearly Y10 billion. It would probably be strange if the money-power politics mood had not been fostered in the political circles. The root lies in the days of Secretary General Tanaka.

Eiichi Nishimura (former party vice president) points out former Prime Minister Tanaka's amazing skill in obtaining money: "When I was the Treasury Bureau director during the days of the Sato cabinet, I went to borrow Y1 billion from a bank association but I was refused. I asked Secretary General Tanaka to come along but that was unsuccessful. Then, Tanaka said, 'if you cannot lend money to the party, lend it to me, Kakuei Tanaka, and in return, I will put up as mortgage, my house, stocks and entire assets.' We finally obtained the money."

However, Secretary General Tanaka (then) was still dissatisfied with the amount.

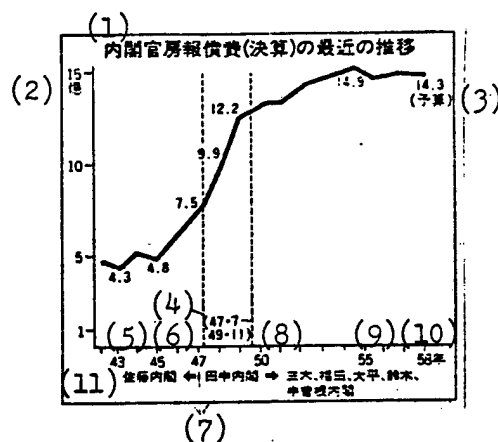
Kiichi Arita (former director general of the Economic Planning Agency), who succeeded Nishimura as Treasury Bureau director, says: "When I became the Treasury Bureau chief, I not only found the party's coffer empty but that we had a debt of Y700 million. Just at that time, the lower house elections were held and I truly suffered in rebuilding the finances. Since I had to tighten the purse strings, I was criticized within the party as 'stingy' and 'miserly.'"

The rapid decline in political contributions since the Miki cabinet can probably be attributed to the revision of the Political Fund Control Law and economic stagnation. However, the experiences of money-power politics by the political circle cannot be reversed and still continues.

The money which appear to be spent for various political operations do not seem to come only from LDP funds. As mentioned in the previous section on "Suspensions Surrounding Compensation Funds," it is being taken out of even public funds and government budgets which are financed by our tax payments.

As pointed out in that section, compensation funds are available in the various ministries and agencies but among them, it seems that the "Cabinet Secretariat Compensation Fund" is spent most extensively for this type of purpose. The trend of the settlement account (budgeted amount for FY83) is shown in the following graph [Figure 2].

Figure 2. Trend of Cabinet Secretariat's Compensation Fund



Key:

1. Recent trend of the Cabinet Secretariat's compensation fund (settled account)
2. Y100 million [unit]
3. (Budgeted amount)
4. July 1972-November 1974
5. 1968
6. 1970
7. 1972
8. 1975
9. 1980
10. 1983
11. Sato cabinet ← Tanaka cabinet → Miki, Fukuda, Ohira, Suzuki and Nakasone cabinets

As can be seen in the previous graph on LDP political funds [Figure 1], the first thing one notices in looking at this graph is probably the unusual rapid increase during the Tanaka cabinet. During the latter period of Sato cabinet, a sudden increase can also be seen but following that, an increase of nearly twice that amount can be seen during his regime of 2 years and 4 months. That becomes all the more noticeable because, before and after his regime, the level remains practically the same.

It would be understandable if other budgetary allocations showed a corresponding increase. However, for over 20 years prior to and following his regime, the general account allocations increased at practically the same percentage. There were no unusual fluctuations. Then, why did the compensation fund only, with much suspicion surrounding it, suddenly increase?

"During the days of the Tanaka cabinet, the situation was terrible. It was reckless. We (LDP) and our counterpart parties always ate and drank at restaurants and passed over money in mah-jongg games. The scene was usually in Asakusa. Every night, Y1 or Y2 million were given to a person. In addition, through another route, official (?) Diet management funds were paid out. At that time, nearly Y20 billion were received annually from the Federation of Economic organizations. Furthermore, election funds were not included. Now, it is less than Y10 billion. From this amount, Y5 billion disappears as personnel expenses and if 'carfares' are deducted, the amount is so-so. It was money worth Y20 billion at the time. Plus, we had government fund. This was also a sum not to be trifled with." The foregoing is a testimony of a certain mainstream faction leader of the LDP.

It was so loose that it is said even proponents appeared in the party for "a reconstruction plan for party finances." There were some who even proposed, "50-percent reduction of breakfast expenses," but were turned down as "too stingy."

At any rate, if this account is true, the answer is self-evident. No matter how much money is available, there is never enough.

A person who was affiliated with cabinet affairs in the Miki cabinet, which followed the Tanaka cabinet, says, "When we took over the government reins, it was still in the middle of the fiscal year. However, there was not even a cent in the cabinet secretariat's vault." It must be said that during the Tanaka cabinet days, money that could be spent were scattered about recklessly, whether it was for official or private reasons.

Behind Disappearance Of Riotous Diet Sessions

"On the night of the 3d, against the LDP which took the unprecedented action of calling in the police force to the Diet building, the two socialist parties even mobilized female Diet members to occupy the rostrum and for 4 hours, until the clock struck midnight of the 4th, the main Diet chamber, speaker's room and corridors became literally scenes of riotous actions. There were Diet members who fainted, pieces of doors which were kicked open and many injured, including policemen who were knocked down with their pistol cords ripped, etc. In the midst of the uproar, both the government and opposition parties shouted 'banzai' in a frenzy, but their eyes were bloodshot in desperation and staring with a glare." (From the 4 June 1954 edition of MAINICHI SHIMBUN)

This was a scene unfurled between the rightist and leftist socialist parties and the government's Liberal and Progressive Parties over the Yoshida cabinet's police law revision.

If one looks back on the Diet history, it becomes apparent but riotous scenes, such as the one described above, were staged whenever the Diet opened. The ferocity of the battles fought over the Subversive Activities Prevention Law (1952), two education laws (1956), Performance of Police Functions Act (1958) and the new Security Treaty (1960)--just prior to and following the above incident--is still a subject of conversation.

However, since then, these disturbances have disappeared completely. There are comments like, "thanks to TV" (former Labor Minister Hirohide Ishida) but what actually happened?

The last riotous Diet session is said to be the 61st session of 1969. That was when the LDP schemed to establish the college law in "eight rapid-fire forced acts" to cope with college conflicts which erupted in various places. On that occasion, one or two persons were injured in fisticuffs among secretaries of Diet members.

Also, in the "Okinawa Diet" of 1961, there was a faint semblance of a riot. On 17 November of the same year, when the Okinawa Reversion Treaty was railroaded through the lower house Special Committee, Tetsuya Nakatani of the JSP, and others, jumped onto the chairman's seat and scuffled with LDP Diet members.

However, since then, even a disturbance of this extent rapidly disappeared. That was after the Tanaka cabinet.

In a parliamentary democracy, this certainly cannot be considered as a bad development. But the problem is the reason for the change.

It has been mentioned earlier that there was suspicion of large-scale buying-off operations of opposition parties during the "Japan-ROK Diet" of 1965.

Nakatani, who was active in the "Okinawa Diet" also confesses: "During the Okinawa Diet which developed into railroading of votes, there were many times when I winced because of severe pains in my right shoulder. For that reason, all of the committee members, whether of government or opposition parties, know that I was sick. Then, one day, it was probably about a week before the forced voting. From a certain LDP Diet member, a fairly thick envelope containing cash was delivered to me as a get-well gift (but I returned it immediately). (From the January 1973 issue of GENDAI magazine.)

From a violent to a collusive Diet--the turning point was the Tanaka cabinet and when the reason is sought, indications ultimately point to "money," though it might not be the entire reason.

The first oil shock of 1973 might be called the biggest "accident" of the Tanaka cabinet. This is the turmoil which began with the sudden declaration of price raise by the six Persian Gulf countries belonging to OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries).

Soon after its inauguration, the Tanaka cabinet proposed the "Plan for Remodeling of the Japanese Archipelago," which triggered a boom in land prices, and would have spurred price increases of various commodities when the oil price increase occurred. Commodity prices further spiraled into a "frenzied state." The situation became such that the entire Japanese economy might be shaken from its roots.

Strangely, however, the subsequent measures taken by Prime Minister Tanaka did not differ much from before. The countermeasure against the spring labor struggle of the following year, 1974, can be said to be a typical example.

The repercussions of the oil shock did not stop with the government and the financial world. The labor circle was also highly agitated.

When commodity prices increase so much, a small wage increase could not catch up. For that reason, the various unions overcame their past "love and hatred" and honing up for the opportunity of a joint struggle, hurried preparations for a "general strike."

To counter, Prime Minister Tanaka participated in a top-level meeting with labor representatives, said to be the first time since the Ideda cabinet, and appealing for "reasonable wage increased," continued his defensive efforts.

However, 1974 was the year of upper house elections. If riotous disturbances erupted in various places, just before the elections.... Since its maladministration was also a cause, the government could not escape responsibility and the possibility was there that the LDP could be utterly defeated in the upper house elections.

Even at that, on 13 April of the same year, when the labor struggle posture of a "general strike" scale was finally brought under control through talks between Chief Cabinet Secretary Susumu Nikaido and Sohyo Chairman Makoto Ichikawa held at the prime minister's official residence, even the labor side could not believe it. The average agreement for the entire spring struggle was an unprecedented record of 32.9-percent wage increase.

Spring labor struggles began in 1955 but even during the height of the high-growth period, increases never exceeded 20 percent.

In 1975, the following year, there was a drastic drop to the 10-percent level again. Subsequently, it hovered at the 1-digit level.

At that time, even within the government, there were not a few persons who went so far as to say that, "It is as though the labor circle was bought off in entirety with money bills" (a then high official in Labor Ministry).

Furthermore, after that, the various business firms immediately converted the share of wage increases to price increases. Exceptionally large increases in electric bills, gas bills, rice prices and private railroad fares followed. For the reason, consumer prices again spiraled upward. The the general laborers, the situation, in fact, took a turn for the worse. Moreover, the establishment of the "Tax Law to Promote Development of Electric Power Sources," just prior to the close of the 72d Diet session, is also symbolic.

This law imposed taxes on the amount of electric power consumed, including family households, and were to be used as special allocations to cities, towns and villages which accepted power development constructions. Although it was for promotion of power development construction, the impression could not be erased that entire cities, towns and villages were being bribed with the people's money.

Part 2. Significance of 12 October Court Decision

Money-Power Politics After Court Decision on Tanaka

Kakuei Tanaka and Tanaka Faction

Kakuei Tanaka rose to the position of prime minister and party president in the political world but in 1974, he resigned from the premiership because of the "gold vein scandal" and in February 1976, it appeared as though he would lose his political life in the Lockheed incident, but what are the reasons why he was able to still continue to exercise his hidden political power? When reduced to essentials, the reasons can probably be summed up in the following two points:

First, as described in detail in Part 1 of this article, is his predisposition to money-power politics. As mentioned earlier, the incident at the prime minister's inaugural ceremony held at Chinzanso, Tokyo, soon after former Prime Minister Tanaka took over the government reins, when first-grader girls presented him floral bouquets, he was deeply moved and with a reddened face, repeated "thank you's" and gave the children Y10,000-bills on the stage. Also, the episode of a Tanaka faction Diet member visiting him in his Mejiro residence with a new-born baby, and he handed a Y10,000-bill to even a baby. Additionally, the account that after he became the finance minister, "sealed envelopes" began to be passed out at bonus times in mid-summer and year-end, from parliamentary vice minister on down to telephone switchboard operators, in the Finance Ministry and these accounts are too numerous to mention.

In the political sphere, during the 1975 spring labor struggle, he ignored repercussions on public utility bills and commodity prices and suddenly decided on wage increases amounting to 32.9 percent. This can be seen as a plan to silence the laborers with paper bills in the face of a combined "land-sea-air general strike."

Views are also plentiful that his Japanese Archipelago remodeling plan was coordinated from the beginning with the demands of construction and civil engineer circles which swarm about land speculations.

It would be less objectionable if there were a "check" mechanism working elsewhere, but it is a serious matter that he built up a political climate in which even the opposition parties accepted such money without concern. During the Tanaka regime, mah-jongg gambling games were held almost nightly in restaurants and on Sundays, leaders of opposition parties were invited to gold tournaments and even here, illegal transactions of gambling money were conducted.

Secondly, in this connection, what must also be mentioned is Tanaka's excellent (?) intelligence-gathering capability. On 12 October 1983, when a guilty sentence was handed down on Kakuei Tanaka in the first trial, the following scenes were enacted repeatedly. Kakuei Tanaka, who was sentenced but returned home after putting up bail immediately, was welcomed by many Diet members of his faction and given encouraging applause, and on that occasion, several newspaper reporters were mixed in with the group. Also, at that time, it is said

that telegrams of encouragement poured into Tanaka's residence from various places throughout the country and among them, it is believed that many from active news reporters were included.

Of course, the contents of the telegrams were to the effect, "Do not be discouraged by the sentence and keep up your spirits." Because the setup was such that unless the "Tanaka watch" reporters showed their loyalties to Tanaka, they could not gather news, this type of scene could be seen, here and there.

For a while, reporters' badges were issued to enter and exit the Tanaka faction office. This meant that unless one had the specially-made reporter's badge, one could not even enter the office, but this system was severely criticized and was stopped after a brief period.

Because this unusual tie-up was established with newspaper reporters, details of personal tasks with Fukuda, for example, or personal talks with Ohira and Komoto were obtained in entirely 30 minutes later by Tanaka.

By contrast, what about the other factions? In the fall of 1982, when Zenko Suzuki was about to resign, Takeo Fukuda confronted Susumu Nikaido with the following: "What is the meaning of this? People outside the party not only know about Suzuki's resignation but are talking about the cabinet lineup of the succeeding Nakasone cabinet. What does the LDP think it is doing?" Fukuda had confronted Nikaido with a memo of Tanaka's private interview.

It is true that several days prior, Kakuei Tanaka gathered the "Tanaka watch" reporters and said after Suzuki's resignation, the Nakasone cabinet will start on such and such a day of such and such a month and at that time, the cabinet members will be so and so while the party executives will be so and so.

The Fukuda camp took 2 days to obtain the details of Kakuei Tanaka's talks with reporters. Two days vs 30 minutes. That gap symbolizes the difference in ruling power in the political world.

While coping with new situations infallibly with the support of such superior intelligence-collection capability, Tanaka continued to overwhelm other factions with his propaganda capability to publicize his own self. A typical case is the conflict over the secretary general's position during the cabinet reorganization in the fall of 1981. The Tanaka faction had started early to push for "Secretary General Nikaido" and used every opportunity to continue the campaign. Though such efforts, a so-called "established fact" was built up to bind the then prime minister (Zenko Suzuki); in other words, this was the process to make "Secretary General Nikaido" a reality.

Roots of Tanaka Faction

This style of Tanaka politics was not established all at once. Even before Kakuei Tanaka entered the political world, glimpses can be readily seen in all of his personal aspects.

It is commonly said that the springboard for Kakuei Tanaka's emergence in the world was the marriage with his present wife, and the founding of Tanaka

Construction with the dowry, so to speak, but actually, it seems to be his obtaining a contract from Riken Piston Ring Corp for construction of a factory in Taejon, Korea, just before the end of World War II. It was an enormous project amounting to many billion yen in today's money. He got his start by somehow pocketing some of that money for himself.

Because it was toward the end of the Pacific war and large construction companies were hesitant to contract for big jobs, Tanaka, who had been on close terms with the leading officials of Riken Piston Ring from before, received the contract.

According to "My Life History," which Tanaka, himself, wrote, he flew immediately to Korea to start the project but the war ended even before one-third of the work had been completed. Upon receiving this news, Tanaka gathered all of the workers and stating, "I will leave all of the assets of this project to the new Korea," terminated the project.

"I gathered the locally hired employees, which numbered over 100 persons at the time, in the open grounds in front of the worksite office and raised the national flag for the last time. Then, showing a chart of my total assets and construction materials in Korea and local investments, as of that date, I declared 'I will contribute these assets to the new Korea,' and left the stage." (Kakuei Tanaka's "My Life History.")

However, according to many testimonies, the story was actually not so forthright. For example, Takashi Tachibana, who became famous in his pursuit of Tanaka's gold vein, has followed this story doggedly since then, and written a number of excellent reports. According to one of them, "Wartime and Post-War Period Kakuei Tanaka--Personal Experiences as a Money-Power Politician" (included in "Research and complete Records on Kakuei Tanaka," published by Kodansha), when Tanaka received news of the termination of war, he immediately flew to Seoul aboard a Datsun. He was so determined that he obtained acetone to fly since there was no gasoline. Since payments were all made in military scrips, at the time, he piled aboard heaps of military certificates and flew to Seoul. When he reached Seoul, he immediately converted the military scrips to cash and proceeded to Pusan.

Pusan Port was in a turmoil with repatriates. Kakuei, himself, describes this scene complacently in his "My Life History," but at Pusan Port, repatriation operations, with priority on women and children, were being conducted with difficulty with the use of coastal defense ships. However, Kakuei used the name of "Kikue Tanaka," and returned home aboard a cruiser carrying only women and children.

"Together with six directors who were on business trips from Tokyo, I left Taejon RR station for Pusan on the night of 18 August 1945. /Of course, I only had what I wore/ [slantlines indicate underlining in text]. After being given overnight lodging at the officers' quarters in Pusan, we were escorted by soldiers to the pier on the morning of the 20th. Sailors were loading rice in straw bags on the coastal defense ship.

"Because its operation was considered dangerous, the Shimonoseki-Pusan ferry was suspended that day. A message came that, 'when the loading of rice is finished, the coastal defense ship will return to Maizuru Port so please get aboard,' but when we arrived, we saw a group of only women and children. However, I was surprised that we were called in first and when I inquired, after the ship left port, I was told laughingly that, 'you are Kikue Tanaka, with six others.' I am certain that I wrote Kakuei Tanaka on the ship manifest but when the work, 'Kaku' in my name is written in a cursive style, it can be read as 'Kiku'; this was a shocking group of women and children with moustache." ("My Life History.")

According to Tachibana, there is a story behind this. According to many persons who were involved in such matters at the time, it was impossible to repatriate by using a fictitious female's name. It is certain that he returned by winning the favors of the military, which controlled the repatriation ship, with money he had obtained in Seoul.

He was able to do such things because he could raise "easy money" instantaneously and to gain accurate information, he had habitually cultivated persons associated with the military. This was truly the starting point of Tanaka politics.

Furthermore, Kakuei Tanaka attempted his entry into the political world soon after the end of the war but an account of that time is also symbolic. In late 1945, post-World War II political parties emerged, one after another, and during those days, Tadao Oasa, one of the consultants of Tanaka Construction, one day visited Tanaka. Tadao Oasa was one of the leaders of the Japan Progressive Party and made a request which Tanaka relates, as follows:

"I arrived in Tokyo at dawn on 25 August. Everywhere was a wide stretch of burnt ruins but I was surprised that on the Edogawa Riverbank, only a lumber mill of about 400 tsubo [1 tsubo is 3.954 square yards] was burnt and offices, houses, dormitories and apartments in over 10 places, scattered through 1- and 2-chome sections of Iida-cho, remained intact. Moreover, the fish store on the street with the tramway, which I was forced to buy because the owner was evacuating to the countryside, remained unburnt. Thinking that all of this was God's will, /I felt deeply in my heart that I must do something, that I am capable of, in this world/ [slantlines indicated underlining in text]. At the time, I was living in a Western-style house on a hill in Ushingome-minami-cho. From about 1943, there were three consultants, named Tadao Oasa, Matsusuke Shirane and Eiyu Iwasaki, with my company. Later, Toru Masaki was added and the number became four. One day in November of that year, I was called by Oasa to a restaurant called, 'Hidebana,' in Shinbashi so I went. The house was on a street corner and seemed empty with no one inside. Oasa had placed a chair in the rear of a dreary room, without even furniture and rug, and was seated on it.

"In short, the story is as follows: The Occupation Army dissolved the Great Japan Political Association. However, on 31 December, the lower house will be dissolved on orders of the Occupation Army and an election is scheduled for 30 January of next year. A new political party, called the Progressive Party

has been formed, to prepare for the elections but I am having trouble with the problem of party chieftain. Both Kazushige Ugaki and Chuji Matsuda are presidential candidates and neither will yield. Therefore, I have proposed to both that since the elections are imminent, I will choose as the president the person who raises Y3 million immediately but I am pushing Machida. The conclusion is that he was asking, 'won't you contribute some money?'" ("My Life History.")

Since he was a consultant of Tanaka Construction, Oasa must have obtained the information that Kakuei Tanaka had made an easy buck. At the time, Tanaka was a youth of only 27 years so this was an attempt to squeeze easy money from that youth.

In "My Life History," Tanaka writes that, "I accepted willingly."

Later, the Japan Progressive Party changes its name to the Democratic Party, Progressive Party and then, to the Japan Democratic Party and in the conservatives' merger of 1955, joined with the Liberal Party to form the Liberal Democratic Party. Although it was only one of the leading conservative parties of Japan, Kakuei has been implanting the impression that, "I am the one who created Japan's conservative party."

However, inquiries with the persons involved at the time and a search of the source materials of the Japan Progressive Party does not reveal any record that Tanaka had contributed Y3 million. At best, looking at it favorably, it could've been that Oasa pocketed the sum for himself and did not report to the party, but it smells of the Tanaka-style of exaggerated propaganda. There are various speculations that the sum was not the entire Y3 million and novelist Isamu Togawa, a Tanaka sympathizer, puts the sum at nearly Y3 million while Yonosuke Miki (economic commentator) places the sum at no more than Y150,000.

As a typical example of Tanaka's cleverness in the use of propaganda, there is the Yamazaki premiership incident. Tanaka left the Japan Progressive Party in 1947 over the treatment of the draft bill to control coal mines and joined Yoshida's Liberal Party and this incident took place about then. The successive coalition regimes of the Katayama cabinet and the Ashida cabinet fell because of scandals, like the Showa Denko incident, which followed, one after another, and the Liberal Party was to assume power again.

At that time, the civil administration office of the Occupation Forces disliked Yoshida's character and conducted internal manipulations to have Takeshi Yamazaki, secretary general of the Liberal Party, designated as the prime minister. Accordingly, preparations were fully completed and the Liberal Party's general meeting was opened, and just when Yamazaki was to be approved as prime minister by the party convention, a young Diet representative immediately obtained the floor and censured the proposition. This episode is described in detail in Isamu Togawa's "Yoshida School--A Novel" and "Biography of Kakuei Tanaka" and this scene has been made into a movie.

The script is that an utterly depressed Yoshida is encouraged by the words of this young Diet member and pulling himself together, eventually assumes the position of prime minister.

The story goes that, "Who was that young Diet representative? None other than Kakuei Tanaka."

However, according to people who were involved at the time, this was a big lie. At the time, only ranking Diet members who won elections a number of times could attend the Liberal Party's general convention and it was impossible for Kakuei Tanaka, who had won only one election, to participate.

Testimonies like, "he and I were chatting in another room," are too many to mention. However, Tanaka and his supporters are still publicizing that through this action, Tanaka rescued Yoshida and became an important member of the Yoshida School.

At any rate, after Kakuei Tanaka joined Yoshida's Liberal Party for these reasons, one who especially noticed him was Eisaku Sato. While building up loan credits with Sato during the latter's campaign to become a cabinet member, he becomes a leader in the Sato faction.

As related in Part 1, Tanaka's true abilities were further displayed in the Japan-ROK Diet of 1965.

At the Japan-ROK Diet session, government and opposition parties clashed over the ratification of the basic Japan-ROK treaty and since the after effect of the 1960 Security Treaty struggle still prevailed, intense popular movements occurred but in that midst, there is a deep suspicion that Kakuei Tanaka, who became the LDP secretary general, used Diet management expenses in hundreds of million yen, to appease and control the various opposition parties. It has already been described how the party's coffer became empty, on each of those occasions, and how the succeeding party's secretaries general suffered.

After the Tanaka cabinet came into power, LDP's expenditures increased drastically, and the cabinet secretariat's confidential funds skyrocketed.

However, without much criticisms being raised against this, naturally by the LDP and even by the opposition parties, what was awaiting was the gold vein scandal of 1974. Because of the gold vein scandal, Tanaka resigned from the premiership, and the Tanaka faction faced the crisis of its first split but ultimately, the Tanaka faction remained intact and still continues to exercise its latent political power.

Following that, the Lockheed case erupted in February 1976. Tanaka was arrested in July of the same year and it appeared that this was the end of Kakuei Tanaka's political career and Takeo Miki, Takeo Fukuda and Masayoshi Ohira acted accordingly and a Ohira-Fukuda coalition was formed but eventually, he survived the "crisis."

Soon after the Lockheed case, the Tanaka faction faced the crisis of a split. Eiichi Nishimura, who was then president of the Tanaka faction's "7th-Day Club," held a press conference and said, "The '7th-Day Club' does not exist for the sake of only Tanaka. It is regrettable that the '7th-Day Club' should be called a Tanaka faction." He brought into the open, the "anti-Tanaka" movement.

Until then, Akiko Sato (a female called the queen of Etsuzan Club) of the Tanaka faction was actually in charge of finances. Nishimura strongly opposed this, too, and hating the fact that 7th-Day Club offices were in the same Sabo Hall in Hirakawa-cho, Tokyo, which was run by Sato, he began to look for other office locations.

Tanaka, who left the detention cell after his arrest, learned of Nishimura's strong determination and sought his cooperation by moving his own office to a building adjacent to Sabo Hall but still, Nishimura prohibited the younger members of the 7th-Day Club from receiving money from Tanaka and instead, had the faction's leaders allocate a proportionate share and with that fund, tried to run the faction.

However, because of that, Nishimura incurred the strong enmity of Tanaka. In the June 1980 general elections, a rival candidate was put up against Nishimura. He lost, and the situation changed completely. The past fund-raising organizations were dissolved immediately and instead, the Thursday Club, in which Tanaka himself participated, was started and as a political fund organization, the "2d-Day Club" was established with both organizations being placed, in name and in fact, under Tanaka's direct control.

This was a "payment-to-the-state" system started by Nishimura, who disliked Tanaka's squandering of money bills, to prevent him from passing out money directly to factional Diet members but eventually, it became a system to augment Tanaka's "bad taste" (Nishimura's words). Nishimura further states, "I asked Tanaka what do you intend to do by enlarging the faction through such means but each time, he turned up his mouth and became silent."

Kakuei Tanaka, who survived the crisis of his factional split in this manner is still increasing the Diet seats of the Tanaka faction gradually as a counter-measure to the trial, and while keeping an eye on the court, he has continued to spread money widely, as before, to both government and opposition parties and retained his political power within and outside his party.

Until 12 October Court Decision

When Akira Hatano became the justice minister with the emergence of the Nakasone cabinet in November 1982, the Public prosecutors Office was surprised and increased its vigilance. Outwardly, Hatano declared that he was non-factional within the LDP, but since he was boosted as a gubernatorial candidate by the then LDP secretary general, Kakuei Tanaka, in the 1971 Tokyo metropolitan governor's election, Hatano has been an outright Tanaka supporter. He is the one who complained about the Lockheed trial by openly declaring in the Diet that the "commissioned questioning of a foreigner was illegal," and did not hesitate to officially state that the "exercise of administrative rights by the justice minister was only proper." Even after assuming the position of justice minister, it was requested in the Diet by various opposition parties that Hatano cancel his statement on exercise of administrative power, but he remained adamant and instead, strengthened his statement by saying, "Political intervention in prosecution matters is not evil. Was Justice Minister Inukai's exercise of power in the shipbuilding scandal bad or not?" Of course, Hatano was appointed the Justice minister by none other than---Tanaka and Yasuhiro Nakasone.

Regarding Hatano, even Zenko Suzuki later revealed the following: "The Suzuki cabinet was sarcastically called 'Tanaka's shadow cabinet' by society but I resisted to the end the pressure of Mejiro [Tanaka's residence] to 'use Hatano as justice minister.' People must know now who is the real 'Tanaka's shadow cabinet.'"

Subsequently, in BUNGEI SHUNJU, Hatano even makes a "greengrocer statement" (seeking particulars of moral virtues from a politician is like asking for a fish at the greengrocer) and continues to defend Tanaka to the bitter end.

On 12 October 1983, the Tokyo District Court finally passed sentence on Tanaka in the first trial of the Lockheed case. However, the justice minister at the time was a strong Tanaka supporter, as noted.

The expansion scheme of the Tanaka faction is especially noticeable from 1981 to 1982. It is as follows as listed on a chronological table:

18 February 1981--Reading of the prosecutors' investigative report in which the delivery and acceptance of Y500 million are totally denied (19 February, Takao Fujii joins the Thursday Club).

14 July 1981--Prosecutor's recommendations on sentencing of Tomisaburo Hashimoto and Takayuki Sato (14 July, Ryoichi Nagata, Yoshikazu Kitamura and Reihitsu Matsuyama join the club).

28 October 1981--Mieko Enomoto's testimony that "Toshio Enomoto admits the delivery and acceptance of Y500 million" (29 October, Yoshinari Norota joins the club).

5 November 1981--Sentence on Kenji Osano to 1-year penal servitude without stay of execution (5 November, Jiro Iwagami joins the club).

25 November 1981--Exposure, through questioning of defendant by the Public Prosecutors Office, of the ambiguities in Enomoto's testimony regarding delivery and acceptance of cash (3 December, Akio Kyuma and Hiroshi Oki join the club).

26 January 1982--Sentence of 3-year penal servitude, 5-year probationary period on Tokuji Wakasa (29 January, Masao Horie joins the club).

In other words, whenever it was factually determined that the Lockheed public trial was clearly disadvantageous to the Tanaka faction, someone joined the Thursday Club that very evening, when early, and in a week, at the latest, and the news that the "Tanaka faction increased again" spread through the political world.

The aim of the Tanaka faction is evident but what about the motives of those who joined the club?

Masao Horie states, "I realized that in order to materialize the national defense measures which I had advocated from before, I must join a group which can assert power."

Ryoichi Nagata states, "Alone, I cannot obtain information and handle petitions adequately. In any event, I admired Tanaka who succeeded in normalizing relations between Japan and PRC."

however, both Horie and Nagata testify that, "We left all prearrangements for entering the club to Tanaka faction leaders and never even considered the timing of announcements."

In the case of Jiro Iwagami, the announcement was made in the evening of the day that Osano received the sentence with stay of execution and to the reporters, who rushed over to gather news on the repercussions of the sentence, he said, "I decided on joining the club, 3 days ago. Therefore, it happened this way." However, he could not hide his consternation.

Because of certain circumstances in his electoral district, Hiroshi Oki had delayed announcement of entry into the club. However, the Tanaka faction headquarters decided on its own to release the announcement and Oki was placed in a dilemma.

Tanaka did not so much as allude to such matters and continued his boasts whenever he found the opportunity.

"Including those still unregistered, our colleagues number 135 persons and we can do anything." (Statement made on 2 July 1982, at a party to encourage his own faction's Diet members.)

"It is said that there are too many ministers from the Tanaka faction but why too many? Democracy is politics of numbers!" (24 January 1983, at the New Year's party of Thursday Club.)

In this manner, the total forces of Tanaka faction rose to 119 persons before the 12 October court decision. Faction leaders declared flatly that, "No matter what the court decision, the unity of the 'corps' will not waver," and asserted, "the strategy of the Tanaka faction has been finalized."

That Day

However, it was not the political world that was to pass sentence. Developments led thus to the first trial sentence of former Prime Minister Tanaka on 12 October 1983. Though the political world, itself, could do nothing about Tanaka, the crime of the prime minister was to be finally tried at the hands of the law. The sentence was practically the same as expected.

The public trial opened at 1000 hours, 12 October, in the Tokyo District Court Criminal Affairs First Division (Mitsuo Okada, presiding judge) and the former Prime Minister Tanaka, who was arrested for the crime of entrusted bribery, Chief Judge Okada stated, "the crime committed by the prime minister in this case has resulted in the great loss of confidence by the people in the justice of government affairs and its unwholesome influence on society is incalculable," and passed a sentence of 4-year penal servitude and Y500 million in penalty fine (prosecutor's recommendation was 5-year penal servitude, Y500 million penalty fine) without stay of execution.

The decision affirmed the delivery and acceptance of Y500 million and the existence of solicitations, as asserted by the prosecution, and regarding the "prime minister's rights of office," judged that, "the act of directing the transport minister in the selection of aircraft of civilian aircraft companies is within the official jurisdiction of the prime minister. Also, the act of directly working on civilian aircraft companies is a semi-official act which has a close relationship with official duties," and became the first chief judge in Japan to recognize the commitment of a bribery offense by a prime minister in relation to his official duties. This decision, which repulsed the Tanaka side's continued assertion of complete denial, including the delivery and acceptance of Y500 million, incited Diet activities and it was anticipated that Tanaka's resignation problem, in particular, would be activated.

Prior to this, a strange rumor had been spreading throughout the Diet even before the court decision. Tanaka faction leaders had boasted that, "Emergency steps had been taken, and regardless of the outcome of the decision, nothing serious would happen." As if to endorse such statements, regarding measures for the extraordinary Diet session which was about to begin, comments continued to flow that a schedule, which looked far into the future, was almost established and finalized.

The 100th extraordinary Diet session, centered on the administrative reform package bill, etc., opened on 8 September of the same year. Since the 12 October sentence was passed in the midst of the session, it was expected that the opposition parties would naturally use the Diet as a stage to pursue the Tanaka problem fiercely, and in particular, thrust forth a resolution recommending the Diet resignation of Kakuei Tanaka and bring one aspect of the money-power politics problem to an end.

However, according to rumors whispered before the Diet opening, the schedule called for disposition of all the pending problems (including the administrative reform package bill) before the court decision, await the 12 October decision "without encumbrances," normalize the Diet by "raising up" (through participation in deliberations) the opposition parties with the tax reduction issue about a week later and to dissolve the lower house with the Tanaka problem suspended in the air.

"However, no matter what, they should not be able to carry it off so smoothly this time." That was the general prediction. The court clearly recognized the "guilt." It was believed that no matter how suspicious the disposition of the political parties had become, some decisive action would be taken.

Speaking conclusively, the prediction on this occasion was betrayed again completely.

Before the 12 October decision, the various opposition parties weakened, one after the other, and the JSP and the JCP held out to the end, but eventually, the administrative reform package bill was, in fact, dealt with in entirety. Immediately after the 12 October decision, the Diet became turbulent and the opposition parties showed the attitude that, "unless the Tanaka problem is disposed of, we cannot participate in deliberations," and the Diet continued

to be at a standstill but 1 week after the court sentence, the middle-of-the-road parties began to say, "purification of the political world is important but we must think of the people's livelihood," and the New Liberal Club changed its position to participation in Diet deliberations. The incentive used on this occasion to "raise" the opposition was "tax reduction."

With this as the start, the opposition parties began to "rise," one after another, and during the latter half of the Diet session, the Tanaka problem was put aside and all the parties began to lean toward dissolution.

There were two viewpoints in the LDP regarding the dissolution problem at this time. The Tanaka faction, which held the leadership, naturally wanted to dissolve at this time so the Lockheed problem could blow over. They had a rosy view of the situation and believed that the LDP would certainly win. Even if the LDP Diet seats remained at the same level--that would prove that Tanaka's sentence, without stay of execution, had no effect at all on the elections. Accordingly, they can crush Tanaka's sentence in one blow. For that reason, the Tanaka leadership group, headed by Secretary General Nikaido (then), moved coercively toward dissolution.

In contrast, Prime Minister Nakasone strongly opposed dissolution. Prime Minister Nakasone's judgment was that, "if dissolution is carried out under these circumstances, the LDP is certain to suffer an utter defeat." To the party leadership group, Prime Minister Nakasone asserted that, "No matter how early, the dissolution must be postponed until next year."

On the other hand, most of the opposition parties hoped strongly for a dissolution within that year. Most of the opposition parties were at a low ebb because of the weakening of organizational power and for other reasons. For opposition parties in that state, dissolution immediately after the sentence, seemed to be the best chance in a long while to rebuild party strengths. For that reason, they made the following agreement, somehow, with the LDP leadership group.

"If dissolution is carried within this year, we shall close our eyes to trifling matters."

In other words, this was a "deal" that if the LDP party leadership carried out the dissolution within the year, they would shelve the Tanaka problem at this time. Therefore, the various opposition parties made it appear outwardly that they were handing together but eventually, they agreed to Diet normalization.

As before, rumors flew that a tremendous amount of Diet management funds were passed out because such a deal was being made.

According to such stories, the money passed from the LDP to some of the opposition parties amounted to hundreds of million yen. At first, lower house Speaker Hajime Fukuda strongly opposed the manner of Diet management by Tanaka's leadership group. Speaker Fukuda adamantly refused the strong request of Nikaido, and others, to close the main Diet session as a prelude to lower house dissolution.

On that occasion, within the LDP leadership, it is said that voices were heard, "Must we give money to the speaker, too?" Hajime Fukuda, who heard the story, became furious, "This is truly unpleasant. Who do they think a speaker is? What do they think the authority of the Diet is?" This is really ironic, happening in a money-power politics story amidst a "Diet to criticize money-power politics."

In any event, the 100th extraordinary Diet session ended in this way without any positive results from criticisms of money-power politics, and moved toward dissolution as originally expected. The political world could not reform its posture, by itself, and eventually "passed the ball" to the people. In other words, the only ones who can purify the political world are the "people" themselves.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

CABINET MEMBERS REVEAL PERSONAL WEALTH ASSETS

OW261105 Tokyo KYODO in English 1040 GMT 26 Aug 86

[Text] Tokyo, 26 Aug (KYODO)--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone led his 21-member cabinet in declaring their personal wealth Tuesday, revealing that his own personal asset climbed by 13 million yen in two and a half years.

In terms of overall personal assets, however, Nakasone was well outflanked by the two wealthiest members of the group: Takushi Hirai, labor minister, and Hajime Tamura, minister for international trade and industry.

Hirai reported that his assets in terms of deposits and stocks totaled 291.20 million yen, supplemented by 76.38 million yen in land holdings. Tamura announced building assets amounted to 181.26 million yen, followed by land holdings valued at 74.96 million yen.

By comparison, land holdings under Nakasone's name were valued at 69.28 million yen, buildings at 17.88 million yen, and deposit and stock assets at 51.60 million yen.

Nakasone took the initiative in announcing the details of his personal wealth in January 1984, following allegations during the 1983 election campaign that members of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) were bent on building up financial assets.

Although cabinet members have followed suit since 1984, critics say the disclosures are just partial. They do not include details on the holdings of respective spouses or other family members. Moreover, real estate assets represent only assessment values for tax purposes, and stock assets are quoted at face, rather than market value.

Nakasone's overall assets reached a total of 138.76 million yen, up by 2.7 million yen since last January. Since 1984, however, the prime minister's real estate assets have climbed by 13 million yen due to increases in property values.

By comparison, Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, one of the "new leaders" challenging to take over party leadership in the post-Nakasone era, said,

in a first-time disclosure, that his personal assets were worth 145 million yen.

In the last round of asset revelations last January, LDP General Council Chairman Shintaro Abe (then foreign minister) reported his total holdings at 144 million yen. The other member of the new leader group, LDP Secretary-General Noboru Takeshita (then finance minister) announced assets valued at 121 million yen.

Regarding real estate (land and building) assets, Tamura ranked first with 256 million yen, followed by Justice Minister Kaname Endo with 99 million yen. Nakasone came in third with holdings valued at over 87 million yen.

Hirai, wealthiest in the cabinet line-up, ranked first in the land asset category (76.38 million yen) and deposit-stock assets (291.20 million yen), but he was the only portfolio holder to announce building assets valued at zero.

In terms of debt, Director General of the Environmental Agency Toshiyuki Inamura took top place when he reported a debt balance of 115 million yen due to his 6 July election expenses.

Miyazawa came in second with a debt total of 70 million yen, followed by Education Minister Masayuki Fujio at 61.75 million yen.

Although the amount of debt per cabinet minister averaged 46 million yen, Nakasone fell well below the level with a reported 17 million yen.

It was also noted that five of the group each owned a Mercedes Benz. Miyazawa reportedly invested 15.95 million yen to purchase the top model in the Benz line.

Kazuo Tamaki, director general of the Management and Coordination Agency, holds a membership at Tokyo's highly prestigious Koganei Country Club valued at 170 million yen.

Nakasone himself is a member of five golf clubs including that of the Yomiuri Country Club which has a fee of 60 million yen.

By comparison, Posts and Telecommunications Minister Shunjiro Karasawa emerges as the poor relative in the cabinet club, with overall assets of 17 million yen, offset by debts of over 14 million yen.

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CSO: 4100/259

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS SURGE TO Y145.5 BILLION

OW021125 Tokyo KYODO in English 0903 GMT 2 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, 2 Sept (KYODO)--A total of 145.5 billion yen was contributed to politicians, parties and organizations in 1985, up 24.8 percent from the previous year, according to a Home Affairs Ministry report being published Wednesday.

Of the major political parties, the Japan Communist Party (JCP) continued to top the income list with 21.67 billion yen, up 5 million yen from the previous year. Most of its income came from the sale of its official organ and other publications.

The ruling Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) reported a total income of 18.96 billion yen, up 42.3 percent, followed by Komeito with 9.8 billion yen, up 6 percent, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) with 6.65 billion yen, up 5.5 percent, and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) with 1.83 billion yen, up 9 percent. The New Liberal Club (NLC) which was recently disbanded, reported an income of 445 million yen, up about 5 percent.

The 1985 total political funds of 145.5 billion yen represented one of the largest figures ever, second only to that in 1983. Of the total, contributions by individuals, companies and other organizations accounted for 52.4 percent. The reports were filed by a total of 3,516 political parties and organizations throughout the country.

The LDP's sharp rise in income shows that it had mobilized its party organs across the country in a move to raise election campaign funds for the double elections held in July, ministry officials said.

Another reason for the dramatic increase is that the ruling party increased its registered rank and file membership by 1.6 million to 3.6 million, which resulted in an increase of party revenue by 1.6 million yen from last year.

Business contributions to the LDP amounted to about 8 billion yen, according to the report. Within the LDP, its five major factions raised a total of 5.3 billion yen last year, up 30 percent from the previous year.

The faction headed by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, was the year's top fund-raiser, collecting a total of 1.37 billion yen, an increase of 25 percent over 1984.

The Fukuda faction, now renamed the Abe faction, led by former Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe, raised 1.13 billion yen, a decrease of 3.3 percent from the previous year.

The Tanaka faction, currently led by former LDP Vice President Susumu Nikaido, was reported to have collected a sum of 978 million yen, up 70 percent from the previous year. A third of the total came from a fund-raising party for Nikaido himself.

The Komoto faction, [led] by former Cabinet Minister Toshio Komoto, raised 946 million yen, up 4.8 percent. The relatively small increase is attributed to the fact that Sanko Steamship Co., a shipping company virtually owned by Komoto, went bankrupt in August last year, ministry officials indicated.

The Suzuki faction, led by former Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, almost tripled its income from contributions to 879 million yen from the previous year. The figure is interpreted among political insiders to mean that Kiichi Miyazawa, who will soon succeed Suzuki as head of the faction, has begun showing his political clout by collecting such a huge sum of money.

Regarding political funds collected by individual politicians through their political organizations, Nakasone topped the list, receiving a total of 1.96 billion yen in contributions last year through his 18 political organizations.

Among three "new leaders" vying to succeed Nakasone in the premiership, LDP Secretary General Noboru Takeshita collected 870 million yen through his political organizations, followed by Abe with 77 million yen and Miyazawa 560 million yen. Former Finance Minister Michio Watanabe raised 640 million yen during the year.

On an individual basis, former Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi topped the direct contributions list with 110 million yen, followed by Shintaro Abe with 78.9 million yen, former Acting LDP Secretary General Sosuke Uno with 69 million yen, and Nakasone with 67 million yen.

The amount of political contributions for individual politicians increased by 173 million yen to total 1.96 billion yen. However, under the current political fund control law, the figure does not reflect the de facto amount of money they received because most of such contributions are easily transmitted to an account of political organizations each politician holds, insiders said.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

EDUCATION MINISTER'S NATIONALISM STANCE DEFENDED

OW051031 Tokyo KYODO in English 0701 GMT 5 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, 5 Sept (KYODO)--Kazuo Tamaki, director general of the Management and Coordination Agency, Friday poured praise on Education Minister Masayuki Fujio for his pro-anthem and flag-raising stance.

Tamaki told a cabinet meeting that he supported Fujio's proposal to promote anthem and flag-raising ceremonies in Japanese schools. "The National Council on Educational Reform should take into consideration the fact that the Takeo Miki cabinet (in March 1975) recognized the Hinomaru (Rising Sun) as the national flag and the Kimigayo (His Majesty's Reign) as the nation's anthem," he said, adding "sound nationalism is only natural."

In an address to the cabinet, Fujio said he plans to discuss the anthem and flag issue as well as the importance of nationalism with the reform council.

The Council or Rinkyoshin, a group of academics and business leaders charged with the task of planning reform of Japan's school system, reacted negatively when Fujio called on members Wednesday to support the promotion of anthem and flag rites.

In a meeting with reporters following the cabinet meeting, Fujio commented, "it doesn't mean I am resorting to force, but I do want to see the council take up the (anthem-flag) issue in its discussions."

At Wednesday's meeting, the council agreed to debate on the internationalization of Japanese education and its ties to nationalism. However, council members called for discretion in dealing directly with issues such as flag-raising rites in council debates.

The Education Ministry has issued instructions in the past calling on schools to hold anthem and flag-raising ceremonies during school events such as entrance and graduation ceremonies.

Teachers, backed by the powerful Japan Teachers Union (Nikkyoso), have attempted to resist the government in its move to ritualize anthem and

flag ceremonies in schools, charging that the rites are symbolic of Japan's prewar period of militarism.

While the "Hinomaru" is recognized as Japan's national banner, the "Kimigayo," praising 10,000 years of reign by an unbroken line of emperors, has never been officially designated as the country's anthem.

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CSO: 4100/259

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

BRIEFS

NAKASONE REJECTS 'LAME DUCK' LABEL--Tokyo, 1 Sept (KYODO)--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone indicated Monday that he wants to avoid anybody getting the impression that he is a "lame duck" premier whose term of office is limited, political sources said. Nakasone asked Ken Harada, the chairman of a key panel of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, to consider the diplomatic aspect before taking formal steps to extend his term of office as LDP president--a post which carries with it the premiership--beyond October, the sources said. Harada's panel decided last week to recommend that Nakasone should retain his post beyond 30 October when his second two-year term runs out. Party rules ban a consecutive third term. Harada told Nakasone the ruling party will hold a session of all LDP Diet members on 11 September to approve his extension as party president. [Text]
[Tokyo KYODO in English 0338 GMT 1 Sep 86 OW] /12858

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MILITARY

DEFENSE AGENCY CHIEF TO VISIT U.S. 2-8 SEP

OW231615 Tokyo KYODO in English 1103 GMT 23 Aug 86

[Text] Tokyo, Aug 23 (KYODO)--Yuko Kurihara, director general of the Defense Agency, will visit the United States September 2-8 for talks with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, government officials said Saturday.

The officials said Kurihara would pledge Japan's efforts for a steady defense buildup in his meeting with Weinberger.

It will be Kurihara's first trip to the United States since he took up his post in a new cabinet formed by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in July.

The officials said the government considers it necessary for Japan and the United States to hold regular talks on defense problems.

Kurihara told reporters he would exchange frank views with Weinberger on defense problems in a bid to build mutual trust between Japan and the United States.

Kurihara is expected to tell Weinberger the government will make its utmost efforts for an early solution to the pending issue of finding a facility for night flight training for U.S. aircraft carrier-based warplanes.

Residents of Miyakejima Island, picked by the government as the site for such training, are opposed to a planned airstrip there.

Kurihara and Weinberger also are expected to discuss the pending issue of building housing for U.S. Navy personnel and their dependents at Ikego in Zushi, Kanagawa Prefecture.

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CSO: 4100/261

MILITARY

U.S. CARRIERS MAY JOIN SEA OF JAPAN WAR GAMES

OW270125 Tokyo KYODO in English 0107 GMT 27 Aug 86

[Text] Tokyo, Aug 27 (KYODO)--Two U.S. aircraft carrier groups are likely to join the battleship New Jersey for a major naval exercise in the Sea of Japan next month, defense sources say.

The sources said the Carl Vinson, an 81,600-ton nuclear-powered carrier, is expected to participate in the exercise while the 60,000-ton flattop, Ranger, is likely to join in the war game also. Both carrier groups are deployed in the Pacific.

The Carl Vinson is currently believed to be operating somewhere in Northwest Pacific, and eight warships from the carrier group are expected to make a port call at Sasebo, southern Japan, September 1-5 before taking part in the exercise.

The carrier itself will make a port call at Inchon in South Korea instead, the defense sources say.

The current location of the Ranger carrier group is unknown, the sources say.

A total of some 20-30 U.S. warships are expected to take part in the exercise, which has been rumored since the New Jersey sailed into Japan last Sunday.

The 45,000-ton New Jersey, accompanied by three warships of the 7th fleets surface attack group, is expected to leave for the Japan Sea maneuver on September 2.

The exercise is believed to be the largest U.S. naval maneuvers in nearly 2 years in the area, which is close to Vladivostok, headquarters of the Soviet Pacific fleet.

The New Jersey is currently on a port call at Sasebo and was joined Wednesday morning by the 5,770-ton destroyer Merrill, which arrived from Kure, the Hiroshima Prefecture port where the warship had been staying since last Sunday.

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CSO: 4100/261

MILITARY

U.S. NAVY APOLOGIZES FOR JAPAN TREATY VIOLATION

OW280625 Tokyo KYODO in English 0547 GMT 28 Aug 86

[Text] Yokosuka, Kanagawa Pref., Aug 28 (KYODO)--The U.S. Navy here has apologized to the City of Yokosuka for its nuclear-powered submarine's unauthorized anchorage, in an off limits area for the U.S. Navy, in Yokosuka port waters, city officials said.

The U.S. Navy made its apology through the Foreign Ministry, for the La Jolla's violation August 14 of the Japan-U.S. mutual security treaty that specifies certain areas off-limits for anchorage of U.S. naval ships.

They also said the Navy assured the city of Yokosuka, located 50 kilometers south of Tokyo, where a U.S. Pacific fleet naval base lies, that it will not repeat such an incident.

The city stated its regrets over the incident to the U.S. Navy in Japan through the Foreign Ministry, saying that U.S. nuclear-powered subs should adhere to only those anchorage areas specified for U.S. use under the mutual treaty.

U.S. nuclear subs have called at the port since 1966, however, officials cited La Jolla's anchorage violation there was an extremely rare case.

The 6,000-ton submarine La Jolla is capable of carrying Tomahawk cruise missiles.

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MILITARY

JAPAN TO SUPPLY U.S. MILITARY TECHNOLOGY ITEMS

OW051017 Tokyo KYODO in English 0955 GMT 5 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sep 5 (KYODO)--Japan announced Friday that it will provide two items of military technology--shipbuilding technology and a portable ground-to-air missile--to the United States, marking the first concrete transfer under the framework of the Mutual Defense Assistance agreement (MDA), reached in late 1983.

The decision was made at Friday's meeting of the Joint Military Technology Committee, which includes Yoshio Kamata, director of the Defense Agency's equipment bureau and two directors general of bureaus of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and the Foreign Ministry, government officials said.

The shipbuilding technology, to be used in the construction of oilers for the U.S. Navy, will be licensed to Pennsylvania Shipbuilding Co. of the U.S. by Ishikawajima-Harima Heavy Industries Co., Japan's leading shipbuilding firm, they said.

Meanwhile, the missile, equipped with image homing technology which combines infrared charge-coupled devices and microcomputers, will be supplied to the U.S. Army by the Defense Agency's Technical Research and Development Institute and Toshiba Corp., the officials said.

The Japanese Government has a basic policy of prohibiting the export of weapons and military know-how.

But Tokyo and Washington concluded an umbrella accord on the transfer of advanced military technology from Japan to America to step up cooperation in the defense field in November 1983.

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MILITARY

KURIHARA MEETS U.S. PACIFIC COMMANDER IN HAWAII

OW071015 Tokyo KYODO in English 1011 GMT 7 Sep 86

[Text] Honolulu, Sep 6 (KYODO)--Adm. Ronald Hays, commander of U.S. Pacific forces, asked Japan's Defense Agency Chief Yuko Kurihara Saturday for Japan's cooperation in meeting increased burden of the U.S. forces in Japan due to the yen's sharp appreciation.

Hays made the request when he met Kurihara, director general of the Defense Agency, who arrived in Honolulu Saturday afternoon (Sunday morning Japan time) from Washington where he had conferred with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

In the 15-minute meeting, Hays asked Kurihara for Japan's cooperation in meeting the increased U.S. burden, in particular labor cost of Japanese workers at U.S. bases in Japan.

Hays also requested Japan's cooperation in construction of an airfield for night landing practice for U.S. aircraft carrier-borne jet fighters on Miyake Island, south of Tokyo, and of U.S. military housing at the Ikego hills in Kanagawa Prefecture.

Kurihara told Hays that Japan will deal with the problems in a positive manner. Kurihara will return home Monday afternoon.

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MILITARY

NEW MILITARY FACILITIES IN ZUSHI, MIYAKE OPPOSED

OW040235 Tokyo KYODO in English 0215 GMT 4 Sep 86

[Text] Washington, Sept 3 (KYODO)--Eight groups of American and Japanese environmentalists said here Wednesday they are opposed to plans to build new military facilities at what they call bird sanctuaries in Japan.

One of the opposition groups, the Sierra Club, said the Japanese and American groups have sent protest letters to U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Japanese Defense Agency Chief Yuko Kurihara. Kurihara is now in Washington for a meeting with Secretary of Defense Weinberger.

The Japanese Government has proposed a plan to build homes for American servicemen at the site of a former arsenal in Zushi, near the military port city of Yokosuka and the homeport of the aircraft carrier Midway.

Japan is also planning to build an airfield on Miyake Island, south of Tokyo, as a night flight training site for U.S. carrier-borne aircraft, replacing the Atsugi air station.

The Sierra Club said Miyake Island is a habitat for over 200 different species of wild birds. The Ikego arsenal is one of a few bird sanctuaries near Tokyo.

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MILITARY

MISSILE ACCIDENTALLY LAUNCHED; NO INJURIES

OW040853 Tokyo KYODO in English 0845 GMT 4 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sep 4 (KYODO)--A Sidewinder air-to-air missile was accidentally launched, exploding 300 meters away in an open area Thursday at the Hyakuri base in Ibaraki Prefecture.

The accident occurred when the pilot switched on the starter of a parked F-15 Eagle fighter jet to taxi it out of the hangar, the Defense Agency said.

Agency officials reported that there were no injuries in the accident which occurred at about 8:30 am at the air self-defense force base near Ogawa in the District of Higashi Ibaraki.

Base officials indicated that faulty electric wiring in the F-15's control panel may have been the cause of the accident.

A string of recent accidents involving the Air Self Defense Force has aroused controversy and fueled criticism that the force is engaged in expanding its military functions.

Two Phantom jets, manufactured by McDonnell Douglas, crashed in the mountain region of Fukuoka Prefecture in June.

Only 2 days ago, an Air Self Defense Force T-2 trainer from the Nyutabaru air base in Miyazaki Prefecture crashed in the Miyazaki area of Saito, leaving one pilot dead and two civilians injured.

The Hyakuri base, which oversees defense of the Tokyo region, is home to the fighter unit's 7th wing as well as a reconnaissance group and accompanying reconnaissance planes.

Although the latest accident involving a Sidewinder missile is the first of its kind to occur at the Hyakuri base, agency officials reported it is the second Sidewinder mishap to take place in Japan.

In January 1980 a Sidewinder, 3 meters long and weighing 80 kilograms, accidentally exploded when Air Self Defense Force technicians were conducting a check on the missile's rocket motor. One defense force official was killed and a number of others were injured in the mishap, according to the agency.

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MILITARY

ASDF INVESTIGATORS REVIEW 4 SEP MISSILE INCIDENT

OW050403 Tokyo KYODO in English 0327 GMT 5 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sept 5 (KYODO)--A missile fired by accident from an Air Self-Defense Force F-15 fighter Thursday at an airbase in Ibaraki Prefecture was probably destroyed by the impact of hitting the ground rather than exploding, ASDF investigators said Friday.

The ASDF team said the fragments of the Sidewinder missile recovered from the site where it struck the ground were too big for it to have exploded.

The ASDF had stated Thursday that the warhead exploded in a vacant lot at the ASDF Hyakuri air base after flying about 400 meters. The rocket section had fallen off after about 300 meters. The missile was fired as the pilot switched on the aircraft to taxi out of a hangar.

Meanwhile, Defense Agency Director General Yuko Kurihara, who is currently visiting the United States, expressed his regret over the accident, saying "I must apologize to the Japanese people for it. I have ordered the ASDF to take any measures necessary to prevent recurrence of such an accident."

The investigation so far points to malfunctions in the launching mechanism and the missile itself.

The ASDF team also suggested that an electrical fault may have caused a failure in the functioning of a circuit breaker for the missile.

Meanwhile, the ASDF began conducting a thorough check of missile launching mechanisms of F-15 fighters at other air bases, including Chitose in Hokkaido and Nyutabaru in Miyazaki Prefecture.

For the time being, scramble missions will be flown by jet fighters other than F-15's, officials said.

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MILITARY

BRIEFS

AIR FORCE TO CHECK EQUIPMENT--Tokyo, 4 Sep (KYODO)--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone instructed the Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF) to check its weapons and equipment following a missile explosion accident at the Hyakuri base in Ibaraki Prefecture Thursday. Nakasone told reporters Thursday evening that he has warned the ASDF and issued the instruction to prevent recurrence of such an accident. A Sidewinder air-to-air missile exploded after it was accidentally launched from a parked F-15 Eagle fighter Thursday morning. The accident took place only 2 days after an ASDF T-2 trainer from the Nyutabaru base in Miyazaki Prefecture crashed in a nearby farm area, killing its pilot and injuring two civilians. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 1207 GMT 4 Sep 86] /9599

PREVENTION OF U.S. ISOLATIONISM URGED--Washington, 5 Sep (KYODO)--Japan's Defense Chief Yuko Kurihara said here Friday that Japan must not only increase its defense capabilities but also promote economic and other cooperation if it is to prevent a rise in isolationism in the United States. Kurihara, director general of the Defense Agency, was talking to the press after his meetings with Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and other U.S. Government and Congressional officials. He said he had been told during the talks that an isolationist mood is gradually being fostered in the United States. Behind this trend is the expanding fiscal deficit, as a result, Americans are questioning their role in subsidizing the defense of other countries under the circumstances, he said. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 0138 GMT 6 Sep 86] /9599

KURIHARA REPORTS ON U.S. VISIT--Tokyo, 8 Sep (KYODO)--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone Monday instructed Defense Agency Chief Yuko Kurihara, who recently returned from a visit to the United States for defense talks, to promote Japan-U.S. defense cooperation, officials said. Nakasone gave the instructions to Kurihara who called on Nakasone at his official residence in Tokyo to report on his trip during which he met Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. In his report on the U.S. visit, Kurihara told Nakasone that the U.S., which is facing serious fiscal deficits, is looking to Japan for greater cooperation in trade and defense areas. Kurihara also said the U.S. has high expectations of the Nakasone cabinet regarding defense buildup. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 1253 GMT 8 Sep 86] /9599

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