

	Elect- orate	L	D	S.D.	P.C.	C	M
Shizuoka	1	152,659	65,109	93,871	14,351	15,212	--
	2	133,641	42,429	67,773	--	6,902	--
	3	66,220	68,678	30,803	77,686	6,660	3,311
	Total	352,520	176,216	192,447	92,037	28,774	3,311
Aichi	1	32,311	101,257	83,480	13,847	16,212	11,388
	2	60,902	99,399	71,114	12,969	10,142	--
	3	60,722	64,718	36,342	47,625	5,323	--
	4	58,391	78,907	42,266	31,005	7,787	45,011
	5	86,182	45,682	40,317	--	7,131	27,187
	Total	298,508	389,963	273,519	105,446	46,595	83,586
Mie	1	55,646	130,200	54,828	--	14,010	41,941
	2	31,355	44,750	41,883	--	8,078	--
	Total	80,505	174,950	96,711	--	22,088	41,941
Shiga	1	129,627	38,104	102,827	53,195	6,653	9,615
Kyoto	1	35,878	69,607	119,703	9,180	10,427	10,151
	2	53,670	147,557	124,628	4,855	5,118	1,505
	Total	89,548	217,164	244,331	14,035	15,545	11,656
Osaka	1	67,716	45,985	69,802	13,842	27,762	44,169
	2	46,412	47,469	97,829	8,436	11,476	14,771
	3	29,723	69,788	85,300	11,377	12,409	--
	4	42,963	77,110	72,741	--	8,348	--
	5	63,376	17,981	48,568	--	10,025	17,164
	Total	248,190	258,333	374,540	33,655	70,020	76,104
Hyogo	1	26,538	58,292	76,196	--	7,830	9,202
	2	25,168	129,136	114,200	11,945	11,144	7,199
	3	32,482	74,042	62,515	32,319	4,888	--
	4	39,011	99,617	40,830	39,374	10,531	--
	5	27,194	110,370	26,122	9,058	3,382	--
	Total	150,393	471,457	319,863	92,696	37,775	16,401

D	S.D.	P.C.	C	M	I	Total
65,109	93,871	14,351	15,212	--	--	341,202
42,429	67,773	--	6,902	--	21,758	272,503
68,678	30,803	77,686	6,660	3,311	16,510	269,868
176,216	192,447	92,037	28,774	3,311	38,268	883,573
101,257	83,480	13,847	16,212	11,388	5,951	264,446
99,399	71,114	12,969	10,142	--	--	254,526
64,718	36,342	47,625	5,323	--	--	214,730
78,907	42,266	31,005	7,787	45,011	11,124	274,491
45,682	40,317	--	7,131	27,187	--	206,499
389,963	273,519	105,446	46,595	83,586	17,075	1,214,692
130,200	54,828	--	14,010	41,941	26,641	323,266
44,750	41,883	--	8,078	--	83,317	209,383
174,950	96,711	--	22,088	41,941	109,958	532,649
38,104	102,827	53,195	6,653	9,615	4,505	344,526
69,607	119,703	9,180	10,427	10,151	6,277	261,223
147,557	124,628	4,855	5,118	1,505	4,442	341,775
217,164	244,331	14,035	15,545	11,656	10,719	602,998
45,985	69,802	13,842	27,762	44,169	6,521	273,797
47,469	97,829	8,436	11,476	14,771	1,575	227,968
69,788	85,300	11,377	12,409	--	11,125	220,022
77,110	72,741	--	8,348	--	25,145	226,307
17,981	48,568	--	10,025	17,164	58,690	215,804
258,333	374,540	33,655	70,020	76,104	103,056	1,163,898
58,292	76,196	--	7,830	9,202	1,647	179,705
129,136	114,200	11,945	11,144	7,199	3,190	301,982
74,042	62,515	32,319	4,888	--	--	706,240
99,617	40,830	39,374	10,531	--	13,460	242,823
110,370	26,122	9,058	3,382	--	2,075	178,201
471,457	319,863	92,696	37,775	16,401	20,372	1,108,957

	Elect- orate	L	D	S.D.	P.C.	C	M
Nara	1	81,183	37,427	51,948	--	12,992	34,990
Wakayama	1	75,046	6,161	54,193	--	3,339	4,744
	2	65,459	--	43,900	46,122	4,780	--
	Total	140,505	6,161	98,093	46,122	8,119	4,744
Tottori	1	66,576	--	72,343	13,596	11,751	60,279
Shimane	1	31,950	155,243	126,436	17,532	20,597	--
Okayama	1	99,810	68,048	63,408	33,145	13,549	--
	2	111,046	57,674	81,595	34,563	15,985	--
	Total	210,856	125,722	145,003	67,708	29,534	--
Hiroshima	1	--	23,151	77,158	66,135	4,592	37,534
	2	105,138	35,636	47,476	27,254	6,182	25,617
	3	82,075	76,991	110,616	--	8,655	--
	Total	187,213	135,778	235,250	93,389	19,429	63,151
Yamaguchi	1	106,461	28,525	70,794	15,872	8,370	1,091
	2	49,436	29,714	61,465	17,939	14,205	44,554
	Total	155,897	58,239	132,259	33,817	22,575	45,645
Tokushima	1	62,666	12,699	55,605	118,606	3,230	24,613
Kagawa	1	18,588	28,413	67,582	--	4,813	41,761
	2	25,521	78,270	46,926	38,587	3,760	--
	Total	44,109	106,683	114,508	38,587	8,573	41,761
Ehime	1	46,003	65,691	26,352	--	4,780	2,166
	2	24,174	90,457	71,997	--	4,830	--
	3	85,261	41,846	33,551	13,305	6,067	2,966
	Total	156,038	197,994	131,900	13,305	15,677	5,132
Kochi	1	148,102	46,055	64,235	--	8,721	26,729

D	S.D.	P.C.	C	M	I	Total
37,427	51,948	--	12,992	34,990	110,088	328,628
6,161	54,193	--	3,339	4,744	29,139	172,622
--	43,900	46,122	4,780	--	8,042	168,303
6,161	98,093	46,122	8,119	4,744	37,181	340,925
--	72,343	13,596	11,751	60,279	--	224,545
155,243	126,436	17,532	20,597	--	20,597	372,076
68,048	63,408	33,145	13,549	--	3,452	381,412
57,674	81,595	34,563	15,985	--	677	301,540
125,722	145,003	67,708	29,534	--	4,129	582,952
23,151	77,158	66,135	4,592	37,534	7,374	215,944
35,636	47,476	27,254	6,182	25,617	763	248,066
76,991	110,616	--	8,655	--	25,883	304,220
135,778	235,250	93,389	19,429	63,151	340,020	768,230
28,525	70,794	15,872	8,370	1,091	14,199	245,318
29,714	61,465	17,939	14,205	44,554	40,878	258,191
58,239	132,259	33,817	22,575	45,645	55,077	503,509
12,699	55,605	118,606	3,230	24,613	3,697	281,116
28,413	67,582	--	4,813	41,761	2,990	164,147
78,270	46,926	38,587	3,760	--	2,923	195,987
106,683	114,508	38,587	8,573	41,761	5,913	360,134
65,691	26,352	--	4,780	2,166	2,591	147,583
90,457	71,997	--	4,830	--	472	191,930
41,846	33,551	13,305	6,067	2,966	2,290	185,886
197,994	131,900	13,305	15,677	5,132	5,353	525,399
46,055	64,235	--	8,721	26,729	40,172	334,014

	Elect- orate	L	D	S.D.	P.C.	C	M
Fukuoka	1	40,907	55,647	78,343	—	8,012	47,904
	2	36,497	85,446	145,441	19,920	18,742	—
	3	75,608	84,018	59,926	11,357	7,717	31,982
	4	32,900	54,514	123,384	—	6,768	—
	Total	185,912	279,625	407,094	31,277	41,239	79,886
Saga	1	122,564	85,784	27,746	52,444	10,889	—
Nagasaki	1	103,141	34,202	52,413	16,014	4,928	20,233
	2	50,123	76,341	64,144	—	6,311	31,422
	Total	153,264	110,543	116,557	16,014	11,239	51,655
Kumamoto	1	61,969	104,904	96,855	21,578	4,457	7,253
	2	107,780	111,259	59,030	19,421	2,652	7,581
	Total	169,749	216,163	155,885	40,999	9,109	14,834
Oita	1	56,742	77,013	28,610	15,612	7,895	8,771
	2	33,078	49,699	46,203	23,590	6,005	3,701
	Total	89,820	126,712	74,813	39,202	13,900	12,472
Miyazaki	1	31,071	30,001	28,553	41,620	4,338	—
	2	13,632	—	53,537	81,956	2,895	—
	Total	44,703	30,001	82,090	123,576	7,233	—
Kagoshima	1	51,466	97,170	20,963	18,222	1,496	8,099
	2	—	90,603	39,539	18,657	1,225	38,301
	3	42,878	47,143	12,705	46,021	677	2,563
	Total	94,344	241,549	73,207	82,900	3,398	48,963

D	S.D.	P.C.	C	M	I	Total
55,647	78,343	--	8,012	47,904	41,703	272,516
85,446	145,441	19,920	18,742	--	--	306,046
84,018	59,926	11,357	7,717	31,982	37,730	308,338
54,514	123,384	--	6,768	--	21,247	238,813
79,625	407,094	31,277	41,239	79,886	100,680	1,125,713
85,784	27,746	52,444	10,889	--	65,617	365,044
34,202	52,413	16,014	4,928	20,233	10,555	241,486
76,341	64,144	--	6,311	31,422	--	228,341
10,543	116,557	16,014	11,239	51,655	10,555	469,827
04,904	96,855	21,578	4,457	7,253	9,638	306,654
11,259	59,030	19,421	2,652	7,581	20,655	328,378
26,163	155,885	40,999	9,109	14,834	30,293	635,032
77,013	28,610	15,612	7,895	8,771	62,417	257,060
49,699	46,203	23,590	6,005	3,701	26,693	188,969
26,712	74,813	39,202	13,900	12,472	89,110	446,029
30,001	28,553	41,620	4,338	--	62,234	197,817
--	53,537	81,956	2,895	--	8,791	160,811
30,001	82,090	123,576	7,233	--	71,025	358,628
97,170	20,963	18,222	1,496	8,099	19,319	216,735
90,603	39,539	18,657	1,225	38,301	16,193	211,151
47,143	12,705	46,021	677	2,563	2,272	154,259
41,549	73,207	82,900	3,398	48,963	37,784	582,145

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The House of Councillors Election

Summary and Results - House of Councillors Election

	#National Constitu- ency	No of Valid Votes Cast	Prefect- ural Con- stituency	No. of Valid Votes Cast	%	Total #	% of Total Member- ship
Social Democrats	17 (11)*	3,479,814	30 (16)	4,847,188 (22)		47 (27)	18
Liberals	8 (2)	1,360,456	29 (14)	3,822,767 (17)		37 (16)	15
Democrats	6 (5)	1,908,087	22 (12)	3,117,202 (14)		28 (17)	11
People's Cooperatives	3 (2)	549,916	6 (3)	1,038,271 (5)		9 (5)	4
Communists	3 (0)	610,948	1 (0)	809,177 (4)		4 (0)	2
Minor Parties	5 (1)	1,039,819	7 (2)	1,026,178 (5)		12 (3)	5
Independents	58 (29)	12,462,073	55 (28)	7,235,693 (33)		113 (57)	45
	100 (50)	21,411,113	150 (75)	21,896,476		250 (125)	100

The elections to the House of Councillors on 20 April resulted in an abnormally high abstention rate compared to the 1946 House of Representatives elections, this year's 5 April elections and the subsequent elections of 25 and 30 April. The average abstention rate throughout the nation was 39 per cent though on the whole it was much higher in the cities than in the rural areas, reaching 41 per cent in OSAKA, 43 per cent in KYOTO, 47 per cent in TOKYO. On the other hand, over 70 per cent voted in AICHI, NARA, SHIMANE, and over 80 per cent in SAGA. The only prefecture with an abstention rate higher than 50 per cent was CHIBA, with 67.6 per cent.

For the national constituency, official returns from the Home Ministry gave the total votes cast as 24,546,494. The figure includes 13,189,443 male voters and 11,357,051 women voters.

Independents captured 45 per cent of the seats in the House of Councillors, more than the total amount mustered by the Social Democrats, the Liberals and the Democrats, who constitute Japan's three major parties. The majority of the Independents are of conservative leanings.

In the prefectural electoral group also conservatives won an overwhelming majority over the "progressives" and are said to number as high as 64 per cent of the successful candidates, owing to the election of a large number of conservative independents.

The number of women candidates standing for election to the House of Councillors totaled 19. 8 out of 13 candidates in the national constituency and 2 out of 6 in the prefectural constituencies were elected. One of the latter is HIRANO Shigeko, wife of HIRANO Rikizo, who is a member of the House of Representatives and right-wing leader of the Social Democrats. The other is FUKAGAWA Tamae, elected from the TOKYO constituency.

* Numbers in parentheses indicate number of representatives who will have 6 year terms. The rest will have 3 year terms.

Figures are official Home Ministry reports.

The House of Councillors averages more than 10 years younger than the former House of Peers. A JIJI Press analysis of the ages of the Councillors elected from the National Constituency follows:

	From 1st to 50th Place	From 51st to 100th Place
(1) Conservatives	56.0 years	54.0 years
Democrats	55.2	47.5
Liberals	65.0	55.3
Peoples Cooperatives	54.5	50.0
Minor Parties	75.0	46.2
Independents	55.1	54.0
(2) Progressives	48.9	47.9
Social Democrats	50.0	51.6
Communists		47.0
Independents	44.5	44.6

Most of the former members of the House of Peers who were candidates for election to the House of Councillors were successfully returned. The 33 elected include such descendants of feudal lords as Count MURAKAMI Giichi of SHIGA, Marquis TOKUGAWA Yorisada of WAKAYAMA, Count HISAMITSU Sadatake of EHIME, Baron DAN Ino of FUKUOKA and Marquis SAIGO Kichinosuke and Baron SHIMAZU Tadahiko, both of KAGOSHIMA.

Successful candidates for the prefectural electorate include 12 out of the 18 members of the House of Representatives who stood for election. In addition 20 former members of local legislatures and 12 former prefectural governors and mayors also won. Three career diplomats, SAITO Naotake of AOMORI, former Ambassador to Russia, MATSUDAIRA Tsuneo of FUKUSHIMA, former Ambassador to England, and DEBUCHI Katsuji of IWATE, former Ambassador to the United States, were chosen in the prefectural constituencies.

Many representatives of economic groups, especially those backed by national organizations such as the agricultural, forestry, fishing associations, mining and other industrial associations, and nation-wide business enterprises made impressive showings. HOSHI Hajime, head of a large chain of drug stores centered in the FUKUSHIMA area, showed top vote-getting strength in the national electorate with 487,612 votes, while YANAGAWA Sozaemon, president of the National Agriculture Association, gained the number two spot with 480,927 votes. Third highest number of votes, 435,679 was received by HAYAKAWA, Shinichi, businessman, followed by MATSUMOTO Jiichiro influential left-wing leader of the Social Democratic Party with 415,494, TAKAHASHI, Ryutaro, president of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry and former member of the House of Peers who received 370,934 votes and Dr. TANAKA Kotaro, Democrat and former Minister of Education, with 361,904 votes.

Labor and farmers organizations succeeded in electing 8 out of a total of 21 candidates in the prefectural constituencies and 10 out of 24 labor-supported candidates in the national constituency. Elected by more than 330,000 votes was SASAKI Ryosaku, secretary-general of the Japan Power Generation and Transmission Company, who received the support of the 200,000 workers affiliated with the Electrical Workers Union, the All-Japan Coal Miners Union and the Housing Corporation. SUZUKI Seiichi, chairman of the National Federation of Government Railway Labor Unions, and NAKAMURA Masao, chairman of the Executive Committee of the OSAKA chapter of the Government Railway Workers Union, received a total of 227,210 and 148,819 votes respectively, owing to the support of the more than 530,000 members. Also elected with a high number of votes were MIZUHASHI Tosaku, member of the Central Executive Committee of the All Japan Communications Workers Union, which claims a total of 350,000 members; OKADA Soji, member of the Central Committee of the Japan Farmers Union, an organization consisting of more than 1,400,000 farmers, and IWAMA Masao, chairman of the National Council of Teachers Unions, which claims a membership of over 3,500,000.

KIKUNAMI Katsumi, executive chairman of the National Congress of Industrial Workers organizations, lagged far behind, ranging barely within the first 100 at first and then finally dropping out of the running to 104th place with only 65,000 votes despite the nation-wide organization he leads. Candidates backed by the rival National Federation of Labor, such as HARA Toraiichi and Mrs. AKIYAMA Tsuneko, ranked far higher, receiving 200,000 and 252,000 votes respectively.

Vocational grouping of the 250 successful candidates is as follows: 52 industrialists were elected, 33 former members of the House of Peers, 24 Farmer's Assn. officials, and 22 teachers, 7 former cabinet ministers, three ambassadors, 15 held other government positions. Labor leaders totaled 20, newspapermen 5, religious workers 8, writers 8, doctors 5, social workers 6, lawyers 7, businessmen 25.

WOMEN AND THE ELECTIONS

Highlights

General Comments

Specific Comments

Factors Limiting Election of Women

Conclusions

WOMEN AND THE ELECTIONS

The participation of women in political affairs as measured by the results of the April 1947 elections for national and local public offices, and by comparative analysis of the abstention rates for men and women in both the 1946 and 1947 general elections, is summarized in the following tables:

Participation of Women in April 1947 Election

	Soc. Dem.		Dem.		Lib.		People's Cooperat.		Comm.		Minor Part.		Ind.		Totals		
	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	
House of Councillors	4	3	2	2	1	0	2										
House of Represent.	15	9	22	3	9	3	4	1	1	0	3	1	6	3	19	10	
Governor								0	8	0	4	0	22	0	84	15	
Mayor															2	0	
Chief, Town & Village															2	0	
Member Pref. Assembly															12	3	
Member City Assembly															111	23	
Member Ward Assembly															346	74	
Member Town & Village Assembly															37	16	
															1784	707	

(Official Party affiliation breakdown not available)

Comparative Rates of Abstention for Men and Women ELECTIONS 1946 and 1947

	Elected	Candidates	Registered Voters	Votes Cast	Abstention Rate
H Of R (1946)					
Women	38	79	20,557,564	13,780,369	33.9
Men	428	2770	16,278,926	12,778,242	21.5
H Of R (1947)					
Women	15	84	21,326,483	13,137,620	38.4
Men	451	1515	19,569,839	14,658,264	25.1
H Of C (1947)					
Women	10	20	21,340,621	11,526,474	46.0
Men	240	557	19,591,594	13,412,323	31.5
Gov. & Mayors & Chiefs (1947)					
Women	3 (1)	15	20,960,655	13,938,427 (2)	33.5
Men	10,462	20,790	19,185,911	14,905,756 (2)	22.3
Pref, City, Town & Vil Assm (1947)					
Women	820	2,278	20,820,636	16,671,081 (3)	20.0
Men	193,061	256,093	19,339,671	16,153,872 (3)	16.5
Average Rate of Abstention					
Women	1946	1947			
Men	33.9	34.5			
	21.5	23.8			

* C - Candidates; E-Elected
 (1) Village Chiefs only
 (2) Vote cast for Governors
 (3) Vote cast for Prefectural Assemblymen

WOMEN AND THE ELECTIONS

The participation of women in political affairs as measured by the results of the April 1947 elections for national and local public offices, and by comparative analysis of the abstention rates for men and women in both the 1946 and 1947 general elections, is summarized in the following tables:

Participation of Women in April 1947 Election

	Soc. Dem.		Dem.		Lib.		People's Cooperat.		Comm.		Minor Part.		Ind.		Totals	
	C*	E*	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E
House of Councillors	4	3	2	2	1	0	2	1	1	0	3	1	6	3	19	10
House of Represent.	15	9	22	3	9	3	4	0	8	0	4	0	22	0	84	15
Governor															2	0
Mayor															2	0
Chief, Town & Village															12	3
Member Pref. Assembly																
	(Official Party affiliation breakdown not available)														111	23
Member City Assembly															346	74
Member Ward Assembly															37	16
Member Town & Village Assembly															1784	707

Comparative Rates of Abstention for Men and Women

ELECTIONS 1946 and 1947

	Elected	Candidates	Registered Voters	Votes Cast	Abstention Rate
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Men	428	2770	16,278,926	12,778,242	21.5
H Of R (1947)					
Women	15	84	21,326,483	13,137,620	38.4
Men	451	1515	19,569,839	14,658,264	25.1
H Of C (1947)					
Women	10	20	21,340,621	11,526,474	46.0
Men	240	557	19,591,594	13,412,323	31.5
Gov. & Mayors & Chiefs (1947)					
Women	3 (1)	15	20,960,655	13,938,427 (2)	33.5
Men	10,462	20,790	19,185,911	14,905,756 (2)	22.3
Pref, City, Town & Vil Assm (1947)					
Women	820	2,278	20,820,636	16,671,081 (3)	20.0
Men	193,061	256,093	19,339,671	16,153,872 (3)	16.5
Average Rate of Abstention					
	1946	1947			
Women	33.9	34.5			
Men	21.5	23.8			

* C - Candidates; E-Elected
 (1) Village Chiefs only
 (2) Vote cast for Governors
 (3) Vote cast for Prefectural Assemblymen

Comparative Ratios of Women Candidates
To Total Number of Candidates, and Number of Women Elected
To Number of Women Candidates

Percentage of Women Candidates
to Total Number of Candidates

April 1947

House of Representatives	5.2
House of Councillors	3.5
Governors & Mayors	0.1
Pref., City, Town and Village Assemblies	<u>0.9</u>
Average of all 1947 Elections	2.4

April 1946

Election for House of Representatives	2.8
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Percentage of Women Elected to
Total Number of Women Candidates

April 1947

House of Representatives	17.9
House of Councillors	50.0
Governors & Mayors	18.7
Pref., City, Town and Village Assemblies	<u>36.0</u>
Average of all 1947 Elections	30.5

April 1946

Election for House of Representatives	48.1
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Percentage of Male Candidates
to Total Number of Candidates

April 1947

House of Representatives	94.8
House of Councillors	96.5
Governors & Mayors	99.9
Pref., City, Town and Village Assemblies	<u>99.1</u>
Average of all 1947 Elections	97.6

April 1946

Election for House of Representatives	97.2
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Percentage of Males Elected to
Total Number of Male Candidates

April 1947

House of Representatives	29.8
House of Councillors	43.0
Governors & Mayors	50.5
Pref., City, Town and Village Assemblies	<u>75.5</u>
Average of all 1947 Elections	49.7

April 1946

Election for House of Representatives	15.4
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Highlights

a. Women ran for and were elected to legislative posts at all levels of Government. No women were elected governor of a prefecture, mayor of a city, or chief of a town, but three women were elected as village chiefs.

b. More women registered and qualified to vote in 1947 than in 1946.

c. More men registered and qualified to vote in 1947 than in 1946.

d. More women than men registered and qualified to vote in 1946 and 1947.

e. More women voted in 1947 than in 1946.

f. More men voted in 1947 than in 1946.

g. More women than men voted in 1947.

h. Fewer women were elected to the House of Representatives in 1947 than in 1946.

i. Men demonstrated their greatest interest in the Diet and in the election of prefectural governors, where they outvoted the women.

j. Women demonstrated their greatest interest in the election of prefectural assemblymen, where they outvoted the men.

k. The absolute number and percentage of women candidates for public office in relation to the number of registered women voters and the number of votes cast by women is abnormally lower than that of men.

l. The percentage of men candidates was overwhelmingly greater than that of women: 97.6 to 2.4. The range for men varied from 94.8 for the House of Representatives to 99.9 for local governors and for women from 0.1 for prefectural chief executives to 5.2 for the House of Representatives.

m. The percentage of men elected in Proportion to the number of men candidates was greater than that of women elected in proportion to the number of women candidates: 49.7 to 30.5. The range for men varied from 29.8 for the House of Representatives to 75.5 for the local assemblies and for women from 17.9 for the House of Representatives to 50.0 for the House of Councillors.

n. The percentage of eligible women who failed to exercise their voting rights was higher than that of men - 34.5 to 23.8 in the 1947 elections for all public offices as compared to the 1946 ratio for the House of Representatives 33.9 for women to 21.5 for men. The range for women varied from 20.0 for the local assemblies to 46.0 for the House of Councillors and for men from 16.5 for the local assemblies to 31.5 for the House of Councillors.

o. The number of votes cast was higher and the rate of abstention was lower in the election for local assemblies for both men and women than for any other major category of public offices.

p. The rate of abstention for both men and women was higher in the election for the House of Councillors than for any other major category of public offices.

General Comments

The extension of suffrage rights to women before the general election for the House of Representatives last April inaugurated a year of unprecedented freedom which fostered the growth of political consciousness among Japanese women. Quantitative indices of political consciousness are the number of registered voters, the number of votes cast, the number of candidates for public office and the number elected. The 1946 election disclosed the existence of women's political interest and potentiality and the 1947 elections revealed increased political activity and acquisition of influence at all levels of government. Women took advantage of their first opportunity in history to participate as candidates and electors in the elections for the House of Councillors and for local legislative bodies and executive posts.

Specific Comments

House of Representatives 1946-1947

In the House of Representatives election of 1947, the only 1947 election directly comparable to the 1946 election, the number of women elected to the lower house showed a considerable decrease. In 1946, 39 out of 79 candidates were elected, but in 1947 only 15 out of 84 candidates were successful. 12 of these were former Diet members.

Two factors, election law revision and mediocre records, seem responsible for this drop.

The system of limited plural voting in effect in 1946, permitting electors to cast their votes for two or three candidates, made it more possible that a woman would be included in their choice.

Decrease in popularity was no doubt attributable to the feminine members' failure to create a favorable impression in the Diet. However, regardless of personal qualifications or ability, the feminine Diet members were handicapped by their inability to cope with old fashioned political bargaining as practiced by the veteran members and frozen out more completely than ordinary freshmen legislators. Furthermore, the general lack of insight and understanding of public affairs and of Diet procedures, coupled with the traditional over-valuation of the virtues of modesty and reticence are considered contributory causes

to their poor showing. No woman was assigned to the powerful budget committee, although women served on other House of Representative standing committees. A majority of the women members said there was no discrimination in the Diet and only a few declared that they lacked the opportunity to serve in important committees or to speak in the Diet.

House of Councillors - 1947

Thirteen feminine candidates from the national and six from the prefectural constituencies ran for the House of Councillors. Only one of these was a former member of the Diet and she failed to be elected. Ten newcomers, however, were elected to the House of Councillors. Seven of these will serve for six years.

The feminine candidate receiving the largest vote was AKAMATSU Tsune, who polled 252,369 votes, securing seventeenth place among the 100 successful candidates from the national constituency. Miss AKAMATSU is now director of the Women's Sections of the Social Democratic Party and the Japan Federation of Labor. As a factory worker she was a pioneer in Japan's labor movement in which she still retains an active role.

The top ranking feminine candidate from the prefectural constituency was HIRANO Shigeko with 90,366 votes. She is the wife of HIRANO Rikizo, prominent Social Democratic leader. While working with her husband, she became connected with Japan's Agrarian movement with which he has long been associated.

Local Assemblies

Women representatives were elected to town and village assemblies in all 46 prefectures, to city assemblies in 32 prefectures, and to prefectural assemblies in 17 prefectures. Only one woman was elected to the Tokyo metropolitan assembly and only 16 women were elected to ward assemblies (Tokyo), as against 879 men.

Executive Posts

No woman was elected governor, mayor of a city, or headman of a town. Only 3 women were elected village chief.

Summary of Factors Limiting the Election of Women

- a. The small number of women candidates in comparison with the number of registered women voters and the number of men candidates.
- b. Lack of prestige and publicity.
- c. Lack of experience in public office or in responsible private enterprise.
- d. Limited educational background.
- e. Lack of organized political and financial support.
- f. Prejudice against women in public office.
- g. Voluntary observance by women candidates and elected and appointed officials of customs and manners which tend to subordinate them in their relations with men.
- h. Preoccupation of women with domestic duties and obligations or unwillingness to participate in political affairs.
- i. Mediocre record and general ineffectiveness of women elected to the House of Representatives in 1946.

Conclusion

The political potential of women as revealed by an analysis of the 1946 and 1947 elections is not only amazingly in excess of expectations, but in excess of reasonable hope and portends well for the future of Japan.

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Granted that their interest far exceeds their present demonstrated capacity, it is nevertheless a warranted presumption that a continuation of their present interest in conjunction with further emancipation from stultifying social mores, extension of educational opportunities and exposure to theoretical and practical political considerations will undoubtedly facilitate the development of democracy in Japan.

CONCLUSION

Campaign Financing

 Individual Campaigns

 Party Campaigns

Election Law Violations

Other Problems

 Neighborhood Associations

 Abstentions

 Spoiled Ballots

Remedial Action

Analysis of Elections

 Fair and Democratic Elections

 Improvement of Elections

 Political Implications of Elections

Statement by the Supreme Commander

CONCLUSION

The record of pre-war elections in Japan was a notorious one: officials and police frequently abused their power in order to ensure that elections turned out as the government desired while competing political parties themselves were not above fraud, coercion, and bribery.

Tightening of election laws and election day surveillance succeeded in 1946 in wiping out fraudulent practices on election and ballot counting days and materially reduced the bribery and excessive expenditures which normally characterized campaign periods. As noted above, further improvements in election laws were made prior to the 1947 election.

Campaign Financing

Individual Campaigns

In sharp contrast with the pre-election period when certain sections of the press wrote unrestrainedly and often without regard to fact about the certainty that Diet candidates must, because of huge campaign expenditures, become subservient to new yen millionaires, black marketeers and party bosses, only four allegations have yet been filed of any violation of the limitations on campaign expenditures.

A typical cross section of financing is afforded by the reports of the first 88 candidates to file their returns for the national constituency of the House of Councillors.

Of those reporting, 43 paid all their campaign expenses (limited to ¥75,000) out of their own pockets. Only 45 reported having received contributions, while 28 acknowledged having contracted debts of more than the same amount. (These figures include 15 councillors who reported both loans and contributions.)

No candidate reported having exceeded the 75,000 yen ceiling. Fifty four of the 88 reports show expenditures of between 50,000 and 75,000 yen, while three spent less than 20,000 yen.

These latter were Ozaki Yukitaro, Independent, (son of veteran parliamentarian Ozaki Yukio) 10,304, Oyama Yasushi, Green Wind, 10,396, and Kosuge Ino, Independent, Pacifist, 16,464.

All 88 Councillors emerged from the campaign with a surplus. Sixteen showed a profit solely from contributions; Nishida Tenko, Independent, cleared 52,600 yen as a result of a subsidy from the Ito En, a Kyoto religious organization.

The top campaign fund was that of Kawano Masao, who had 151,000 yen, of which 46,500 yen was a gift from the Teachers Union. Hozumi Shinrokuro, Independent, repatriate, with 106,280, had the second richest fund. Both men spent less than the ceiling.

The reports show the following distribution:

Yen	Spent	Received
10,000-19,999	3	2
20,000-29,999	7	5
30,000-39,999	6	2
40,000-49,999	18	9
50,000-59,999	21	18
60,000-69,999	19	10
70,000-79,999	14	25
80,000-89,999		13
90,000-99,999		2
100,000		2
Total	88	88

Because contributions are, for the most part, listed as coming from individuals rather than from corporations, it is somewhat difficult to identify the source of campaign funds.

Labor unions, especially teachers unions, gave their assistance chiefly in the form of loans:

General Teachers Union, 46,569 yen gift plus a loan of 18,800 yen to Kawano Masao, Independent. These sums enabled Kawano to emerge with a clear surplus of 80,000 yen.

Oita Teachers Union, 20,000 yen loan to Abe Sadamu, Green Wind, vice-chairman of the Union.

Finance Ministry Labor Union lent 30,000 yen to Kawakami Yoshi, Independent, Chairman of the Union.

General Federation of Railway Workers, 20,000 gift to Suzuki Seiichi, Social Dem., their national chairman.

Railway Mail Workers Union gave 5,500 yen to Mizuhashi Tosaku, Social Dem., who is NCIO representative of the National Council of Trade Unions General Struggle Committee and Communication Union Chairman.

Hokkaido Press Workers Union lent 16,199 yen to Kimura Kihachiro, Social Dem., Chief editor of "Ronsetsu".

Kumamoto Trade Union contributed 62,000 yen to Uchimura Seiji, Social Dem., chairman of the Railway Workers.

Among business firms contributing was Japan Gas Technical Association, which lent 6,000 yen to Toyoshima Aimei, who lost. The Hashiki Tabi Company gave 20,000 and the Ikuta Tabi Company 3,000 to Arai Hachiro. Seibu Shoko Company lent 52,000 yen to Suzuki Naoto, Independent, former governor of Kumamoto. The Empire Automobile Company and the Union Transport Company gave 30,000 and 5,000 respectively to Hayakawa Shinichi, Green Wind, president of the Japan Express Company. The Niitsu Automobile Company gave 4,000 and the Aichi Automobile Company 1,000 to Matsumoto Jiichiro, Social Dem., Vice Speaker of the House.

Tokyo Headquarters Shrine gave 11,000 yen to Tanaka Kotaro, Green Wind, former Education Minister. The Ito En of Kyoto gave 76,000 yen to Nishida Tenko, Independent, a social service worker. The Seicho-no-Ke, a religious group, gave 7,000 yen to Yano Torio, Green Wind, head of their education department.

The Home Ministry Co-operative Society lent 50,000 yen to Kaneiwa Denichi Independent, director of the Democratic Technicians Society and a Home Ministry engineer.

The Japan Potato Management Company, gave 20,000, the Farm Village Co-operative Union 2,000 and the Japan Pickle Commission 20,000 yen to Higashiura Shoji, Green Wind, managing director of the All-Japan Agricultural Association.

Party Campaigns

As recorded by the Official Gazette, as well as by reports forwarded directly by party headquarters, the Social Democrats, during the period between 24 February and 3 May collected 110,800 yen. Nearly all this, excepting a loan of 21,000 yen from Hirano Rikizo, derived from "recognition fees" paid by candidates who ran on the Social Democratic ticket.

The party paid out 102,309 yen, of which 29,010 yen went for advertising, 26,420 to propoganda and advertising expense, 25,322 for expenses connected with students' campaign speakers' groups and 13,650 for printing and paper. No other expense group amounted to more than 5,000 yen each. No appropriations were made as aids to candidates.

Not included in the above figures sent by party headquarters as an authentic statement of expenses are certain other items listed in the Official Gazette as having been collected during the period 24 February to 3 April. These are three contributions totalling 48,838 yen, of which 5,138 came from the Tokyo Teachers' Youth Association and the rest from two Social Democratic Councilmen.

The Liberal Party listed income of 1,615,406 during March and 2,900,000 during April, a total of 4,515,406 yen during the campaign period.

The party spent, during the same period, 1,274,070 yen during March and 3,086,330 during April, as well as 163,677 yen in May. Of this a grand total of 3,800,000 yen was given as "Aids to Candidates." An additional 955,000 was paid to local branches, 121,000 yen for meetings and 92,500 yen as "social expenses for the Chief Secretary". The Liberal Party communications bill ran to 78,500 yen, travelling to 75,000 yen and printing to 33,000 yen.

In a report, submitted by party headquarters and covering the period 31 March to 30 April, the Democrats announced a total income of 2,362,198 yen, the bulk of which was derived from contributions. The party listed fourteen contributors who, it said, had subscribed this total.

The list was led by Chizaki Usaburo, former chief secretary of the party, who gave a million yen. Other major contributors were Tsubokawa Shinichi and Toshiro Yoshiro, each 200,000, Shidehara Kijuro, Tanaka Manitsu, Sato Shigekichi, Inagaki Heitaro and Arima Eiji, each 100,000 and Sujuki Akiro 50,000 yen.

Receipts and Expenditures of People's Co-operative and Communist Party, Respectively, were as Follows:

	<u>Income</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>
People's Co-operative	495,331.00	487,891.50
Communist Party	393,052.81	336,044.00

Gubernatorial Elections

Data from the first 17 prefectures to report indicate that in 7 cases the victorious candidate spent more money than his unsuccessful rival but that in 8 other cases the defeated man exceeded the winner's expenses. In the remaining 2 prefectures the expenditures were approximately equal.

No candidate even approached the ceiling which it would have been possible for him to spend. In Saitama and in Hyogo the candidates spent 35,000 yen, the largest expenditures made in any gubernatorial race, but this was 15,000 less than the legal maximum.

In only 6 of the 17 prefectures did candidates for the governorships receive campaign contributions of reportable amounts. The largest sum contributed was in Akita where Masuike Kosaki received 30,000 yen, but his total campaign expenditure amounted to but 19,000 yen. In Fukuoka, the Social Democratic victor was given a 19,435 yen contribution and in Fukui prefecture Governor Obata Harukazu received 25,000 yen. Governor Uchiyama Iwataro of Kanagawa received 17,000 yen but no other sums contributed to any successful candidate passed the 10,000 mark. In Saitama the total contributions acknowledged by Governor Nishimura Jitsuzo were but 720 yen.

No successful gubernatorial candidate incurred any debt as part of his campaign fund; no candidate, whether successful or defeated reports having received a single yen in financial aid from any political party or from any of its branches.

House of Representatives

Expense accounts of 102 members of the House of Representatives have been received to date. These, referring to 14 prefectures, are somewhat less than one-quarter of the total membership of the Lower House.

Unlike the national district Councillors, Lower House members whose reports were submitted relied little upon campaign contributions and even less upon loans. Only 13 reported having gone into debt to finance their campaigns, and only 26 reported receipt of campaign contributions. Of the latter number six received totals of less than 800 yen each.

A tabular view of campaign contributions and of loans follows. Party identifications are made by the initials of the party to which the representative belongs.

	<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Loans</u>
Less than 1,000 yen	3D, 2L, 1SD	1D, 1L, 1PC
1,000-9,999	1D, 1L, 2SD, 1Ind.	-----
10,000-19,999	1D, 3S, 2 Minor	-----
20,000-29,999	1L, 2S, 1Ind.	1L, 2SD, 1PC
30,000-39,999	1D, 2S	1D
40,000-49,999	-----	1D, 1PC
50,000-59,999	1D	1D, 1L
60,000-69,999	1 Minor	1SD

Ten Social Democrats, seven Democrats, four Liberals, three Minor Party men and two Independents received contributions. Four Democrats, three Peoples Co-Operatives, three Liberals and three Socialists borrowed money.

Only two Diet members, both Social Democrats included in the figures given above, both borrowed and received money. One of these borrowed 7,000 yen and received contributions of 2,000 yen. The other borrowed 20,000 and received 14,000 in contributions.

The largest receipts were loans of 67,615 yen to Tanaka Orinoshin, Wakayama Social Democrat, and 50,000 to Yamaguchi Kikuichiro, Wakayama Liberal. Hasogawa Masatomo, Fukui Democrat, was granted a 50,000 yen loan and Tsubokawa Shinzo, Fukui Democrat, received a 50,000 contribution. Tanaka Misao Miye Minor Party representative, benefitted by a 62,595 yen contribution.

Forty-three of the 102 reports indicated that the Diet members had balanced their accounts. One man received less than he spent; the balance had spent less than the total amounts at their disposal.

A tabular view of receipts and expenditures follows:

	<u>Expended</u>	<u>Received</u>
1,000-9,999 yen	(2) 1SD, 1 Minor	(2) 1L, 1SD
10,000-19,999	(15) 6L, 2D, 6SD, 1 Minor	(10) 3L, 1D, 4SD, 2 Minor
20,000-29,999	(26) 8L, 6D, 7SD, 1PC, 2PC, 2Ind., 2 Minor	(23) 8L, 5D, 5SD, 2PC, 2Ind., 1 Minor
30,000-39,999	(32) 9L, 14D, 6SD, 1PC, 2 Minor	(23) 5L, 8D, 9SD, 1PC
40,000-49,999	(24) 1L, 9D, 9SD, 4PC, 1 Ind.	(33) 5L, 14D, 8SD, 4PC 1Ind., 1 Minor
50,000-59,999	(3) 1L, 1D, 1SD	(9) 3L, 4D, 2SD
60,000-69,999		(2) 1SD, 1 Minor
	<u>102</u>	<u>102</u>

Election Law Violations

As of 20 June the Home Ministry reported that 3,091 cases involving 8,532 individuals were being investigated by Public Procurators' offices in connection with suspected election offenses. Of this number 2,997 persons had been indicted by 10 June while 2,246 were cleared.

The final report of the 1946 Diet election disclosed that 5,432 cases of violations had been referred to the Procurators' offices. This covered one election only whereas the 3,091 cases in 1947 included the results of all four April elections.

Of the 2,997 indicted as of 10 June, 50 received sentences of hard labor, 21 were given lighter jail sentences, 1,028 were fined, while 1,905 still awaited trial. One person only, in Fukushima, was acquitted while

two were convicted but had their sentences remitted. In ten instances both fines and imprisonment were imposed.

In 1946, 128 received hard labor, 63 lighter sentences, 1,822 paid fines and seven were acquitted.

Alleged offenses occurred in the following 1947 elections:

	<u>Violations</u>
Councillors	399
House of Representatives	318
Governors	224
Mayors	88
Prefectural Assembly	427
Ward or town heads	800
Ward or town assembly	<u>835</u>
	3091

By far the greatest number of election offenses involved bribery, solicitation of bribes or the delivery of scarce articles in lieu of cash. These numbered 972, involving 5,461 individuals. The next greatest causes were house to house canvassing, which accounted for 755 cases and 1,061 people, and violation of poster regulations, 764 cases and 888 people.

In only two other instances did any one offense number more than 100 instances. These were campaigning before the official opening of a campaign, 165 cases with 325 individuals and interruption of campaign, 161 cases and 308 individuals.

Many more offenses had, of course, been alleged in the press and in accusations filed with election authorities. But even here, certain categories of offenses were almost entirely absent. Only four instances of supposed violation of campaign expense restrictions were reported by name and date. In Gumma alone was any charge made of excessive demonstration. Breach of authority was charged in five instances. In Miyazaki, where two members of the election committee were charged with having refused to list an applicant upon the roll of candidates, evidence seemed sufficient to warrant intensive investigation.

As late as 10 June, Fukushima with 487 cases and Yamagata with 442 topped the lists of prefectures. Tokyo, where many violations had been alleged, had but 99 indictments. Complete figures follow:

Disposition of Cases of Alleged Election Law Violations
1947 Elections

Names of District Procurators Offices or District Court	Number of Persons Involved			June 10, 1947 Number of Persons Tried by Courts or Awaiting Trial						
	In-dicted	Not In-dicted	Total	Impris- onment at Hard Labor	Impri- sonment	Fine	Not Guil- ty	Remis- sion of sen- tence	Await- ing Trial	Total
Tokyo	99		99					1	98	99
Yokohama	9	1	10						9	9
Urawa	26	36	62			12			14	26
Chiba	16	12	28			10			6	16
Mito	208	90	298	5	2	94			107	208
Utsunomiya	45	106	151	5	1	17			22	45
Maebashi	111	137	248			59			52	111
Shizuoka	60	7	67						60	60
Kofu	52	43	95	2	1	13			36	52
Nagano	211	210	421			61			150	211
Niigata	17	46	63						17	17
Kyoto	99	127	226	9		24			66	99
Osaka	74	66	140						74	74
Kobe	61	9	70	2		25			34	61
Nara	30	13	43	1	1	9			19	30
Otsu	55	92	147			32			23	55
Wakayama	23	23	46			13			10	23
Nagoya	34	88	122						34	34
Tsu	13	5	18			8			5	13
Gifu	130	26	156	2		59			69	130
Fukui	22	40	62			19			3	22
Kanazawa	49	3	52			12			37	49
Toyama	103	130	233	2	3	14			84	103
Hiroshima	12	33	45	1		7			4	12
Yamaguchi	26	13	39			16			10	26
Okayama	64	28	92	1		41			22	64
Tottori	No Report									
Matsue	94		94						94	94
Nagasaki	3	9	12			3				3
Saga	1	54	55			1				1
Fukuoka	No Report									
Oita	65	42	107	9	2	31			23	65
Numamoto	13	38	51			4			9	13
Kagoshima	24	15	39	1	1	2			20	24
Miyazaki	11		11			2			9	11
Sendai	239	49	288			138			101	239
Fukushima	307	180	487	2	1	83	1		220	307
Yamagata	337	105	442			137			200	337
Morioka	35	133	168			18			17	35
Akita	13	18	31	4		6			3	13
Aomori	64	16	80	4		49			11	64
Sapporo	33	2	35					1	32	33
Hakodate	58		58						58	58
Asahikawa	6	73	79		4				2	6
Kusiro		40	40							
Takamatsu	29	23	52		5				24	29
Tokushima	9	40	49						9	9
Kochi	7	25	32						7	7
Matuyama	No Report									
Total	2997	2246	5243	50	21	1028	1	2	1905	2997

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Types of Alleged Election Law Violations, 1947
(Indictments Returned)
 June 10, 1947

Nature of Crime	Member House of Councilors	Member House of Representatives	Pref. Governor	Mayor	Member Pref. Assembly	Ward, Town or Village Head	Member Ward, Town or Village Assembly	TOTAL
(A) By voter or canvasser								
(1) Buying votes	41	91	17	29	109	903	187	1377
(2) Other pre-election inducements	11					4	7	22
(3) Offering compensation after election day	9				2	21	1	33
(4) Demanding or accepting the above acts	2	68	49	67	70	514	155	925
(5) Delivering money or goods with the object of buying votes of others	23	3	1	2	6	175	26	236
(6) Others		1		1		1		3
(B) Habitual crime re (A) above							1	1
(C) By candidate or elected person								
(1) Buying votes					1	8		9
(2) Demanding or accepting the above act					2			2
(3) Persuading or mediating the above act					2			2
(D) Other acts								
(1) Violence, intimidation or abduction	1				3	10	2	16
(2) Obstructing communications, campaign meetings or speeches	1	3		3	4	17	3	31
(3) Discovering the name of person voted for						1		1
(4) Threatening election staff		1	1	2		2		6
(5) Opening a ballot-box or removing ballots			2					2
(6) Interfering with voting			1					1

Nature of Crime	Member House of Councilors	Member House of Representatives	Pref. Governor	Mayor	Member Pref. Assembly	Ward, Town or Village Head	Member Ward, Town or Village Assembly	TOTAL
(7) Entering a place of election meeting or counting place carrying a weapon						1		1
(E) Unfair voting								
(1) By ineligible person			4			2		6
(2) By fraudulent means		1	4	3	1	9	3	21
(3) Forging or manipulating votes to affect their number by a person mentioned in Art. VI of Election Law, witness or scrutinizer			5					5
(4) Campaign before filing candidacy					4	6	7	17
(5) Campaign using school boy, etc.	2							2
(6) House to house canvassing	40	15	8	17	15	94	40	229
(7) Violation of limits on posters	4			3			2	9
(8) Campaign by a person mentioned in Art. VI of Election Law		1					1	2
(9) Violating the law re special papers or election pictures								
Art. 14	7	8	9	1		4	3	32
Art. 15	1		2	1			1	5
GRAND TOTAL	142	192	103	129	219	1772	440	2997

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Arranged by parties to which the 8532 suspected offenders were said to belong, statistics indicated that 804 Liberals were accused, 728 Democrats, 593 Social Democrats, 86 Co-Operatives and 75 Communists. A further 183 belonged to minor parties while 5031 were Independents. (See chart on next page.)

More than two-thirds of the offenses charged against Liberals, Democrats, Social Democrats and Co-Operatives, and a large proportion of those alleged against Communists, Independents and minor party members dealt with bribery in one form or another.

In this connection, it must be pointed out that Japanese laws are far more rigid than are those of most democratic nations and that many offenses which are subject to prosecution in Japan are for actions which might be regarded as wholly permissible in other countries.

This, for instance, included in some instances the payment for the services of legitimate campaign workers. Campaign managers who went from house to house asking electors to vote for specific candidates were also judged by the Japanese to have committed election "crimes" as were candidates who posted too many placards or whose posters were of other than standard size.

REPORTED PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF ALLEGED VIOLATORS OF ELECTION LAWS
10 June, 1947

Nature of Crime	No. of Persons Classified by Political Organizations By				
	Liberal	Democrat	Social Democrat	Communist	Cooperativ
Buying Votes	599	523	358	21	47
Other inducements for votes	6	2	5		
Habitual crime re the above 2 items		1			
Breach of the regulations of election office and resting place	1	1	2		
Campaign before filing candidacy	27	46	29		10
Campaign through house to house canvassing	85	62	84	21	7
Obstruction of campaign	6	18	16	4	
Neglect of official duty and abuse of authority					
Campaign of governor and public officials concerned with elections	2				

ED PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF ALLEGED VIOLATORS OF ELECTION LAWS

10 June, 1947

No. of Persons Classified by Political Organizations By Which They Were Supported
(Sent to or pending transfer to procurators office)

Liberal	Democrat	Social Democrat	Communist	Cooperative	Minor Parties	Independent	Unknown
599	523	358	21	47	68	3022	823
6	2	5			32	36	5
	1					8	
1	1	2			2	7	1
27	46	29		10	11	132	70
85	62	84	21	7	10	770	22
6	18	16	4		11	193	60
						17	
2						13	4

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Arranged by parties to which the 8532 suspected offenders were said to belong, statistics indicated that 804 Liberals were accused, 728 Democrats, 593 Social Democrats, 86 Co-Operatives and 75 Communists. A further 183 belonged to minor parties while 5031 were Independents. (See chart on next page.)

More than two-thirds of the offenses charged against Liberals, Democrats, Social Democrats and Co-Operatives, and a large proportion of those alleged against Communists, Independents and minor party members dealt with bribery in one form or another.

In this connection, it must be pointed out that Japanese laws are far more rigid than are those of most democratic nations and that many offenses which are subject to prosecution in Japan are for actions which might be regarded as wholly permissible in other countries.

This, for instance, included in some instances the payment for the services of legitimate campaign workers. Campaign managers who went from house to house asking electors to vote for specific candidates were also judged by the Japanese to have committed election "crimes" as were candidates who posted too many placards or whose posters were of other than standard size.

Nature of Crime	Liberal	Democrat	Social Democrat	Communist	Cooperat
Breach of regulations re balloting	3	4	2		
Wearing of weapons or excessive demonstrative acts					
Violation of limits on posters	53	70	84	27	20
Violation of regulation of campaign expenditures					1
Violation of limits on greeting acts after election day	16		3		
Others	7	3	5	2	1
Total	804	728	593	75	86

Liberal	Democrat	Social Democrat	Communist	Cooperative	Minor Parties	Independent	Unknown
3	4	2			2	132	9
						3	
53	70	84	27	20	46	565	23
				1		1	2
16		3				3	
7	3	5	2	1	1	129	13
804	728	593	75	86	183	5031	1032

Election offenses were reported from three sources. The Home Ministry, newspaper accounts and reports from Military Government teams in the field were all drawn upon for information that would tend to throw light upon the political situation.

Three incidents in the Hokkaido received special attention. The first of these involved an attack upon Miyake Masaru, a Communist campaign worker at Muroran, who was slashed with a knife by an alleged gangster. Careful investigation by CIC personnel, by the Military Government team, by local Japanese police and by a special agent sent from Tokyo failed to reveal either any political motive for the attack or to show any connection between the assailant, a serpent-selling pedlar, and any Anti-Communist organization.

A second Hokkaido incident concerned a night raid, 3 February, two months prior to the first election, upon Communist headquarters at Sapporo, capital of the prefecture.

Police investigation again with the aid of CIC, of Military Government and of a special agent from Tokyo, disclosed that the raid was committed at a time when a married couple with children living in the same premises were awake. Locked files were broken into and the records of the party were stolen but the residents of the house apparently remained unaware of what was happening. No evidence warranting prosecution has been revealed.

The third Hokkaido occurrence was a raid, 14 March, upon Communist headquarters at Hakodate. A group of five men, at least three of whom were armed with pistols, broke into the building, held up three Communist Party members, cut telephone wires and carried off the contents of files and lockers.

The police, notified within half an hour, undertook immediate investigation. Since the Communists were able to offer partial identification of two suspects the ferries and the railway station were watched but without avail. Despite intensive research the lack of detailed information made it impossible to discover evidence that would lead to fruitful results.

Other Anti-Communist activities were also reported. Two of these included attacks upon speakers or candidates. In Okayama, for instance, 11 April, Kumamoto Chikashi and three other persons were charged with having attacked two Communist agents and a Communist assembly candidate. Two arrests were made the following day. In Tochigi, 6 April Konuma Teranosuke, self-styled "Tiger of Iizuka", stabbed Matsumoto Soneki, Communist candidate for the Diet, in the shoulder. Konuma was immediately arrested, and upon trial was sentenced to 8 months imprisonment; an accomplice received a 5 months sentence.

Again in Okayama, a Communist candidate for the prefectural assembly was attacked, 11 April. His assailant was arrested.

In Gumma, Tsukakoshi Tsunaji and two others raided Communist headquarters, destroyed election notices and assaulted a canvasser. They were arrested 8 April.

In connection with the above instances, officials of the Home Ministry representing the Police Bureau and Investigation Bureau were called to General Headquarters and specifically reminded that it was the desire of the Supreme Commander that full political freedom be guaranteed every recognized political party and that every possible step be taken to discover and bring to trial the perpetrators of such terroristic acts.

Communists also complained that in Tokyo, 22 March, their sealed certificates permitting the use of 50,500 posters were lost in the mails, thus hampering their Councillor campaigns in 34 prefectures. New certificates, however, were authorized 3 April, in ample time for the election.

Specific types of violations other than the bribery and election methods infringements included several other varieties of offenses. The following summary gives a typical list of those reported, but the list is of accusations only and does not necessarily imply the truth of the statement:

1. In seven prefectures, Chiba, Gifu, Kochi, Nara, Shiga, Tochigi and Wakayama, political activities were alleged against those who had been or

TYPES OF ALLEGED ELECTION LAW VIOLATIONS - 1947
(Grand Totals)

Classification	Buying Votes		Other Inducements for Votes		Habitual Crime re the above 2 items		Breuch of Regulations re election office and meeting place		Campaign Before Filing Candidacy		Campaign by house to House Canvassing	
	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons
Pref. Governor	17	194					2	2	2	2	37	54
Mayor & Ward Official	8	74	2	2			1	1	6	11	30	35
Town & Village Head	302	2,221	15	53	2	6	6	6	49	132	179	295
M. of House of Councillors	58	195	3	4							122	162
M. of House of Representatives	88	430	2	3			3	5	8	13	63	74
M. of Pref. Assembly	152	1,042	3	4	3	2			26	31	105	140
M. of Municipal (Ward) Assembly	138	359	5	5	1	1			28	40	93	110
M. of Town & Village Assembly	209	946	5	10					44	96	126	191
TOTAL:	972	5,461	35	86	6	9	12	14	165	325	755	1,061

TYPES OF ALLEGED ELECTION LAW VIOLATIONS - 1947
(Grand Totals)

Habitual Crime re the above 2 items		Breach of Regulations re election office and resting place		Campaign Before Filing Candidacy		Campaign by House to House Canvassing		Obstruction of Campaign		Neglect of Official Duty and Abuse of Authority	
No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons
		2	2	2	2	37	54	9	13	1	7
		1	1	6	11	30	35	3	3		
2	6	6	6	49	132	179	295	44	130	2	2
						122	162	10	11	1	4
		3	5	8	13	63	74	23	44		
3	2			23	31	105	140	28	45	1	4
1	1			28	40	93	110	20	26		
				44	96	126	151	19	31		
6	9	12	14	165	325	755	1,061	161	308	5	17

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who it was alleged, should have been purged. These accusations were, for the most part, contained in anonymous letters filed, without proof, with the Military Government teams. In each instance the truth of the accusation was nevertheless investigated.

2. Police interference was alleged only in Fukuoka (where a roundsman was discovered within a polling place into which he had been invited by the chairman of the election board) and in Saitama where a police inspector was said to have been destroyed Communist campaign bills. The latter action, upon investigation, proved to have been taken because the inspector mis-constructed the law forbidding election posters within a certain distance of the polling place.

3. False statements that SCAP officials favored certain election results were made in Tokyo and in Ibaragi. In the former instance Kasuya Isohei, candidate for ward assemblyman, was charged by a rival, Mrs. Hashimoto Hana, with having said that the Supreme Commander did not desire the election of women. In Ibaragi, Kawada Hisashi, candidate for Governor, was reported as having said over loud speakers that the Military Government endorsed his candidacy. This proved untrue, but leaflets were discovered stating that the Military Government approved his campaign. The perpetrator was arrested and the Military Government published in all local newspapers a denial that it had at any time endorsed any candidate for public office.

4. Ehime authorities reported that an unknown person telephoned the prefectural authorities, 11 April, announcing the withdrawal of Kazukumi Kajiwara from the Councillors campaign. The name was at first stricken from the official list of candidates but was restored and ample public notice given prior to the election.

A complete list of charges follows.

Classifi- cation	Campaign of gov. & pub- lic officials concerned with election		Breach of Regula- tions re Balloting		Wearing Weapons & excessive Demonst. Act.		Violation of Limit on Posters		Violation of Regula- tion of Campaign Expend.		Viola- tion of Re- gulation on Cre- ation of Electi- on Cases
	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases
Prof. Governor			21	42	1	1	125	158			
Mayor & Ward Official			2	2			26	35	1	1	1
Town & Village Board	6	6	37	49	1	1	91	100			2
M. of House of Councill- ors	2	2	3	3			196	225			
M. of House of Represent- atives	3	3	2	2			118	147	2	2	1
M. of Pref. Assembly	2	2	5	6	1	1	92	92			
M. of Municipal (Ward) Assembly	1	1	3	6			94	108	1	1	
M. of Town & Village Assembly	3	3	15	46			22	23			1
TOTAL:	17	17	88	156	3	3	764	888	4	4	5

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No. of Persons	Carrying Weapons & excessive Demonstr. Act.		Violation of Limit on Posters		Violation of Regulation of Campaign Expend.		Violation of Restraints on Creating Acts after Election Day		Others		Total of all Violations	
	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons	No. of Cases	No. of Persons
42	1	1	125	158					9	17	224	490
2			26	35	1	1	1	1	3	3	88	173
49	1	1	91	100			2	18	64	76	800	3,100
3			196	225					4	12	399	618
2			118	147	2	2	1	2	5	15	318	740
6	1	1	92	92					7	18	427	1,387
6			94	108	1	1					384	657
46			22	23			1	1	7	20	451	1,367
56	3	3	764	888	4	4	5	22	99	161	3,091	8,532

Other Problems

As campaigns and elections progressed, a series of new problems arose. While not in themselves violations of the election law, they nevertheless exercised an adverse influence on voting and were deemed to require prompt and effective remedial action. Turning to the problems first and discussing the remedial action next, they can be grouped under three headings: (1) improper use of the former neighborhood associations; (2) abstention from elections; and (3) incorrect marking of ballots.

Neighborhood Associations

As of 1 April, the hierarchy of neighborhood associations by which all families in Japan had been brought under the direct supervision of the Central Government was finally dissolved -- dissolution having been postponed until this date in order that a new system of rationing might be developed.

Despite the order which dissolved the associations, however, the peculiar and historical adaptability of these organizations to electioneering resulted in many reports of their use beyond 1 April. In particular, during the course of the 5 April elections, when many voters had not yet heard of the 1 April order, surveillance teams were advised that neighborhood associations were being utilized to solicit votes, "to get out the vote", to distribute tickets to polling places, and the like. It was also reported that former heads of these organizations were exercising undue influence in the elections particularly in the matter of persuading voters to cast ballots in favor of local candidates backed by the ex-neighborhood association leaders.

Abstentions

The abstention rate of voters in the April, 1946 elections had been 27.9 per cent; although actually only the House of Representatives election could be compared with the 1946 figures it had been hoped that each of the 1947 elections would see an abstention rate of less than the previous year. In actuality, however, only one election showed a lower rate than that of 1946:

<u>Election</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Rate of Abstention</u>
Local Executives	5 April	27.9
Councillors	20 April	40.8
Representatives	25 April	32.1
Local Assemblies	30 April	18.3

Both local and national elections were to a certain extent characterized by a relative dearth of candidates. For the total number of offices at stake in the April elections, for example, there was an average of something less than 1-1/3rd candidates per vacancy.

In the House of Representatives elections, 1599 candidates filed for 466 seats, or slightly over three and one-half candidates per vacancy. This figure, however, contrasted with 2,800 who filed for the same number of seats in the general election of April, 1946. Again, although an average of three and one-half candidates per seat in a final election would be reasonable in a country in which primaries had been employed, in which there were only two or three major parties, or in which qualifications for candidacy were stringent, the situation was somewhat different in Japan. Here there were no primaries, three major parties (Liberal, Democratic, and Social Democratic), two other well-organized parties (Peoples' Cooperative and Communist) and a strong independent tradition. In addition, election laws governing candidacy were as liberal as any in the world; age qualifications ranged from 20 to 30, depending on the office; any Japanese citizen was eligible to file candidacy, and no residence requirements were applied to candidacy for national or major local offices.

Had there been candidates from each of the established parties and even one independent in each electoral district, the total number of candidates would have been about 2,800, or roughly, the previous year's total. In actuality,

however, no party nominated a candidate in each electoral district and even the number of independents who filed for the House of Representatives was only slightly more than half the number of seats at stake:

<u>Party</u>	<u>Total Candidates</u>
Democratic	350
Liberal	326
Social Democratic	289
Communist	120
Peoples Cooperative	108
Minor	155
Independents	<u>251</u>
	1599

The greatest single factor contributing to the dearth of candidates in any given election, of course, was the very number of elections held in April. The grand total of seats at stake in the only previous post-war election - that of the House of Representatives in April, 1946 - had been 466. In April, 1947, on the other hand, within 25 days a total of 205,062 positions were at stake. Not only was no party sufficiently well organized to nominate anywhere near this number of candidates, but even the practice of nominating the same individual for two or three different positions was made difficult by the fact that elections came so close to overlapping that a candidate defeated in one election frequently had no time left in which to file for the next.

Paradoxically, from a national standpoint, the problem was also linked with the growing strength of the major political parties. In the 1946 elections 1430, or 51, percent of the total candidates had either been independents or represented minor parties. In the comparable 1947 elections for the House of Representatives the number of minor party and independent candidates had dropped to 397 or 25 percent of the total number of candidates.

All in all, however, the elections for the House of Representatives showed the least dearth of candidates of any of the April elections. In the House of Councillors election, for example, only 584 candidates ran for 250 seats, or an average of about 2-1/3rd candidates per seat. Here, however, not only did all of the reasons mentioned above apply with equal emphasis to the House of Councillors election, but a whole additional set of contributing factors was evident.

Perhaps the most important of these was general lack of understanding of the functions of the new House coupled with a latent tendency to continue thinking of national elections only in the sense of elections for the House of Representatives. Even political parties were not free of this tendency, their major activities centering around the elections for Representatives.

In connection with the election of members of the House of Councillors special precautions were taken to see that candidacies were not thinned by delays in the application of the purge directive. When, for example, late in March it became apparent that the comparative number of candidates for the House of Councillors would be considerably less than that of the House of Representatives, the deadline for filing was extended for ten days. Only ten additional candidates took advantage of the extended period, however, thus indicating that the mechanics of screening had certainly not been a major factor in the dearth of candidates.

A very important factor, on the other hand, appears to have been the introduction of the national constituency for the House of Councillors; on the whole vocational, cultural, and intellectual qualities, and above all personal popularity, were apparently deemed more important than parties and platforms; candidates hesitated to file unless they felt in their own minds that they were

well and favorably known nationally before the start of the campaign.

The election law forbade declaration of candidacy prior to 31 March, only 20 days before election, or until such time after that date and prior to 11 April as a candidate had received purge clearance from the Central Qualifications Examination Committee. Even during this abbreviated campaign period stringent limitations on publicity, stemming from the paper shortage, made campaigning extremely difficult for newcomers; to reach an electorate of approximately 30,000,000 for example, candidates were permitted to distribute only 30,000 postcards. Such curtailments naturally served to prevent political newcomers from challenging effectively the established position of old line politicians, former members of the House of Peers, or other nationally known figures.

In connection with local elections, the most striking point was not so much that the percentage of candidates to vacancies dipped to 2 to 1 in respect to local chief executives and about 1-1/4 to 1 in respect to local assemblies as it was the fact that of the 10,465 local chief executives elected during April a total of 3,374 were chosen in "non contest" elections in which only one candidate ran for office.

In a few instances the situation stemmed from the last minute purge of a rival candidate, but in most instances it may be attributed either to pre-election agreements among leading candidates or parties or to the dominance of old line political leaders who by one means or another managed to dissuade opposition candidates from running.

Spoiled Ballots

Wasted ballots in the 1947 election were of two general types: those in which confusion in respect to balloting led voters to write a candidate's name on the wrong ballot (as a gubernatorial candidate's name on a mayoralty ballot); and those in which uncertainty in respect to names led voters to forget the names of candidates and either leave ballots blank or add fictitious names.

As has been noted above, the April elections marked the first time in Japanese history when voters elected candidates for separate offices at the same time. In the past electors had voted only for candidates for the House of Representatives and for local assemblies - and such elections had always been held separately. The April elections thus not only presented a new problem but repeated it thrice; on April 5 voters selected both governors and local chief executives; on April 20 they selected Councillors from both prefectural and national constituencies; and on April 30 they chose members of both prefectural and local assemblies. Of especial interest in this connection is the fact that in many instances the writing of a candidate's name on the incorrect ballot actually appears to have been intentional. In several municipalities, for example, a very considerable number of voters, more interested in the results of the municipal election than in those of the gubernatorial, appear to have written the mayoralty candidate's name on both ballots in order to make absolutely certain of the validity of their votes for mayor.

The problem of failure to mark ballots legibly was no novelty in Japan, since a printed ballot, in the sense of one on which the names of candidates were merely checked, had never been used. Every past election, therefore, had produced thousands of ballots which were either blank or illegible; but even in the post-war revision of election laws the Diet had consistently favored the hand-written ballot---feeling that the advantage to be gained from such a simple literacy test far outweighed any which might accrue from assurance than everyone who could mark his "X" could cast a valid ballot. The following table compares spoiled ballots in the 1946 and 1947 elections:

Date	Average No. Ballots Cast	Average No. Ballots Rejected	Average Pct. Rejected
April 10, '46	26,558,611	460,000	1.73
April 5, '47	28,722,464	2,080,107	6.73
April 20, '47	24,938,797	2,586,165	10.37
April 25, '47	27,795,884	435,229	1.56
April 30, '47	30,824,953	1,176,338	5.02

A typical example of types of invalid ballots is provided by the following table, which classifies invalid ballots cast in Tokyo in the 1947 gubernatorial election. 1946 figures refer to votes cast in Tokyo for the House of Representatives election.

	1947 election	1946 election
Total vote in Tokyo	1,615,534	1,341,359
Valid votes cast	<u>1,463,710</u>	<u>1,300,595</u>
Invalid votes cast	151,824	40,764
Percentage of votes declared invalid	9.39	3.03

The invalid ballots are classified as follows:

- | | 1947 election |
|---|---------------|
| a. Ballots in which the name of a person not a candidate for governor was written in (e.g. General MacArthur; candidate for Ward Chief, etc.) | 90,050 |
| b. Blank ballots deposited | 32,000 |
| c. "Give us rice" ballots | 10,801 |
| d. Ballots on which only lines or dots were inscribed by the voter | 8,692 |
| e. Unidentifiable ballots | 3,300 |
| f. Unauthorized ballots (e.g. pieces of white paper; use of the voting ticket as a ballot; use of one's calling card as a ballot; use of mayor's ballot to cast a vote for governor; and destruction of part of a ballot) | 3,239 |
| g. Ballots on which elector wrote something in addition to a candidate's name | 1,463 |
| h. Ballots on the inside of which the elector's calling card was pasted | 1,327 |
| i. Ballots on which elector voted for more than one candidate for the same post | 388 |
| j. Stamped or paster votes | 362 |
| k. Use of voter's han (seal) | 80 |
| l. Invalid for miscellaneous reasons | 122 |

Remedial Action

Prompt remedial action was taken in respect to the neighborhood associations, the Home Ministry immediately reminding all election administration committees that former heads of neighborhood associations and neighborhood groups voluntarily organized to carry on any function of the dissolved tonarigumi were prohibited from any activity in elections and could not be utilized by election officials or candidates for any purpose whatsoever. Typical of these instructions were the following:

TO : Local Governors and Chairmen of Election Administration Committees.

FROM : Vice-Minister of Home Affairs.

The organizations of Chonaikai, Burakukai or Tonarigumi and others were abolished as of 1 April. It is considered that this has not subsequently been thoroughly understood, and your attention is drawn to the following items, particularly in relation to the present elections that you may effect a thorough dissemination thereof.

1. After the abolition of Chonaikai, Burakukai, Federations thereof and Tonarigumi for persons who had been the heads of the former Chonaikai, Burakukai, Rengokai or Tonarigumi to carry out election campaigns by utilizing their special former positions in regard to persons who composed the above organizations or to participate in a public capacity by using the former organizations constitutes violation of the instructions which stipulate the abolition of the organizations of the Chonaikai, Burakukai and the Tonarigumi and you will not only investigate the past cases but also take such steps to insure that situations such as the above will not occur. In addition, steps are being taken to bar such persons from exercising governmental authority in the future. Your special attention is further drawn to the fact that such acts will give the impression abroad of an obstruction of the free will of the people.

2. In view of the following examples concerning the elections of the heads of the various local public organizations, attention should be paid in consideration of the objective as in paragraph 1 above in the execution of election affairs, so that utilization of the positions of the heads of Chonaikai or Burakukai and others and the organizations thereof will not occur. In regard to any local public organizations which perpetrate such acts measures as enumerated in the following items will be taken immediately.

(a) It has been brought to my attention that there have been cases of not returning the entrance cards to the polling stations which are common to the various elections to the electors immediately after polling but of returning them to the electors through the former organizations of Chonaikai, Burakukai, Rengokai or Tonarigumi or the former officials thereof. Those entrance cards which are to be used for further elections should be returned to the electors immediately after each polling and in the future such acts are strictly forbidden. Further for those not returned at the elections on the fifth instant, they will be returned without delay to the electors either directly by mail by the election administration committee of the city, town or village or through the branches of the city, town or village.

(b) It has been brought to my attention that certain election administration committees have caused the heads of former Chonaikai, Burakukai, Rengokai or Tonarigumi to carry out investigations into reasons for abstentions. Such actions will be strictly prohibited.

3. Subsequent to the abolition of the Chonaikai, Burakukai, Rengokai, or Tonarigumi there are no objections to the free formation of the informal and purely voluntary bodies, but it is not permitted to form quasi-compulsory bodies or similar organizations thereto. If voluntary or-

ganizations are to be established in the future it should be determined on the basis of a free expression of the people how such organizations are to be established. Further, in regard to such voluntary organizations in the case of election of the representatives thereof it should be clearly indicated in the ballot that participation or otherwise in such organization is entirely up to the volition of the individual and those not desiring to participate are not required to vote, and members can quit their groups any time they wish."

* * *

*TO : Chairman of the Metropolitan and Prefectural Election Control Committees
FROM : Director of the Local Affairs Bureau, the Home Ministry

It is desired that strict care be taken to avoid using offices of former town-block and village associations as well as residences of former heads of these associations as polling-places or counting offices. In case those buildings are already scheduled to be used for such purposes and changes are impracticable in view of the fixed period of announcement, all indications of offices of the said associations should at least be removed.

It is also desired that you will strictly refrain from allowing those who held the headship of the defunct associations to participate in the conduct of business concerning election."

* * *

Checks by surveillance teams during the latter part of April indicated that the above instructions had been carried out to the letter and that the mortmain of the neighborhood associations had been successfully lifted from the elections.

The problem of absenteeism was not one which could be readily solved by fiat. The causes were fundamental: the multiplicity of elections; the urge to spend election holidays in foraging for food; the relative lack of publicity, stemming from the paper shortage; and the stringent restrictions which were placed on campaigning. Nevertheless, SCAP and military government officials continued their efforts to publicize elections by means of press conferences and releases and the Japanese government was directed to ensure that all possible measures were taken to publicize the elections. From 59.2 in the election for Councillors, the percentage of voters to eligible electors rose to 67.9 in the Representatives election and to a high of 81.7 in the election of local assemblymen. As will be seen from the table on the next page this latter figure begins to approach the probable maximum which can be anticipated.

With respect to the dearth of candidates not a great deal could be done during the course of the election, although, as noted above, periods for filing purge questionnaires were extended in order to ensure that candidates were not kept from running by fear of delays in the screening process which would make it impossible to file candidacy in time.

Since one of the primary causes of dearth of candidates in any given election in April was the very number of elections involved, this one aspect, at least, will tend to be solved in the future as elections come to take place at different times. Introduction of a printed ballot will undoubtedly serve to increase the numbers of candidates, particularly in respect to the national constituency of the House of Councillors, where newcomers were chary of competing against individuals whose names were very well known and readily remembered.

The lack of more than one candidate for the office of chief in a third of Japan's towns and villages is essentially a social problem, one which can

ABSTENTIONS FROM VOTING - 30 APRIL, 1947.

(Kumamoto Ken, Tama-gun, Sue-mura)

1. Ballots Cast:

Sex	No. of registered voters as of election date	No. of Voters	No. of Absentees	Percentage of Abstention	No. of Absentee Votes	Others
Male	507	446	61	12.2%	1	0
Female	532	474	58	11%	0	0
Total	1039	920	119	11.5%	1	0

2. Reasons for Abstention:

Sex	Employment away from home	Travel	Sickness	Illiteracy	Work on Farms or in Factories	Other	Total
Male	34	4	10	8	3	2	61
Female	6	23	7	20	1	1	58
Total	40	27	17	28	4	3	119

not be legislated out of existence---the tendency of town and village populations, stemming from centuries of blind obedience, either to fear subtle economic pressures in case of an attempt to unseat established leadership or to accept the bland assurances of entrenched leaders that "it is best not to hold a contested election--for that would lead to unpleasant confusion and complexity and would indicate a lack of harmony and unity in our village."

This, of course, is a problem which will be solved only with the greater political education of the Japanese people; a single election will not alter the habits of a lifetime. Indeed, what is perhaps astonishing is that for all the elections there were as many candidates as there were; a grand total of over 281,344. This figure indicates that of the average number of roughly 28,000,000 Japanese who voted in each election, more than one out of every hundred was a candidate for some public office in the April elections. In any nation this would be unusual; certainly it is so in a Japan where until a few short months ago candidacy for public office had always been the privilege of a limited few.

With the exception of a certain minor percentage (approximately 1.50%) resulting from natural error, illiteracy, and the like, the problem of wasted ballots was believed to stem almost entirely from limitations on election publicity. These, in turn, arose from the paper shortage.

Early in March the Home Ministry and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry had estimated that over 11,000,000 pounds of paper would be required for the five elections. Such an amount simply was not available. In view of the shortage of stock piles and production any great amount of paper could not be used for election purposes without seriously affecting newspaper publications and the current program for printing new school books for use throughout the entire Japanese educational system. In fact, late in February the Japanese press carried stories to the effect that even by suspending the printing of text books and reducing newspaper publications to tabloid form, still only about 2,000,000 pounds of paper would be available for the elections.

It was subsequently estimated, however, by the Home Ministry that a saving of approximately 67% of the original requirement could be effected, and allocations for other uses not seriously disturbed, if only modified use were made of the voluminous paper consuming election Career Bulletins which contained biographical sketches of all major candidates. Therefore it was decided not to place Career Bulletins in each household in Japan as was customary in past elections but to post them instead in principal gathering spots and on public bulletin boards in all communities. Hence the total allocation for the 1947 elections, as finally authorized, was as follows:

Ballot Paper	820,370 lbs.
Election and Career Bulletins	504,489 "
Election Announcement Posters	161,085 "
Individual Candidate's Campaign Rations	885,885 "
Official Lists of Candidates	134,955 "
Voting Tickets	262,647 "
Instruction Booklets for Officials	366,885 "
Neighborhood Puppet Shows	4,400 "
Newspaper Publications of Campaign Expenditures	577,500 "
Publications of Election Laws and Ordinances	12,925 "
Total	<u>3,731,141</u>

Concurrent with the decision on the total allocation of paper, the Diet passed the previously discussed Posters Law, limiting to the above figure the total amount of paper which could be used in the election, whether on behalf

of parties, candidates, or the government. This law, it was recognized, placed the most stringent of restrictions upon campaign publicity. Despite the entry of so many new faces into politics and despite the creation of the new national constituency of the House of Councillors, with its attendant problems of nationwide publicity, the bill made available for 300,000 candidates less paper than had been available for 3,000 in 1946. It further limited candidates to use of only such paper as they received in the government allotment. By this denial the bill not only favored established parties and well known candidates but made but little provision for the educational programs so necessary for advising the electorate of the new techniques of voting, political issues at stake, and the importance of the franchise. The restrictions were drastic, but they were fair; every candidate was assured exactly as much paper as any other candidate for the same office. Any alternative would have favored the wealthier, for the only source of paper other than the meagre government allotment would have been the black market.

With paper thus limited, it was highly important to make the greatest possible use of what was at hand, particularly in the sense of concentrating more information in and around the polls on election day.

Previously Japanese election laws had been interpreted as maintaining a 3 cho (327 meters) neutral zone around polling places, with all campaign posters prohibited in these areas. To remind voters of candidates and parties, a more liberal construction was placed on the laws, and during the last three elections posters were permitted in the near vicinity of all polling places. In addition, provision was made to ensure that voters received but one ballot at a time (and deposited it in a ballot box before receiving a second)* and that names and affiliations of all candidates were placed in every polling booth. The following radios from SCAP to Commanding General Eighth Army summarize these remedial measures:

12 April 1947

FROM : SCAP

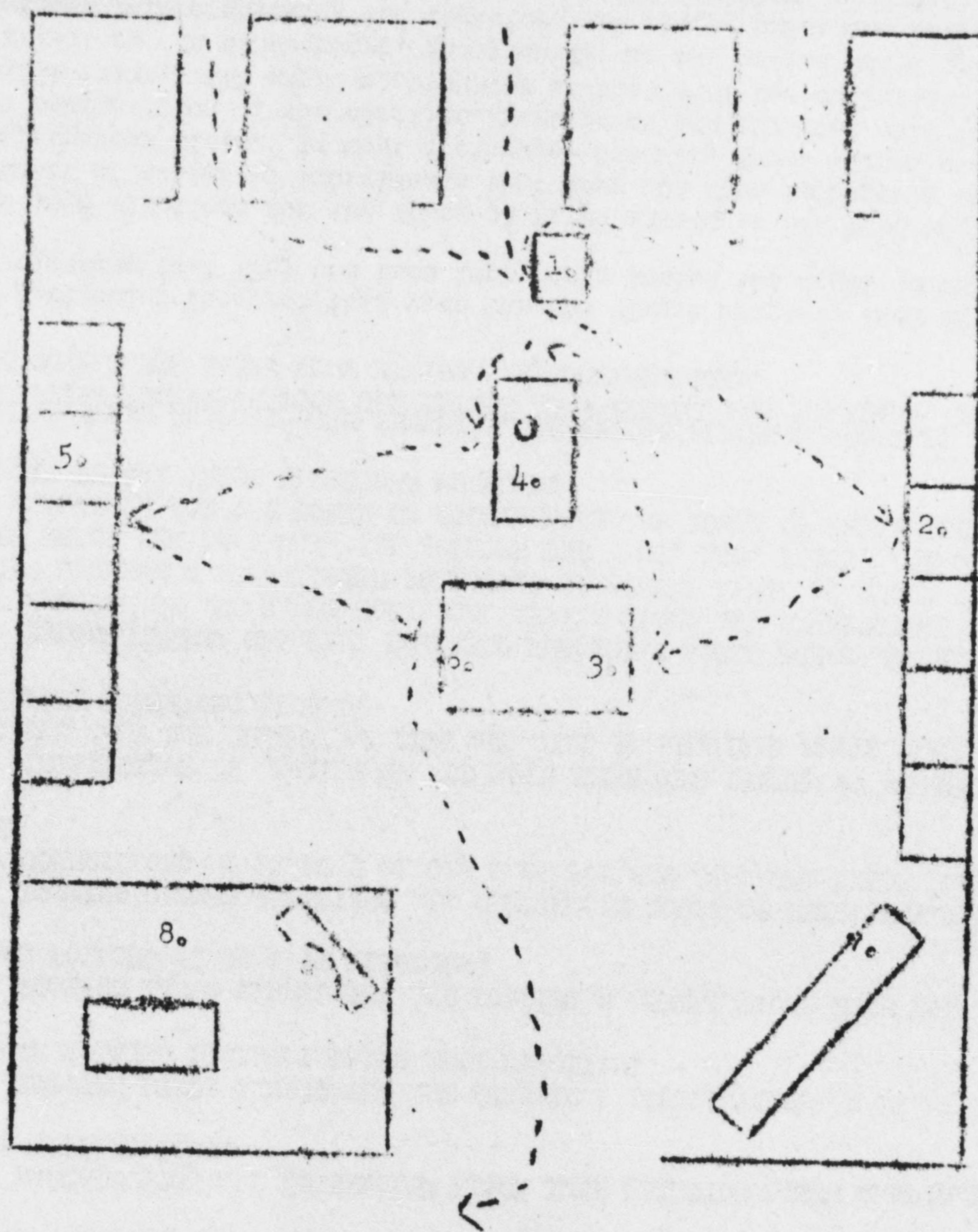
TO : CG 8th ARMY PRIORITY

REQUEST FOLLOWING INFORMATION BE TRANSMITTED TO TEAMS CHARGED WITH SURVEILLANCE FORTHCOMING JAPANESE NATIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS PD THE FOLLOWING INTERPRETATIONS OF JAPANESE ELECTION LAWS HAVE BEEN MADE BY MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS HAVE BEEN DISSEMINATED TO ELECTION ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEES AND ARE FURNISHED HEREWITH FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE PD A PD CANDIDATES USE OF LOUD SPEAKERS IN VICINITY OF POLLS ON ELECTION DAY IS PERMITTED PD B PD CAMPAIGN POSTERS MAY BE POSED ON ELECTION DAY ANYWHERE OUTSIDE OF CONFINES OF POLLING PLACES PROVIDED OTHER PROVISIONS OF POSTERS LAW ARE MET PD LARGE NUMBER OF INVALID VOTES CAST IN LAST ELECTION HAS EMPHASIZED NECESSITY OF KEEPING CANDIDATES NAMES BEFORE VOTERS THROUGHOUT ELECTION DAY PD C PD NAMES AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF ALL CANDIDATES CONCERNED SHOULD BE POSTED AT EACH POLLING PLACE ON ELECTION DAY PD

* See chart on next page.

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ARRANGEMENT OF TYPICAL POLLING PLACE
(House of Councillors Election - 1947)



1. First ballot issued at this point
2. First ballot marked here
3. First ballot deposited here
4. Second ballot issued here
5. Second ballot marked here
6. Second ballot deposited here
7. Election witnesses
8. Election officials

(Outline depicts room in which actual voting takes place.
Registration books checked prior to entry into this room.)

15 April 1947

FROM : SCAP

TO : CG 8th ARMY

RECENT JAPANESE LOCAL ELECTIONS WERE CHARACTERIZED BY LARGE NUMBER INVALID BALLOTS APPARENTLY OCCASIONED VOTERS UNFAMILIARITY CANDIDATES NAMES AND ELECTION PROCEDURES. TO ENSURE GREATEST POSSIBLE FAMILIARITY ELECTORATE THESE POINTS FUTURE ELECTIONS HOME MINISTRY HAS RECOMMENDED LOCAL ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEES CARRY OUT FOLLOWING REMEDIAL MEASURES:

A. DISTRIBUTION ALL HOUSEHOLDS PRIOR EACH ELECTION LISTS CANDIDATES AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS.

B. POSTING LISTS CANDIDATES AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS AT LEAST FIVE PLACES EACH POLLING DISTRICT PRIOR EACH ELECTION.

C. POSTING LISTS CANDIDATES AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS EACH POLLING BOOTH EACH POLLING PLACE EACH ELECTION.

D. POSTING CAREER BULLETINS ALL CANDIDATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND HOUSE OF COUNCILLORS AT LEAST 5 PLACES EACH POLLING DISTRICT PRIOR EACH NATIONAL ELECTION.

E. INSTITUTION AT APRIL 20TH AND 30TH ELECTIONS SYSTEM BY WHICH VOTERS WILL RECEIVE ONLY ONE BALLOT AT TIME AND WILL BE REQUIRED PLACE FIRST BALLOT IN BOX BEFORE RECEIVING SECOND.

F. ENCOURAGEMENT GREATEST POSSIBLE PUBLICITY LOCAL PRESS AND RADIO ELECTION PROCEDURES AND NAMES POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS ALL CANDIDATES. IN THIS CONNECTION SPOKESMAN SCAP ISSUED FOLLOWING STATEMENT APRIL 15 QUOTE IT IS HOPED THAT EACH NEWSPAPER IN JAPAN WILL PUBLISH THE NAME, AGE, PARTY, AND OCCUPATION OF EACH CANDIDATE FOR THE HOUSE OF COUNCILLORS AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THESE ELECTIONS UNQUOTE.

DESIRE TEAMS CHARGED WITH SURVEILLANCE FUTURE ELECTIONS CONTACT AS MANY MAJOR ELECTION ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEES AS POSSIBLE AND ENCOURAGE GREATEST POSSIBLE COMPLIANCE ABOVE HOME MINISTRY RECOMMENDATIONS.

Of particular interest this year was the almost complete lack of individuals claiming that they had been improperly denied the right to vote.

The 1946 elections for the House of Representatives had been marred by a large number of claims by individuals that they had been improperly excluded from registration lists. In most instances, however, these turned out to stem from the construction of the election laws, which had provided only for annual fall registration, with ample opportunity at that time for correction of errors in the register. In consequence, individuals who had waited until elections were imminent before checking the registers and noting omissions had been unable to exercise their franchise. As noted above, this problem was anticipated this year and remedied in advance, two special registration periods being held in March and April to permit all those eligible to vote to check polling lists and register if their name was omitted.

Analysis of Elections

In the last analysis three questions seem paramount in any survey of the 1947 elections: (1) Were the elections fair and democratic? (2) How could election procedures be improved in future years? (3) What were the political implications of the results?

Fair and Democratic Elections

Two major concepts are necessarily involved in democratic elections: pre-election assurance of democratic rights such as broad franchise, ease of candidacy, freedom from fear of coercion, and the like; and election day and post

election assurance of honesty in the counting and tabulating of votes.

Insofar as the first is concerned, as was pointed out in Chapter II, a wide variety of pre-election measures was taken to insure democratic elections: strengthening of the election laws, extension of the franchise, increase in the number of polls, application of the purge, assurance of non-interference by the police, surveillance by Occupation Forces, to name a few. Insofar as counting and tabulation were concerned, not only did every candidate have the right to have a witness present at every step in the voting and counting process at every polling place and ballot counting station in Japan---but every Japanese citizen had the further right to bring any protest which he might have to the attention of the Occupation Forces as well as his own Government.

With respect to the laws, therefore, every step in the electoral process, from the filing of candidacy and the registration of voters to the final tabulation of results was fully protected by laws and safeguards comparable to those of any democratic nation. Insofar as violations of these laws were concerned, not only were Japanese procedures of investigation, indictment and trial highly competent and satisfactory but once again full opportunity was afforded all citizens to bring any criticisms of methods to the attention of surveillance personnel. The especial fact that indictments for election law violations for all five 1947 elections totaled only 2997 as opposed to 2632 in the one election of 1946 might be taken either as an indication that political morality had been markedly improved or that the investigative powers of the government had gone into a sharp decline. The first reason is undoubtedly the correct one, for the figure of 2997 included all alleged violations from all sources, including those first reported to the Occupation Forces, and citizens were urged daily to report to the Occupation Forces violations of which they were aware which were not being properly investigated by Japanese officials.

In this connection, it is imperative to note that the vast majority of claims of election law violations involved such crimes as bribery of voters, house to house canvassing for votes, and violations of the poster law. For all the 42,000 polling places and 11,000 ballot counting stations in all Japan and for all the 200,000,000 ballots which were counted during five elections there were only a handful of charges made anywhere---by press, or public or candidates or parties---of improper casting of votes and no charges were made of miscounting of votes.

Improvement of Elections

In comparison with the 1947 elections, three basic avenues lie open for the improvement of future Japanese elections: decrease in the number of electors abstaining from voting; decrease in the number of wasted ballots; and increase in the number of candidates, particularly for the office of local chief executive.

In considering the average abstention rate of 30 percent for the 1947 elections, it must be recalled that essentially this represents a percentage of total eligible voters and not a percentage of a total of registered voters, which in turn is only a percentage of the total of eligible voters. Japanese law provides basically for automatic registration; once each year all eligible voters are registered regardless of whether they have any interest in voting or not. In most Western countries, of course, the situation is reversed; registration is not automatic but requires that the voter take the initiative and register himself. From the standpoint of the percentage of all adults actually participating in an election, therefore, a 70 percent turnout in a Japanese election would be equivalent of about an 85 percent turnout in an average American election.

The basic reasons for abstention this year were apparently the number of elections in rapid succession; the severe restraints placed on campaigning because of the lack of paper; and the novelty and complexity of such elections as required the casting of separate ballots.

All three, of course, will improve with time. In view of the varying terms of the offices included, such a series of elections as was held in 1947 could never again be held until 1959---and even juxtaposition in 1959 would require that during the next 12 years no general election for the Diet be held except at the end of a four year term.

The stringent limitations on the use of paper stemmed, of course, both from shortage of paper and from the tremendous demand in the early part of 1947. Such concentrated demand in the future will be eliminated by the general dispersal of elections over different years and the gradual improvement in Japan's economic position should result in greater availability of paper. Time also will serve to decrease the novelty of the elections, particularly in respect to the combination of two elections in one day.

The simplest solution to the problem of voided ballots, of course, would seem to be adoption of the printed ballot. Other solutions are relaxation of restrictions on campaign publicity and the practice, emphasized at the last election, of posting names of candidates in each polling booth and of ensuring that a voter receives only one ballot at a time and thus is required to mark only one at a time.

New local government legislation provides procedures for the recall of local chief executives in those instances where the majority of the electorate votes to remove them. Communities in which only one candidate ran for office are thus in a position to vote for a new mayor if they so desire and need not necessarily retain their present mayors from now until 1951. A continuing program of political education and the rapid development in towns and villages of competing political parties are greatly to be desired in order to counter any tendency to acquiesce in the agreements of local leaders as to candidates for local offices. Once such parties are developed it is imperative that party management, programs, and issues be determined by action of the entire membership of the party rather than by party leaders alone.

Political Implications

The following table summarizes party votes in the 1946 and 1947 elections. Since the method of voting adopted in the House of Representatives election in 1946 permitted voters to cast ballots for 2 or 3 candidates, dependent on the size of the electoral district concerned, direct comparison with the Representatives election in 1947 is not possible, since this year electors voted for but one candidate each. Table II, however, projects a basis for comparison, indicating an estimated division of votes in 1946 had electors cast ballots for but one candidate.

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Social Democrats</u>	<u>Cooperatives</u>	<u>Communist</u>
1946, 10 April	13,505,746	10,350,530	9,858,408	1,799,764	2,135,757
The same reduced to common denom.	6,500,000	4,960,000	4,730,000	860,000	1,020,000
1947, 5 April Governors	2,111,906	1,605,540	6,047,059	392,847	258,044
20 April, Local	3,822,767	3,117,202	4,847,188	1,038,271	809,177
20 April, National	1,360,456	1,908,087	3,479,814	549,916	610,948
25 April	7,295,242	6,857,480	7,168,888	1,862,753	1,002,883
30 April, Municipal Prefectural	1,980,001 5,733,280	2,073,491 6,092,169	2,049,494 5,482,627	149,453 1,187,322	252,409 556,473
122 1946, April 10	24.4	18.7	17.8	3.2	3.8
1947, April 5, Gov.	7.9	6.0	22.6	1.5	0.9
April 20, Local	17.0	14.3	22.2	4.5	3.2
April 20, Natl.	6.5	7.2	16.6	2.6	2.9
April 25	26.6	25.1	26.2	6.8	3.7
April 30, Pref.	18.3	19.5	17.5	3.8	1.8
April 30, Munic.	6.5	6.8	6.7	0.5	0.8

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Social Democrats</u>	<u>Cooperatives</u>	<u>Communist</u>	<u>Minor Parties</u>	<u>Independents</u>	<u>Total</u>
746	10,350,530	9,858,408	1,799,764	2,135,757	6,473,272	11,352,402	55,448,879
000	4,960,000	4,730,000	860,000	1,020,000	3,100,000	5,430,000	26,600,000
906	1,605,540	6,047,059	392,847	258,044	1,590,487	14,734,584	26,740,467
767	3,117,202	4,847,188	1,038,271	809,177	1,026,178	7,235,693	21,896,476
456	1,908,087	3,479,814	549,916	610,948	1,039,819	12,462,073	21,411,113
242	6,857,480	7,168,888	1,862,753	1,002,883	1,560,070	1,614,295	27,361,611
001	2,073,491	2,049,494	149,453	252,409	652,571	23,481,019	30,638,438
280	6,092,169	5,482,627	1,187,322	556,473	2,520,428	9,686,347	31,258,646
4	18.7	17.8	3.2	3.8	11.7	20.4	100.0
9	6.0	22.6	1.5	0.9	6.0	55.1	100.0
0	14.3	22.2	4.5	3.2	5.0	33.8	100.0
5	7.2	16.6	2.6	2.9	4.9	59.3	100.0
6	25.1	26.2	6.8	3.7	5.7	5.9	100.0
3	19.5	17.5	3.8	1.8	8.1	31.0	100.0
5	6.8	6.7	0.5	0.8	2.1	76.6	100.0

Of the 205,000 offices at stake in the April elections, about 185,000 were won by "Independents." This single fact would make analyses of the political implications of the elections almost impossible were it not for the fact that the political implications of the word "Independent" are quite different in Japan from what they are in the West. As one political observer has pointed out, "An 'independent' in Japan is a candidate who does not indicate until after the election what party he proposes to support, whereas a 'neutral' is a candidate who proposes to remain independent."

Final results of all elections, tabulated by parties, were as follows:

<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Demo.</u>	<u>Soc. D.</u>	<u>Peop. Coop.</u>	<u>Comm.</u>	<u>Minor Parties</u>	<u>Ind.</u>	<u>Total</u>
5,899	5,883	6,382	831	439	2,204	183,424	205,062

From the standpoint of local entities, the elections represented a sweeping Conservative victory, since by far the greater number of elective candidates were of conservative leanings, whether classified as Liberals, Democrats, or Independents. In 4 prefectures, 11 cities, and 253 towns and villages there are Social Democratic chief executives and in 11 towns and villages there are Communist chief executives. In about 10,000 local entities of government, however, there are conservative chief executives, while the number of conservative assemblies probably approximates the total number of local assemblies in Japan.

The facts that the Social Democrats won a plurality among parties in each House of the Diet and have now established a Cabinet in coalition with the Democrats suggests that national election results were far less conservative than local. They were less conservative, it is true, but whether sufficiently so to set the government on a path markedly divergent from that of the past year is still a moot question.

The present membership of the two houses is as follows:

House of Councillors		House of Representatives
	Government Parties	
47	Social Democrats	144
42	Democrats	129
	Peoples Cooperative	31
<u>89</u>		<u>304</u>
	Non Government Parties	
43	Liberal	125
17	Independents	16
95	Ryokufukai	
	Japan Farmers	3
4	Communist	4
1	Neutrals	2
<u>1</u>	Vacancies	<u>7</u>
161		162

If it be remembered that passage of any legislation requires either approval of a bill by a majority of both Houses or repassage by the House of Representatives by a two thirds vote of legislation passed by the Representatives and voted down by the Councillors, the significance of the above figures is apparent. Half of the House of Representatives is 233; two thirds is 311; and half of the House of Councillors is 125. Technically speaking, the Government Parties have neither a majority in the House of Councillors nor the necessary two thirds majority in the House of Representatives by which they

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would override a Councillor's veto. Passage of legislation, therefore, will require bargaining with non-government and essentially conservative groups; when with this is coupled the fact that the Democratic Party itself is basically conservative it appears readily apparent that the Social Democratic plurality is unlikely to swing the Diet very far from a conservative course.

In particular, it should be noted that there is no possibility of dissolving a recalcitrant House of Councillors, as in the case of the House of Representatives; should the membership of the Councillors prove ultra conservative they could continue to block for the next three years all Social Democratic legislation which did not meet with their approval.

Comparison of figures for the House of Representatives elections in 1946 and 1947 raises three other points of interest.

Perhaps the most important was the loss of strength by both independents and minor parties in this year's election for the House of Representatives. In 1946 the two groups won 32.1 percent of the total vote; this year their total dropped to 11.6 percent. **It would seem likely that insofar as the House of Representatives is concerned the Japanese people are gradually coming to appreciate the importance of major parties vis a vis minor parties or independents in a parliamentary system of government.**

Of particular interest was the fact that the Social Democrats did not win their plurality by taking votes away from the Liberals and Democrats; rather, all three parties ran well above their 1946 totals, thanks primarily to votes which had previously been given to the minor parties and independents. This would indicate failure of the Social Democrats to make any decisive gains among individuals who traditionally have voted for Liberals or Democrats and would suggest that any gains the Social Democrats might make in elections in the near future will have to come primarily from the votes of new electors or those who still voted this year for independents or minor parties.

Unless this tendency be reversed by highly successful administration, this would make difficult the development of a Social Democratic absolute majority in the House of Representatives for some time to come. For such control the Social Democrats would need another 20 percent or so of the popular vote. Only 11.6 percent remains in the minor party and independent pool and the total accretion of new voters over the next five years, even with repatriates added, will probably not exceed ten percent of the present total. The Social Democrats could hardly expect to win all these potential votes. The most profitable field of operation for the Social Democrats **therefore would seem to be among the 32 percent of the populace who abstained from voting in the last election.**

In connection with the Communists, it should be pointed out that despite their failure to win as many seats in the House of Representatives as they had anticipated or as they did last year, their popular vote, on a comparative basis, was approximately that of last year: 1,002,883 in 1947 as opposed to 1,020,000 in 1946. Percentagewise this was a reduction, in that a grand total of 1,361,000 more votes were cast in this year's election than in last. Particularly striking, however, was the fact that many of last year's Communist votes were undoubtedly spare votes, cast by electors who were dividing their two or three votes among several parties. This year's Communist votes were all first choice.

Statement by the Supreme Commandor

The democratic response of the people of Japan to the opportunities afforded them in April for an unprecedentedly full exercise of the franchise and for the establishment of both national and local governments according with the freely expressed will of the electorate was hailed by the Supreme Commander in a statement on 27 April. General MacArthur said:

"With the recently held series of elections, the last preparatory step necessary for the inauguration of the new Japanese Constitution has been accomplished. This Constitution is among the most liberal and progressive national charters in the world. It reflects one of the great spiritual reformations of mankind. Its effectuation marks a new era in the Far East which may well prove vital to the future of civilization. It gives the Japanese people another chance. It raises the masses of them from the totalitarianism of practical slavery to the dignity of free men. I have faith they will not fail their now obligation.

"That faith is justified by the elections just past. From factories and shops and homes, from villages and farms and mines, the Japanese people streamed by the millions throughout the land to the polling places to discharge their new responsibilities of citizenship. There they voted for the candidates of their choice, freely and fearlessly, without disorder and according to the rules as they understood them. In this atmosphere of freedom, marked by serious effort and honesty of purpose, no one can justly criticize their choice. This choice, for the first time in Japanese history, reflected the free will of the majority, as against the totalitarian dictates of a minority. This is democracy!

"The basic issue before the electorate was a selection between political philosophies. That of the totalitarian extreme right had already been discredited and rejected for its responsibility for war and defeat and long suppression of the rights and liberties of the masses. On the other hand, that of the extreme left, the communistic philosophy, was still in issue, with its leaders strongly bidding for the popular support. Since the inception of the occupation, when thousands of its adherents were freed from the stern suppression of prison cells, this philosophy and its leaders had been given the fullest liberty and freedom of political action in open and fair competition with democratic forces and beliefs. It thus had its full chance and on the merits has failed. The Japanese people have firmly and decisively rejected its leadership and overwhelmingly have chosen a moderate course, sufficiently centered from either extreme to insure the preservation of freedom and the enhancement of individual dignity."



DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OCT 1 1947

~~DC/E~~
FE

American Embassy
London, September 19, 1947

AIR MAIL

UNCLASSIFIED

No. 2114

Subject: Transmitting Article from Spectator on Japan

DC/R

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable
Secretary of State,
Washington

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1947 SEP 30 PM 8 54

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Sir:

I have the honor to enclose, as of possible interest to the Department, copy of an article from the August 29, 1947, issue of The Spectator on the subject "Satellite Japan". The article appears under the name of Sir Paul Butler, a former British consular officer in the Far East, who, from time to time, has articles published on subjects dealing with that part of the world.

Butler, after surveying the existing situation in the Far East, and particularly the deterioration of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations, asserts that the U.K. should welcome "American predominance in Japan". Butler considers that, under existing conditions, Japan is perhaps unavoidably doomed to "satellite status", and that it is preferable that Japan go into the American rather than the Soviet camp. "Perhaps this satellite status", Butler writes, "would be the best short-term solution of the Japanese problem". We consider Butler's article to be well and soundly written, and we therefore commend it to the attention of officers concerned with Japanese and other Far Eastern problems.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Everett F. Drumright
Everett F. Drumright
First Secretary of Embassy

NOV 24 1947

CS/V FILED

894.00/9-1947

Enclosure:
Copy of article

(Original and hectograph to the Department)
Copy to U.S. Political Adviser, SCAP, Tokyo
Copy to Embassy, Moscow
Copy to Embassy, Nanking

EFDrumright/wg

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 2114 dated September 19, 1947,
from American Embassy, London, England.

UNCLASSIFIED

Source: The Spectator

August 29, 1947

SATELLITE JAPAN

Sir Paul Butler

The United States was the principal agent in bringing Japan to her knees, and she has since supplied the forces and met the expenses of occupation, with little more than a token contribution from the British Commonwealth. As the head of an exclusively American military government, General MacArthur is the architect of the new structure to which the Japanese are making gestures of conformity. In the future beyond the restoration of peace, it will be the United States to whom Japan must look for the financial assistance which she will need to rebuild her shattered economy. Since he who pays the piper calls the tune, these facts have always warranted the inference that American conceptions of policy will prevail in all fundamental aspects of a Japanese peace treaty; and any doubts upon this score must have been dispelled by the economic blizzard which has now broken over this country, and in varying degrees over the Empire. 9-1947

On the other hand, as the outcome of the war and of her subsequent commitments in Japan and Korea, the United States has assumed vital responsibilities in the Northern Pacific, at a moment when we are preoccupied with a domestic crisis, when chaos is deepening in China and when Russia has to all appearances repudiated the conception of One World. On balance, therefore, we should welcome this American predominance to Japan, since the alternatives might be either a spread of anarchy to the island fringe of Northern Asia or its disappearance behind an Asiatic iron curtain. That such a prospect, however depressing, cannot be dismissed as extravagant is indicated by the dangerous friction between Russia and the United States which persists in Korea, as well as by the gathering signs that Communist Manchuria may split off from the Chinese republic.

For all this, the terms of peace to be imposed upon Japan remain of intimate concern to the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. It is most appropriate that their representatives should be exchanging views this week at

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Canberra, where the delegates, in addition to the conditions and sanctions which British interests demand that Japan should accept, will no doubt also consider the implications of recent American policy in the Far East. To take the latter aspect first, it seems that, with the widening of the gulf between the United States and Russia and the frustration of American attempts to promote unity in China, the emphasis of American policy has shifted. Less importance may now be attached to the growth of democratic institutions and the exaction of reparations than to the retention of Japan in the American camp after the end of the occupation. In fact, the United States may be coming, however unwillingly, to look upon Japan as an outpost against Soviet penetration in Asia. This would entail rapid reconstruction of Japanese economy, provision of a higher standard of living than has hitherto been contemplated and reliance upon a bureaucracy which, although purged of active militarist ingredients, would be unlikely if left to its own devices to show marked inclination towards western democratic institutions. Thus General MacArthur has been represented on various occasions as affirming the need to hold Japan up rather than to keep her down; as advocating American occupation of Okinawa, both as "a strategic frontier of the United States and a guarantee for Japan against aggression"; and, at a time when her recent Asiatic victims are still confronted by semi-starvation, as demanding for his fief 1,500,000 tons of imported foodstuffs during the coming year.

These utterances of the Supreme Commander, whose great prestige as a military leader has been enhanced by his conspicuous administrative success in Japan, have not been challenged by an American public obsessed with fears of Russia. Although they may not represent official views in Washington, the proposal of the State Department that the framework of a peace treaty should be constructed by the eleven Powers represented upon the Far Eastern Commission, instead of by the Foreign Ministers' Committee, would have the effect of by-passing a Soviet veto. Notwithstanding the insignificant Russian contribution to Pacific victory, the Soviet Government has refused this invitation to collaborate on an equal footing with the Powers whose efforts and sacrifices did in fact lead to the overthrow of Japan. Presumably some means will be found of surmounting this immediate difficulty; but if the ten remaining Powers led by the United States should be compelled to conclude peace with Japan without Russian participation, the result would be the extension to the Far East of the cleavage between eastern and western zones which already exists in Europe.

Seen against a background of confusion in Asia, all this leads indirectly to the conclusion, perplexing

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indeed when one recalls the emphatic official views so recently expressed in America and other Allied countries regarding the subjection to be imposed upon Japan, that the wheel may be turning full circle. In Korea, Formosa and Manchuria material conditions at least are far worse today than under the oppressive Japanese regime; and it may in time be realised that the Japanese conception of their mission as a "stabilising force in East Asia," which was never questioned by world opinion before the Manchurian Incident, had some justification. Such a re-interpretation of their international record would naturally be highly gratifying to the Japanese, who have always shown themselves adept at exploiting a rift between the Great Powers. Already a new assurance may be detected in Japanese official statements. Mr. Ashida, the Foreign Minister, was recently represented as stating that Japan would endeavour to retain her sovereignty over any territory formerly administered by the central Japanese Government (which would include Okinawa and the Kuriles) and to secure the right to maintain a large armed police force. Another official spokesman went even further, and alluded to Japanese hopes to recover Formosa. A dominant bureaucracy might be expected, after the occupation ends, to recall the political and economic successes of the Meiji technique, and endeavour to reproduce it.

How would this re-orientation of American policy towards Japan affect the interests of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth? Ideally, we should of course much prefer a demilitarised and adequately supervised Japan, restored to genuine independence and permitted a standard of living and restricted industrialisation which would encourage the growth of democracy while at the same time precluding the intensive competition in export markets from which we suffered between the wars. Probably this pattern would satisfy the needs of the Empire as a whole, including those of Australia and India, who need the revival of the Japanese market for their wool and cotton, and of those Crown Colonies to the rise of whose standard of living cheap Japanese consumption goods of fair quality made a substantial contribution.

But if Japan must recede to satellite status (and under existing Far Eastern conditions this seems unavoidable), it is obviously preferable that she should enter the American orbit rather than the Russian. On the economic side the United States has already shown an understandable desire to create a favourable Japanese trade balance, thereby reducing her own financial liabilities. The pursuit of the political motives suggested above would probably involve a higher level of industrial production (in consumption goods at least) than some manufacturing interests in this country might think desirable. It would, however, be economically unsound to restrict the

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*(Effect of
Zachary's
program.)*

Perhaps this satellite status would be the best short-term solution of the Japanese problem. Under American protection and backed by American resources and capital, the national capacity for organised and sustained effort should produce a more rapid return to relative prosperity and stability than seems likely in other Far Eastern areas. If this appears inequitable to the Chinese, it must be remembered that their inherent political disunity has lost for them the opportunity of reconstruction with American assistance. As for the security aspect, General MacArthur's expectation that Japan will be incapable of renewed aggression in the foreseeable future may prove better founded than his hopes for her conversion to Christianity and democracy. It is quite true that, deprived of her overseas empire and of free access to strategic raw materials, Japan will lack the potentials of a great military Power. Material precautions should, however, be reinforced by an objective international outlook towards Japan which has hitherto been lacking. A revival with the passage of time of the illusions regarding Japan's character and political intentions which were so prevalent in the first decades of this century might still give her a second innings.

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 2114 dated September 19, 1947,
from American Embassy, London, England.

UNCLASSIFIEDSource: The Spectator

August 29, 1947

SATELLITE JAPAN

Sir Paul Butler

The United States was the principal agent in bringing Japan to her knees, and she has since supplied the forces and met the expenses of occupation, with little more than a token contribution from the British Commonwealth. As the head of an exclusively American military government, General MacArthur is the architect of the new structure to which the Japanese are making gestures of conformity. In the future beyond the restoration of peace, it will be the United States to whom Japan must look for the financial assistance which she will need to rebuild her shattered economy. Since he who pays the piper calls the tune, these facts have always warranted the inference that American conceptions of policy will prevail in all fundamental aspects of a Japanese peace treaty; and any doubts upon this score must have been dispelled by the economic blizzard which has now broken over this country, and in varying degrees over the Empire.

On the other hand, as the outcome of the war and of her subsequent commitments in Japan and Korea, the United States has assumed vital responsibilities in the Northern Pacific, at a moment when we are preoccupied with a domestic crisis, when chaos is deepening in China and when Russia has to all appearances repudiated the conception of One World. On balance, therefore, we should welcome this American predominance to Japan, since the alternatives might be either a spread of anarchy to the island fringe of Northern Asia or its disappearance behind an Asiatic iron curtain. That such a prospect, however depressing, cannot be dismissed as extravagant is indicated by the dangerous friction between Russia and the United States which persists in Korea, as well as by the gathering signs that Communist Manchuria may split off from the Chinese republic.

For all this, the terms of peace to be imposed upon Japan remain of intimate concern to the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. It is most appropriate that their representatives should be exchanging views this week at

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

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Tokyo, September 29, 1947

ACTION

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NAVY

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SUBJECT: Transmittal of Reports Concerning Non-Military
Activities in Japan.*o/c*

- 1/ The Counselor of Mission has the honor to forward under separate cover four copies of a brochure recently published by this Headquarters containing a summation of non-military activities in Japan during June 1947. There are also forwarded four copies of a similar summation for May 1947. It is regretted that a change in methods of distribution in this Headquarters has occasioned a delay in obtaining the latter.
- 2/

In the future copies of similar reports will be forwarded to the Department without a covering despatch.

Accompaniments:

1. "Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan", No. 21, June 1947. (4 copies)
2. "Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan", No. 20, May 1947. (4 copies)

Original and 3/4 to Department.

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER AFFAIRS FOR JAPAN

NOV 12 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Tokyo, October 7, 1947

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No. 1320

SUBJECT: Transmittal of a Report Concerning the Political, Economic and Social Activities of Japanese Women

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The Counselor of Mission has the honor to forward five copies of a report concerning the political, economic and social activities of Japanese women, dated March 13, 1947, prepared by the Civil Information and Education Section of this Headquarters.

FE - enc
OIE - enc
A-S - enc
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OCD - enc
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Enclosure:

Five copies of a GHQ, SCAP, report entitled Japanese Women, March 13, 1947.

Original and ozalid to Department.

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War - enc
Navy - enc
CID
Com - enc
Labor - enc

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
 SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
 Civil Information and Education Section
 Media Analysis Division

PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 13, March 1947

No.95

Japanese Women

Women and their political and social activities, their position in industry and in the home, their future in the turmoil of a changing world -- all these topics continue to occupy a prominent position in Japanese magazines. The current interest in political government is reflected in the volume of writing on women members of the Diet. Although there is a certain amount of criticism directed at women representatives as a group, serious writers single out several individuals for specific praise, and emphasize the necessity for continued political education in order to fit an increasing number of women for participation in the political future of the nation. Discussions of birth control are perennial, with opposition based on conservative social grounds, while proponents stress the importance of solving the population and food problems. Women's rights in labor relations also are considered, with criticism leveled at irresponsible participation in disputes and demonstrations. It is pointed out that women workers, as well as women in the home, must give careful consideration to labor and industrial problems in order to fit themselves for their new responsibilities and rights.

Women in Politics

There is continued emphasis on the necessity for women to increase their participation in political affairs. "Women have hitherto been political outsiders," writes Ichiko Kamichika in SHINJIDAI. "They must seek happiness through active participation in politics. No nation ever has faced a greater and more sudden change and it is only natural that Japanese women, suddenly emancipated, occasionally may be at a loss. Women's right to vote was acquired at the very high cost of defeat. By proper use of this franchise we may convert the present misery into happiness. Women need to learn politics, not from the example of past politicians, but in order to take their place in building a new and entirely different government. Directives have driven out many evil politicians but we must not rest content with this; if we really have the desire to attain happiness, we must obey the command of the present age and inspire a new government through our united efforts." This writer collaborates with Socialist Member of Parliament Shizue Kato in an article in SHIN JOEN which calls for women's efforts towards future socialization. According to Kato, "Women's position in the party is still low because of their lack of experience, but henceforth it is their duty to give a political stimulus to other women who have no interest in politics."

Discussion of the female members of the present Diet is extensive. Beginners in politics, their actions and appearances are under constant scrutiny. Matsuko Inoue, writing in SEIKAI JEEP, admits that much criticism has been leveled at women representatives but defends their "gradual progress." Mitsu Koro and Shizue Kato "put fair and good questions which show earnest study," and Kiyo Murashima also receives praise. Some of the ladies are of no political affiliation, but "they have come to know that as in-

dependent members they will have few chances to speak or to make policies, and so have begun to consider entering the regular parties." The solution to their worries, writes Inoue, will come when the public "ceases to regard them as women and accepts them merely as Representatives." Tomie Washinuma explains, in SHIN JOEN, why women Diet Members are not more active politically: "One of the principal reasons for their inactivity is the parliamentary system in which not everyone can get the floor. This Diet is not wholly democratic in that the reigning power is in the hands of men (alone); and old political transactions are supreme. An official meeting of Diet members decides upon speakers, and its decision is approved by the all-party liaison meeting at which no woman delegate is present." This writer is mildly critical of the quality of some women delegates who "were chosen through the plural ballot or through capricious scattered voting," and scores those who have no party affiliation, "through lack of political conception."

Holding that the majority of women representatives are "of low standard," Kotaro Wakamiya, in JOSEI KAIZO, nevertheless has hopes for the future. "Although the public condemns women representatives as incompetent, they have taken many positive actions in the Diet and elsewhere. Some of them took the floor in the main session, and almost all of them engaged in deliberation on bills in the committees. Speeches by Toshiko Karasawa, Michiko Yamazaki, Mitsu Koro and Shizue Kato were especially outstanding." Wakamiya discusses certain more critical aspects, maintaining that "as they are confined within the frame of women, they trade on their position as such," but concludes: "We must not judge the future in the light of present failings, but must endeavor to improve the quality of women representatives. The first condition is the elevation of the political consciousness of the people at large; the second condition lies in the attitudes of candidates themselves, who must have conscientious assurance as responsible politicians. If the qualifications of a woman candidate are equal to or less than those of male candidates, she should abandon her candidature. Women have one mission in which they can by no means be replaced by men; that is establishing a healthy family and bringing up children. The third condition is the untiring endeavors of women representatives themselves. Their knowledge, speech and general conduct must elevate the standing of women, at the same time being based on true womanhood and the dignity of the individual."

Statements of Women Representatives

SHUFU NO TOMO prints a roundtable discussion among women Diet delegates Shigeyo Takeuchi, Sei Yoshida, Michiko Yamazaki and Shizue Yamaguchi. Pointing out that the broadening base of politics calls for greater popular participation, they say: "Give more jobs to women, and establish nurseries for children so that housewives may work at will." According to them, "women on the whole are showing a more enthusiastic attitude towards women suffrage than was anticipated. Politics, which had not much concern with actual life up to now, must be reformed accordingly." Evincing concern for the women of Japan, this group calls for the advancement of industry and full employment for women, especially for war-widows.

Another roundtable discussion, appearing in FUJIN ASAHI, features Shizue Kato (Socialist), Shigeyo Takeuchi (Liberal), and Toshiko Karasawa (Communist). Considering the democratization of the feudal family system, Kato regrets "the conservative attitude of male delegates towards this problem." She quotes the Premier as saying, "We must observe the family system as a fine old custom," and says that this caused "conservative members to withdraw with a relieved expression." Takeuchi favors moderate revision, but Kato is adamant, calling for "a change to good sense. To destroy a feudalistic family system does not mean to destroy all good aspects of home life, or to live a loose or selfish life. It means,

rather, that one's individuality should not be sacrificed for the sake of one's family." The Livelihood Protection Law is criticized as "smacking too much of charity," and Karasawa stresses the reduction of unemployment and the establishment of social insurance. She also condemns the restriction of the law which limits benefits to those who have work, claiming that it is unreasonable "because 30 percent of the nation's vagabonds are expropriated workmen who once served their country and have not always been homeless. Many homeless women are widows or have been forced into the streets through disasters of war, and they deserve protection."

Birth Control

Taka Hayashi, a militant supporter of birth control, insists in SHUKAN ASAHI that certain problems "cannot be solved other than by this means," nor can any national cultural policy be advanced until this solution has been reached. Reporting a meeting of the Society for Scientific Research on the Population Problem, a NIPPON HYORON staff writer summarizes the expressed opinions. "The former excessive surplus population invoked unrest in Japan, and caused the recent aggressive war. We must concentrate full efforts towards restriction of the population. The term 'birth control' is incorrect, in that it confuses contraception and abortion; we had better express it as 'controlled motherhood' or 'planned motherhood.' Such birth control should not be carried out with the sole purpose of restricting the number of births, but should be based on eugenics." Those who fear that "through birth control the population of our country will drop to 50,000,000 in ten years," are refuted by this writer, who blames the mistaken opinion on "the capitalistic ideology of Malthus." He concludes: "The population problem must be solved as part of the democratization of Japan. Increased production, increased employment by solution of the basic pay problem and the cultivation of export markets should be held in no less importance than the protection of mothers and children and national sanitation; all are integral parts of the solution of the population problem."

Further comment on the opinions of this Society is forthcoming from Tadashi Ota, writing in NYUUSU. This author states the conclusion that "at the present time, under conditions where a mother who has borne her child has no milk and where milk and sugar are well-nigh unobtainable, it is necessary to take measures against the high birth and death rates which follow defeat." He points out that from September 1945 to April 1946 the mortality rate was in excess of the birth rate, but says that "such a condition by no means will continue after the return of demobileds and expatriates. Birth control therefore is inevitable. In the present stormy age, it goes without saying that suitable control of population has great significance in the democratization of Japan." As concrete measures, the Society favors "loosening of the disciplinary rules concerning artificial birth-interruption," elevation of standards of sexual morality, healthy propaganda and education, and scientific research to be followed by establishment of clinics for birth control.

Birth control is considered on a social and political level by Kunio Ota in SHIN-ZEN-BI. This writer holds that every couple should have at least two children, regardless of the social situation of the parents. He admits the importance of reforming and amending present social and political conditions, "which are the problems of a democratic state," and believes that "it is within our minimum rights as a nation to have two or three children in every family. But even this right is endangered by national and social crises. Birth control, once an economic problem, is now a social and political affair."

Two women Diet members go on record in opposition. In the course of a roundtable discussion printed in FUJIN GAHO, Tenkoko

Matsutani comes out against birth control and says that "over-population is not the cause of international quarrels. There is no struggle when order and love prevail in the world. Social righteousness, morality and culture will make a peaceful and warm-hearted country." Kikuko Yamane of the Nippon Cooperative Party thinks that "if cooperative principles are adopted, birth control is not at all necessary from the point of population."

More detailed criticism comes from Miryo Kinoshita, obstetrician and gynecologist, who writes in JOSEI TO SHAKAI. Refuting the claims of those who would reduce the population of Japan through birth control, Kinoshita places the greatest possible reduction in the birth rate at 1,500,000 annually and states that "it would take 50 years to reduce the population of Japan to 60,000,000." By the same token, "the effect of birth control on the food, clothing, and housing questions would be negligible." The writer is more tolerant of arguments which urge greater freedom for women as the result of birth control, but cites numerous evils which may result. In a country where birth control is in force "the population tends to become older and more infirm, and so retards the progress of culture as a whole. Decrease of population due to birth control appears in the upper classes, and in the and causes cultural degeneration. Experiments and examples in many countries have shown that birth control does not **act** to prevent the corruption of sexual morality, but results in an inverse phenomenon in the diffusion of abortion." In conclusion, Kinoshita believes that, "generally speaking, birth control should not be encouraged as a national policy. It is, however, unfair to prohibit birth control for those families who desire it as a means of emancipating women, or protecting mothers and children, or raising their standard of livelihood, and the Eugenic Law should be amended to provide for this necessity."

Women Workers

Protection of women's rights is the subject of a FUJIN ASAHI roundtable where Yoshinari Kawai (Minister of Welfare) answers the questions of four women of varied background. In discussing labor problems, they object to the dismissal of women workers on the ground that they are not supporting families. Tsuneko Akamatsu, Socialist, states: "It is a great inconsistency to dismiss women because of such a feudalistic idea. The family system is being destroyed, and women no longer can cling to their homes as before." Calling for an eight hour day, all four women demand explanations for the "poor policies" of the Government. Kawai replies that "people criticise the Government, but circumstances in Japan are far too serious to permit solution of the coal, food and labor problems without the deep understanding and cooperation of the entire population."

Condemnation of young women employees for "blindly following men's labor strikes" comes from Bunshiro Suzuki, in SHUFU NO TOMO. He sets great value on women's "innate conservative role of good sense in preventing men from going too far," and deplores the present tendency of women to participate in strikes "demanding minimum labor and maximum wages." Declaring that too many young women employees take part blindly in such movements, this writer criticises their "flippancy and ignorance. They do not know Marx from Malthus, yet they display the same passionate admiration for communism as they lavished on soldiers during the war." Advocating moderation, Suzuki claims that "a country is like a home. When women act to prevent men from running to extremes, Japan can make moderate progress. Not only in the labor movement, but in social life and trends of thought, women should give full play to the good qualities of their conservative power. It is women who are most sensible to all extremes, and that is their most precious quality." In the same vein, Takamoto Hosokawa comments in FUJIN KURABU, "The conceptions and attitudes of women toward labor disputes are of two kinds: radical and conservative. Those who

work hold the former view without knowing the true meaning of strikes, while those who remain at home take the latter, having absolutely no knowledge of the reason." Hosokawa criticises women's lack of reason and insists that "it is most essential to adopt a careful attitude concerning purposes and methods, timing and environment of disputes - with consciousness of being under the guidance of the Allied Forces."

In another issue of SHUFU NO TOMO, Iwao Ayuzawa emphasizes the importance of women workers and the necessity of their participation in labor unions. That Japan was shut out of many activities because of ignorance in labor problems forms one of the remote but powerful causes of this absurd war." A strong labor union including women workers will "raise standards of living, and stabilize economics. Social unrest will disappear and Japan never will see another unreasonable war. We must depend for the future on light industry, which requires women's hands. Obedience and modesty are not women's only virtues; they must claim what is just, awaken to the new situation, and make a powerful model labor union for the establishment of a new Japan."

Sources

(Magazines, Circulation, and Authors*)

FUJIN ASAHI, 100,000, Kikuko Yamane, two roundtables;
FUJIN GAHO, 100,000, Tenkoko Matsutani; NIPPON HYORON, 50,000,
staff article; NYUUSU, 150,000, Tadashi Ota; JOSEI KAIZO, 50,000,
Kotaro Wakamiya; JOSEI TO SHAKAI, 10,000, Niryo Kinoshita; SANDEI
MAINICHI, 200,000, Fumiyo Mizogami; SEIKAI JEEP, 50,000, Matsuko
Inoue; SHINJIDAI, 30,000, Ichiko Kamichika; SHIN JOEN, Tomie
Washinuma, Shizue Kato and Ichiko Kamichika; SHIN-ZEN-BI, 10,000,
Kunio Oka; SHUFU NO TOMO, 250,000, Iwao Ayuzawa, Bunshiro Suzuki,
one roundtable; SHUKAN ASAHI, 250,000, Taka Hayashi.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 13, March 1947

No.95

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Women and their political and social activities, their position in industry and in the home, their future in the turmoil of a changing world -- all these topics continue to occupy a prominent position in Japanese magazines. The current interest in political government is reflected in the volume of writing on women members of the Diet. Although there is a certain amount of criticism directed at women representatives as a group, serious writers single out several individuals for specific praise, and emphasize the necessity for continued political education in order to fit an increasing number of women for participation in the political future of the nation. Discussions of birth control are perennial, with opposition based on conservative social grounds, while proponents stress the importance of solving the population and food problems. Women's rights in labor relations also are considered, with criticism leveled at irresponsible participation in disputes and demonstrations. It is pointed out that women workers, as well as women in the home, must give careful consideration to labor and industrial problems in order to fit themselves for their new responsibilities and rights.

Women in Politics

There is continued emphasis on the necessity for women to increase their participation in political affairs. "Women have hitherto been political outsiders," writes Ichiko Kamichika in SHINJIDAI. "They must seek happiness through active participation in politics. No nation ever has faced a greater and more sudden change and it is only natural that Japanese women, suddenly emancipated, occasionally may be at a loss. Women's right to vote was acquired at the very high cost of defeat. By proper use of this franchise we may convert the present misery into happiness. Women need to learn politics, not from the example of past politicians, but in order to take their place in building a new and entirely different government. Directives have driven out many evil politicians but we must not rest content with this; if we really have the desire to attain happiness, we must obey the command of the present age and inspire a new government through our united efforts." This writer collaborates with Socialist Member of Parliament Shizue Kato in an article in SHIN JOEN which calls for women's efforts towards future socialization. According to Kato, "Women's position in the party is still low because of their lack of experience, but henceforth it is their duty to give a political stimulus to other women who have no interest in politics."

Discussion of the female members of the present Diet is extensive. Beginners in politics, their actions and appearances are under constant scrutiny. Matsuko Inoue, writing in SEIKAI JEEP, admits that much criticism has been leveled at women representatives but defends their "gradual progress." Mitsu Koro and Shizue Kato "put fair and good questions which show earnest study," and Kiyo Murashima also receives praise. Some of the ladies are of no political affiliation, but "they have come to know that as in-

dependent members they will have few chances to speak or to make policies, and so have begun to consider entering the regular parties." The solution to their worries, writes Inoue, will come when the public "ceases to regard them as women and accepts them merely as Representatives." Tomie Washinuma explains, in SHIN JOEN, why women Diet Members are not more active politically: "One of the principal reasons for their inactivity is the parliamentary system in which not everyone can get the floor. This Diet is not wholly democratic in that the reigning power is in the hands of men (alone); and old political transactions are supreme. An official meeting of Diet members decides upon speakers, and its decision is approved by the all-party liaison meeting at which no woman delegate is present." This writer is mildly critical of the quality of some women delegates who "were chosen through the plural ballot or through capricious scattered voting," and scores those who have no party affiliation, "through lack of political conception."

Holding that the majority of women representatives are "of low standard," Kotaro Wakamiya, in JOSHI KAIZO, nevertheless has hopes for the future. "Although the public condemns women representatives as incompetent, they have taken many positive actions in the Diet and elsewhere. Some of them took the floor in the main session, and almost all of them engaged in deliberation on bills in the committees. Speeches by Toshiko Karasawa, Michiko Yamazaki, Mitsu Koro and Shizue Kato were especially outstanding." Wakamiya discusses certain more critical aspects, maintaining that "as they are confined within the frame of women, they trade on their position as such," but concludes: "We must not judge the future in the light of present failings, but must endeavor to improve the quality of women representatives. The first condition is the elevation of the political consciousness of the people at large; the second condition lies in the attitudes of candidates themselves, who must have conscientious assurance as responsible politicians. If the qualifications of a woman candidate are equal to or less than those of male candidates, she should abandon her candidature. Women have one mission in which they can by no means be replaced by men; that is establishing a healthy family and bringing up children. The third condition is the untiring endeavors of women representatives themselves. Their knowledge, speech and general conduct must elevate the standing of women, at the same time being based on true womanhood and the dignity of the individual."

Statements of Women Representatives

SHUFU NO TOMO prints a roundtable discussion among women Diet delegates Shigeyo Takeuchi, Sei Yoshida, Michiko Yamazaki and Shizue Yamaguchi. Pointing out that the broadening base of politics calls for greater popular participation, they say: "Give more jobs to women, and establish nurseries for children so that housewives may work at will." According to them, "women on the whole are showing a more enthusiastic attitude towards women suffrage than was anticipated. Politics, which had not much concern with actual life up to now, must be reformed accordingly." Evincing concern for the women of Japan, this group calls for the advancement of industry and full employment for women, especially for war-widows.

Another roundtable discussion, appearing in FUJIN ASAHI, features Shizue Kato (Socialist), Shigeyo Takeuchi (Liberal), and Toshiko Karasawa (Communist). Considering the democratization of the feudal family system, Kato regrets "the conservative attitude of male delegates towards this problem." She quotes the Premier as saying, "We must observe the family system as a fine old custom," and says that this caused "conservative members to withdraw with a relieved expression." Takeuchi favors moderate revision, but Kato is adamant, calling for "a change to good sense. To destroy a feudalistic family system does not mean to destroy all good aspects of home life, or to live a loose or selfish life. It means,

rather, that one's individuality should not be sacrificed for the sake of one's family." The Livelihood Protection Law is criticized as "smacking too much of charity," and Karasawa stresses the reduction of unemployment and the establishment of social insurance. She also condemns the restriction of the law which limits benefits to those who have work, claiming that it is unreasonable "because 80 percent of the nation's vagabonds are expropriated workmen who once served their country and have not always been homeless. Many homeless women are widows or have been forced into the streets through disasters of war, and they deserve protection."

Birth Control

Taka Hayashi, a militant supporter of birth control, insists in SHUKAN ASAHI that certain problems "cannot be solved other than by this means," nor can any national cultural policy be advanced until this solution has been reached. Reporting a meeting of the Society for Scientific Research on the Population Problem, a NIPPON HYORON staff writer summarizes the expressed opinions. "The former excessive surplus population invoked unrest in Japan, and caused the recent aggressive war. We must concentrate full efforts towards restriction of the population. The term 'birth control' is incorrect, in that it confuses contraception and abortion; we had better express it as 'controlled motherhood' or 'planned motherhood.' Such birth control should not be carried out with the sole purpose of restricting the number of births, but should be based on eugenics." Those who fear that "through birth control the population of our country will drop to 50,000,000 in ten years," are refuted by this writer, who blames the mistaken opinion on "the capitalistic ideology of Malthus." He concludes: "The population problem must be solved as part of the democratization of Japan. Increased production, increased employment by solution of the basic pay problem and the cultivation of export markets should be held in no less importance than the protection of mothers and children and national sanitation; all are integral parts of the solution of the population problem."

Further comment on the opinions of this Society is forthcoming from Tadashi Ota, writing in NYUUSU. This author states the conclusion that "at the present time, under conditions where a mother who has borne her child has no milk and where milk and sugar are well-nigh unobtainable, it is necessary to take measures against the high birth and death rates which follow defeat." He points out that from September 1945 to April 1946 the mortality rate was in excess of the birth rate, but says that "such a condition by no means will continue after the return of demobiles and expatriates. Birth control therefore is inevitable. In the present stormy age, it goes without saying that suitable control of population has great significance in the democratization of Japan." As concrete measures, the Society favors "loosening of the disciplinary rules concerning artificial birth-interruption," elevation of standards of sexual morality, healthy propaganda and education, and scientific research to be followed by establishment of clinics for birth control.

Birth control is considered on a social and political level by Kunio Ota in SHIN-ZEN-BI. This writer holds that every couple should have at least two children, regardless of the social situation of the parents. He admits the importance of reforming and amending present social and political conditions, "which are the problems of a democratic state," and believes that "it is within our minimum rights as a nation to have two or three children in every family. But even this right is endangered by national and social crises. Birth control, once an economic problem, is now a social and political affair."

Two women Diet members go on record in opposition. In the course of a roundtable discussion printed in FUJIN GAHO, Tenkoko

Matsutani comes out against birth control and says that "over-population is not the cause of international quarrels. There is no struggle when order and love prevail in the world. Social righteousness, morality and culture will make a peaceful and warm-hearted country." Kikuko Yamane of the Nippon Cooperative Party thinks that "if cooperative principles are adopted, birth control is not at all necessary from the point of population."

More detailed criticism comes from Niryo Kinoshita, obstetrician and gynecologist, who writes in JOSEI TO SHAKAI. Refuting the claims of those who would reduce the population of Japan through birth control, Kinoshita places the greatest possible reduction in the birth rate at 1,500,000 annually and states that "it would take 50 years to reduce the population of Japan to 60,000,000." By the same token, "the effect of birth control on the food, clothing, and housing questions would be negligible." The writer is more tolerant of arguments which urge greater freedom for women as the result of birth control, but cites numerous evils which may result. In a country where birth control is in force "the population tends to become older and more infirm, and so retards the progress of culture as a whole. Decrease of population due to birth control appears in the upper classes, and in the and causes cultural degeneration. Experiments and examples in many countries have shown that birth control does not ~~act~~ to prevent the corruption of sexual morality, but results in an inverse phenomenon in the diffusion of abortion." In conclusion, Kinoshita believes that, "generally speaking, birth control should not be encouraged as a national policy. It is, however, unfair to prohibit birth control for those families who desire it as a means of emancipating women, or protecting mothers and children, or raising their standard of livelihood, and the Eugenic Law should be amended to provide for this necessity."

Women Workers

Protection of women's rights is the subject of a FUJIN ASAHI roundtable where Yoshinari Kawai (Minister of Welfare) answers the questions of four women of varied background. In discussing labor problems, they object to the dismissal of women workers on the ground that they are not supporting families. Tsuneko Akamatsu, Socialist, states: "It is a great inconsistency to dismiss women because of such a feudalistic idea. The family system is being destroyed, and women no longer can cling to their homes as before." Calling for an eight hour day, all four women demand explanations for the "poor policies" of the Government. Kawai replies that "people criticise the Government, but circumstances in Japan are far too serious to permit solution of the coal, food and labor problems without the deep understanding and cooperation of the entire population."

Condemnation of young women employees for "blindly following men's labor strikes" comes from Bunshiro Suzuki, in SHUFU NO TOMO. He sets great value on women's "innate conservative role of good sense in preventing men from going too far," and deplors the present tendency of women to participate in strikes "demanding minimum labor and maximum wages." Declaring that too many young women employees take part blindly in such movements, this writer criticises their "flippancy and ignorance. They do not know Marx from Malthus, yet they display the same passionate admiration for communism as they lavished on soldiers during the war." Advocating moderation, Suzuki claims that "a country is like a home. When women act to prevent men from running to extremes, Japan can make moderate progress. Not only in the labor movement, but in social life and trends of thought, women should give full play to the good qualities of their conservative power. It is women who are most sensible to all extremes, and that is their most precious quality." In the same vein, Takamoto Hosokawa comments in FUJIN KURABU, "The conceptions and attitudes of women toward labor disputes are of two kinds: radical and conservative. Those who

work hold the former view without knowing the true meaning of strikes, while those who remain at home take the latter, having absolutely no knowledge of the reason." Hosokawa criticises women's lack of reason and insists that "it is most essential to adopt a careful attitude concerning purposes and methods, timing and environment of disputes - with consciousness of being under the guidance of the Allied Forces."

In another issue of SHUFU NO TOMO, Iwao Ayuzawa emphasizes the importance of women workers and the necessity of their participation in labor unions. That Japan was shut out of many activities because of ignorance in labor problems forms one of the remote but powerful causes of this absurd war." A strong labor union including women workers will "raise standards of living, and stabilize economics. Social unrest will disappear and Japan never will see another unreasonable war. We must depend for the future on light industry, which requires women's hands. Obedience and modesty are not women's only virtues; they must claim what is just, awaken to the new situation, and make a powerful model labor union for the establishment of a new Japan."

Sources

(Magazines, Circulation, and Authors*)

FUJIN-ASAHI, 100,000, Kikuko Yamane, two roundtables;
 FUJIN GAHO, 100,000, Tenkoko Matsutani; NIPPON HYORON, 50,000,
 staff article; NYUUSU, 150,000, Tadashi Ota; JOSEI KAIZO, 50,000,
 Kotaro Wakamiya; JOSEI TO SHAKAI, 10,000, Niryo Kinoshita; SANDEI
 MAINICHI, 200,000, Fumiyo Mizogami; SEIKAI JIEP, 50,000, Matsuko
 Inoue; SHINJIDAI, 30,000, Ichiko Kamichika; SHIN JOEN, Tomie
 Washinuma, Shizue Kato and Ichiko Kamichika; SHIN-ZEN-BI, 10,000,
 Kunic Oka; SHUFU NO TOMO, 250,000, Iwao Ayuzawa, Bunshiro Suzuki,
 one roundtable; SHUKAN ASAHI, 250,000, Taka Hayashi.

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DESP. 1328 FROM TOKYO

MAY 4 - 1948

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OCT 28 1947

UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPANRec'd
Oct. 20, 1947

Tokyo, October 11, 1947

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WPK

SUBJECT: Instructions to GHQ, SCAP, Staff Sections
Regarding the Scope of Japanese Cabinet
Orders.

The Acting Political Adviser has the honor to enclose five copies of staff memorandum No. 81 dated October 1, 1947 instructing staff sections of this Headquarters that the scope of Japanese cabinet orders is to be limited.

In the past the Japanese cabinet has instituted action of legislative purport by means of cabinet orders without recourse to the National Diet. Use of such methods by the executive branch of the government has aroused criticism in various committees of both houses of the Diet. The enclosed memorandum is designed to remind staff sections of this Headquarters that action on matters of substance is to be taken by the legislative branch of the government (the National Diet) as required by Article 41 of the Japanese constitution.

Enclosure:

Five copies of GHQ, SCAP,
Staff Memorandum 81,
October 1, 1947.

Original and ozalid to Department.

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DATE: 10-20-47

TO - NA

FROM: PL(P/I)- W. Walkinshaw

Suggestions for a reply to the attached letter would be appreciated. If it seems preferable to answer directly from your office, will you send a copy of the reply to PL?

Alda Federated Church

ALDA, NEBRASKA
Oct. 15, 1947

The Methodist Church

Kenneth E. Johnson
Minister in Charge

ADD
WPR
The Society of Friends
214 West 25
~~818 West 29th Street~~
Kearney, Nebraska

The Department of Public Information
The State Department
Washington D C

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

OCT 21 1947

Gentlemen:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Recently from usually reliable sources I heard reports which indicated that Kagawa, Japanese National and leader of the Pre-war Christian Church in Japan, was being held for trial by the U S Military Government in one of the islands in the immediate territory of Japan.

It was my belief, formerly, that Kagawa was fully vindicated of any charges of connivance with the war-time government of Japan.

Is there official word available from your department on this man?

If not, where may I find the information I seek?

In order to avoid duplication of channels may I inform you that I have sent similar requests for information to:

Allied Supreme Command-Tokyo
U S Army War-Crimes Section, Pacific Theatre
F B I Special Investigation section.
My Congressman
The Church Denomination heads
Office of Public Information-Executive
offices of the President

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

OCT 29 1947

I would appreciate any information you might give.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Cordially,

Kenneth E. Johnson
Kenneth E. Johnson

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In reply refer to
ADC

My dear Mr. Johnson:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of October 15, 1947, in which you request information from the Department concerning Reverend Toyohiko Kagawa, Japanese Christian leader.

There has been no information received here that would substantiate reports that Reverend Kagawa is being held for trial by United States Military Government on one of the islands in the immediate territory of Japan. It appears from the latest information available to the Department that Reverend Kagawa's record has been under examination in the purge of ultranationalistic and ultramilitaristic elements in Japanese life, and that his case has not yet been definitely decided.

It is suggested, in view of Reverend Kagawa's prominence both in Japan and in this country, that you watch for newspaper reports of the disposition of his case before the purge screening committee in Japan, as any developments concerning him will most likely be reported immediately in the American press.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

[Signature]
Frank A. Schuler, Jr.
Chief, Japanese-Korean Branch
Division of Occupied Areas

The Reverend
Kenneth E. Johnson,
Minister in Charge,
Alda Federated Church,
Alda, Nebraska.

[Signature]
ADC:EKroll/jg

10/28/47

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NA

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The Arizona Daily Star

STATE CONSOLIDATED PUBLISHING COMPANY

TUCSON, ARIZONA

October 23, 1947.

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

OCT 27 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WILLIAM R. MATHEWS
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

Mr. Robert T. Oliver,
1620 Eye Street NW,
Washington 6, D. C.

File
ACK'd
10-31-47
FE: JKP

Dear Mr. Oliver:

I am enclosing a copy of last Sunday's page one and the editorial page of the Star, to show you how we made good use of one of your stories.

I am writing at this time to take exception to your most recent story, "Periscope on Asia" in which you accuse the State Department of a "sleight-of-hand performance ..."

As an American editor and taxpayer I must say that if, in order to help the Koreans and keep them friendly to our country, we Americans must support the 74,000,000 Japanese on WPA forevermore, we will choose the Japanese as friends, rather than the Koreans.

As for your suggestion that we must destroy the Japanese Emperor, I must say that sounds a great deal like breaking the thermometer to cure a fever.

The point I want to make is this - and I think it is a thoroughly practical suggestion - there is no magic formula by which Americans can escape alert and continued responsibility in the Orient. The Orient is not going to be made poorer by the increased production of Japanese wealth. The Koreans are not going to be made prosperous by keeping the Japanese from being self-supporting. The Japanese cannot be made self-supporting unless they manufacture goods that are sold throughout the Orient and the world. Neither can the Koreans. It should be the responsibility of the United States to see that no one in the Orient gets the upperhand, not even the Chinese or the Russians. The Koreans have suffered from Chinese aggression, if I am not mistaken, and they certainly will suffer from Russian aggression unless America stands by.

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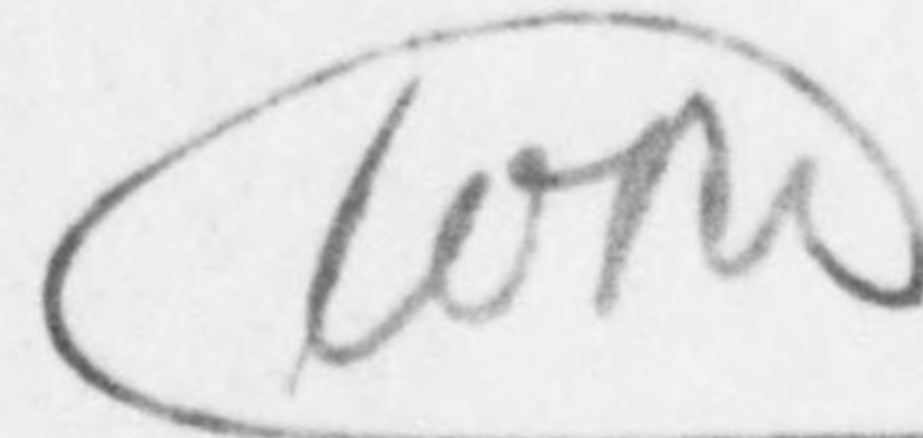
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2. Mr. Oliver.

I do hope that in the future when you present your case on the Koreans, you will do it without smearing public officials of our country who are endeavoring to do their best and without charging the wise and necessary moves they make in connection with Japan as being detrimental to Korea and the Orient.

Cordially yours,



William R. Mathews.

OCT 31 1947

~~NA~~
DC/R

My dear Mr. Mathews:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of your letter of October 23, 1947, to Mr. Robert T. Oliver.

It is gratifying to find people not only thinking seriously about Far Eastern problems but taking the trouble to supply us with the substance of their thoughts.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

JKP
J. K. Penfield
Deputy Director for
Far Eastern Affairs

Mr. William R. Mathews,
Editor and Publisher,
The Arizona Daily Star,
Tucson, Arizona.

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy London, October 27, 1947

DIVISION OF NORTH EAST ASIAN AFFAIRS
NOV 20 1947
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIR MAIL

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No. 2398

Subject: Transmitting Article from Economist on Japan

The Honorable Secretary of State, Washington

Sir:

1. As of probable interest to the Department, I have the honor to transmit copy of an article entitled "Democracy in Japan" which appeared in the October 25, 1947, issue of the weekly Economist.

2. The article is devoted largely to a discussion of the constitutional and social reforms applied in Japan since the end of the Pacific war. It is strongly suggested that these reforms have been imposed from without, not from the evolutionary processes of national political life. The article holds that "It is on the success of its social policy rather than on its purely political constitutional innovations that the viability of the American-sponsored new order in Japan depends."

3. Linking Japan's future with the successful completion of social reforms and of economic rehabilitation, the article concludes on the following note: "But in the present conditions of economic collapse and unconsolidated reform, there is no reason to believe that democracy would survive in Japan if the American forces of occupation were to be withdrawn in the immediate future."

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Everett F. Drumright
Everett F. Drumright
First Secretary of Embassy

Enclosure:
Copy of article, as stated

(Original and hectograph to the Department)
Copy to U.S. Political Adviser, SCAP, Tokyo
Copy to Embassy, Nanking
Copy to Embassy, Moscow

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 2398 dated October 27, 1947,
from American Embassy, London, England.

Source: The Economist

October 25, 1947

DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN

Divergent views are held by those most closely concerned about the health of the democratic regime created in Japan since the end of the war. General MacArthur is very pleased with it. After all, it is primarily his own creation, and like an earlier and even more eminent Creator, he sees that it is good. The Japanese with whom he comes in contact all say too that it is good, and a leading soothsayer called Tomioka has informed the Japanese public that the General will not only be the next President of the United States, but is also destined to receive as a supplement to his allotted span of life the years "sacrificed" by Mr. Atcheson, the representative of the State Department in Tokyo, who was drowned when a flying boat plunged into the ocean on the way back to North America. With such good things coming to him the Supreme Commander is optimistic about the Japanese. What is more, Dr. Evatt, when he came from Australia to Tokyo to see for himself, saw and was converted. On the other hand, Mr. McMahon Ball, who formerly represented the British Commonwealth on the Allied Council in Tokyo and resigned on losing the support of Dr. Evatt, strongly disagrees and says that no people are as experienced as the Japanese in "hiding their real feelings." Even more dissident is the Soviet representative on the Allied Council, who sees nothing but a country dominated by imperialism and reaction, with fascist beasts prowling behind every rubble dump.

Amid such a confusion of reports it is difficult for the world to judge, and it is not likely that any better agreed story could be obtained by interviewing Japanese politicians. But is it possible by surveying what has actually been done in the past two years against the background of prewar and wartime Japan to make a tentative and provisional estimate of the stability of the new regime. That it has been imposed from outside and not produced by a spontaneous popular movement within Japan cannot be denied. There was no revolution in Japan; on the contrary it was finally pulled out of the war by the monarchy turning against the army. And, whereas in Italy the Badoglio pull-out did not absolve the monarchy in public eyes from its responsibility for originally giving power to Mussolini, in Japan the convention remained strong that good acts of state manifested the Imperial will, while bad ones were the work of evil counsellors. Certainly there was in August, 1945, no

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Page 2.

sign there of political disintegration; the change of government came about in a constitutional manner and the last fighting War Minister, General Anami, very properly committed suicide.

Nevertheless, defeat in a protracted and bitter war, in which great human and material losses had been suffered, and nearly all the larger cities had been laid in ruins, could not have failed to shake the established political and social order to its foundations; and the economic sequel, with its stagnation and impoverishment, was bound to produce serious tensions in Japanese society. The Army was discredited and its abolition, decreed by the Allies at Potsdam, must have profoundly affected the internal balance of forces, even if the Allies had not undertaken directly to transform Japanese political and social institutions. Japan, after all had already had for many years multi-party elections to the House of Representatives on a basis of universal male suffrage. The power of this institution had been to a great extent restricted and thwarted, partly by constitutional provisions which diverted power elsewhere--notably the convention which gave the Army and Navy control of the service ministries--and partly by police pressure in elections. In 1940, under the stress of the nationalist reaction, there was a forced amalgamation of parties which virtually put an end to all political freedom. Yet in 1937 the party of labour, the Shakai Taishuto, had managed to double its representation in a general election--a fact which indicated at least a certain vigour in popular political life and the possibility of its legal expression. With the abolition of the Army and Navy and the catastrophic failure of the policies associated with ultra-nationalism, it is probable that in any case there would have been--even within the existing constitution--a revival of parliamentary politics, a strong movement towards the Left and, what has actually happened in the General Election this year, the emergence of the Social Democrats as the strongest single party in the elected House.

The Americans, however, were not content with the abolition of the Army and Navy or with insistence on freedom of speech and elections. They decided to present Japan with a new constitution, which was written by American political experts on General MacArthur's staff and put out as a Japanese document--this, indeed, saved Japanese face, but did not conceal its origin from any well-informed person. The Japanese thus now, as before, have a Constitution which has neither been in fact produced by a popular Constituent Assembly nor grown by a long evolutionary process of national political life; instead it has been delivered to them from on high, only this time by the Supreme Commander of the victorious enemy, instead of by the Emperor Meiji. It is true that this constitution removes the checks on popular sovereignty which existed in the old one, and is an interesting composition of what certain intelligent American theorists regard as the strong points of various existing systems. Nevertheless, it can hardly be expected, in view of its

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Page 3.

mode of inception, to command any deep loyalty or enthusiasm in the Japanese mind.

More important have been the social changes ordered by Allied Headquarters directives--notably the agrarian reform and the dissolution of the great Zaibatsu family trusts, which formerly dominated Japanese banking and industry. Both these measures went beyond the purge of individuals held responsible for promoting national aggression. It was held that an oppressive agrarian system (loosely called "feudal") and the exceptional degree of concentration of capital had been factors disposing Japan to aggressive policies and would, in future, be obstacles to democratisation. It was thus officially recognised in Washington that political democracy was not sufficient without certain social changes--a view which had something in common with the conception now familiar to us as "Eastern democracy" and was ardently supported by the "fellow-travellers" still influential in planning circles in 1945. But, whereas real Marxists regarded trust-busting and giving land to peasants in private ownership as steps towards socialisation, both in industry and agriculture, the believers in the American way of life saw in them conditions of stability for a system of capitalist democracy. The social reforms imposed by the Americans in Japan are now indeed clearly envisaged as prophylactics against Communism. A society in which the majority of peasants are tenants paying high rents on plots of land insufficient to maintain them, while most of the profits of business enterprise are devoured by a few great monopolists, is obviously vulnerable to a propaganda of violent social revolution unless it is held together by a very strong authoritarian government.

It is on the success of its social policy rather than on its purely political constitutional innovations that the viability of the American-sponsored new order in Japan depends. Great difficulties have been encountered, for the vested interests affected were deeply entrenched and had a strong hold on the new parties of the Right which had replaced the dominant parties of the prewar Diet. Land reform was persistently obstructed under the Shidehara and Yoshida Cabinets, and in the last elections many peasants voted Social Democrat. With the Social Democrats coming in as the strongest party and the Right having to compete for the peasant vote, better progress in land distribution is now being made, and peasant ownership is gradually being extended. Less successful has been the attempt to disperse the holdings of the confiscated Zaibatsu companies; small investors are reported to have shown great reluctance to take up the shares; this is presumably due to pessimism about the future of industry which must continue until the reparations question has been settled and there are some signs of real commercial revival. At present in Japan it is more profitable to put capital into commodity speculation and black market

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Page 4.

transactions, and the "new millionaires" who arise from this kind of economy are not factors of social stability.

If the agrarian reform is carried through and if there is a revival of foreign trade or an extension of American credits sufficient to cover the imports of food, raw materials and new capital equipment on which Japan depends for adequately feeding its urban population and restoring its ruined industry, then the social bases for "Western democracy" will have been laid. Then the labour movement, now under predominantly Social Democrat leadership, will be able to develop by constitutional, parliamentary methods. But in the present conditions of economic collapse and unconsolidated reform, there is no reason to believe that democracy would survive in Japan if the American forces of occupation were to be withdrawn in the immediate future.

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DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIA AFFAIRS

NOV 12 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



DIVISION OF PROTECTIVE SERVICES UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER FOR JAPAN

DEC 15 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF OCCUPIED AREAS ECONOMIC AFFAIRS Tokyo, October 27, 1947

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DEC 15 1947 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 1354

SUBJECT: Transmittal of a Report Concerning Japanese Letters to Occupation authorities.

*YJP
740.00119 Contact
(Japan)*

The Acting Political Adviser has the honor to enclose five copies each of report No. 15 dated September 23, 1947 prepared by the Analysis and Research Division of the Civil Information and Education Section of this Headquarters, containing a survey of opinion and attitudes expressed in Japanese letters to Occupation authorities.

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Enclosure: *att*

Report, September 23, 1947, concerning Japanese letters to Occupation authorities (five copies).

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R E S T R I C T E D

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section
Analysis and Research Division

SPECIAL REPORT

SERIAL NUMBER AR-293-PO-B-15 23 September 1947
TITLE Survey of Opinions and Attitudes Expressed in
 Letters by Japanese to Occupation Authorities:
 Report No. 15
PREPARED BY Public Opinion and Sociological Research
DATES OF SURVEY 1 June 1947 to 15 July 1947

SOURCES OF DATA

This survey is based on 34,939 communications expressing a total of 35,102 opinions and requests addressed to General MacArthur and other Occupation authorities by Japanese citizens. These letters, postcards, and telegrams were translated and condensed by ATIS, CIS, and CIE, and the digests and translations were received by CIE between 1 June and 15 July 1947.

EVALUATION OF DATA

Opinions and requests expressed in these communications cannot be treated as an adequate sample of public opinion, since they are self-selected, and nothing is known of the writers' backgrounds. Furthermore, in the case of the majority of the letters recorded here, the original documents were not available, so that no check could be made to insure the completeness and accuracy of the digests and translations. Also it would be incorrect to assume that this report is an adequate sample of public opinion, because CIE does not receive the complete correspondence or digests of correspondence of the Japanese to all the Allied authorities. In view of the large number of communications received in what appeared to be organized letter-writing campaigns, the reader is warned against forming conclusions on the basis of these letters concerning the frequency of these opinions among the Japanese population in general.

All that such letters can be expected to provide is a list of certain opinions and attitudes held by some Japanese residents.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

SUMMARY

Of the total number of opinions and requests listed in this survey, an overwhelming percentage (98.4%) was concerned with requests for the repatriation of Japanese nationals still remaining in overseas areas. Food and living conditions were the subjects of 0.79 percent, and 0.23 percent was concerned with personal requests. All other topics represented only 0.56 percent of the total. The number of opinions and the percentage expressed on each subject is indicated in Table I.

Table I. SUMMARY OF OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN LETTERS

Subject	Number of Opinions	Percent of Opinions
Repatriation	34,546	98.42
Food and Living Conditions	278	0.79
Personal Requests	80	0.23
Japanese Government and Politics	47	0.13
Education	43	0.12
Social Problems	30	0.09
Occupation Forces and Policies	29	0.08
Religion	16	0.05
Miscellaneous	33	0.09
Total	35,102	100.00

ANALYSIS

By far the greatest number of writers requested the return of Japanese nationals from overseas areas, especially from territories presently or formerly occupied by the Soviet Union.

The great majority of comments classified under Food and Living Conditions expressed gratitude for the release of food-stuffs during the critical food crisis.

Writers of 39 of the 80 communications tabulated under Personal Requests sought permission to join the US Air Force as pilots or flight mechanics. One letter even was written in blood. There seems to be a widespread rumor that the Occupation Force is recruiting Japanese pilots.

Table II presents a detailed breakdown of the opinions and requests that were received during the period covered by this report.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Table II DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF OPINIONS AND REQUESTS

Subject of request or comment	sub- total	sub- total	total
REPATRIATION			
Requests for repatriation of Japanese		34,515	34,546
From overseas areas (unspecified)	24,270		
From South Pacific	3,327		
From Russian controlled zones	3,121		
From Manchuria	2,678		
From Philippines	526		
From Sakhalin and Kurile Islands	239		
From China	206		
From Korea	130		
Other	18		
Requests from repatriates		31	
Compensation for overseas assets	25		
Other	6		
FOOD AND LIVING CONDITIONS			
Food and rationing problems		260	278
Housing, clothing, and fuel problems		10	
Other		8	
PERSONAL REQUESTS			
To join US Air Force		39	80
To become members of Occupation Force		11	
Other employment requests		9	
Miscellaneous		21	
JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS			
Comments on reforms and policies		34	47
Other		13	
EDUCATION			
To investigate schools or teachers		28	43
Educational reforms		13	
Other		2	
SOCIAL PROBLEMS			
Minority problems (Korean and Eta)		8	30
Women and family		8	
Juvenile delinquency		6	
Other		8	
OCCUPATION FORCES AND POLICIES			
Favorable comments on Occupation		27	29
Other		2	
RELIGION			
Comments on Shintoism		7	16
Favorable comments on Christianity		5	
Other		4	
MISCELLANEOUS			
Comments on world peace		6	33
Industry and trade		6	
Agriculture		6	
Unintelligible and "crack-pot" letters		5	
Other		10	
GRAND TOTAL all opinions and requests			35,102

R E S T R I C T E D

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section
Analysis and Research Division

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Women and family		8	
Juvenile delinquency		6	
Other		8	
OCCUPATION FORCES AND POLICIES			29
Favorable comments on Occupation		27	
Other		2	
RELIGION			16
Comments on Shintoism		7	
Favorable comments on Christianity		5	
Other		4	
MISCELLANEOUS			33
Comments on world peace		6	
Industry and trade		6	
Agriculture		6	
Unintelligible and "crack-pot" letters		5	
Other		10	
GRAND TOTAL all opinions and requests			35,102

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CIGSUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation with Members of the
Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 31,
1947.

O-O-O

The Acting Political Adviser has the honor to enclose copy of a memorandum of conversation between Dr. Mitoshi Ashida, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Takizo Matsumoto, Parliamentary Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and W. Henry Lawrence, Jr., Second Secretary of this Mission (who was accompanied by Yoshio Kami, State Department employee) on repatriation of Japanese, treaty of peace, coal production, possible pressure on Dr. Ashida to resign, and the political career of Mr. Takizo Matsumoto.

Enclosure:

Memorandum of conversation,
October 31, 1947.

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 1380 dated November 6, 1947 from the Office of the Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Memorandum of Conversation with Members of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 31, 1947".

COPY

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

October 31, 1947

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Hitoshi ASHIDA, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr. Takizo Matsumoto, Parliamentary Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs
W. Henry Lawrence, Jr., Second Secretary, Office of the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo
Yoshio Kami, State Department Employee

SUBJECTS : Repatriation of Japanese; Treaty of Peace; Coal Production; Possible Pressure on Foreign Minister Ashida to Resign; Political Career of Mr. Takizo Matsumoto.

PLACE : Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, October 31, 1947 (lunch)

Dr. Ashida said he was much impressed by the October 29 meeting of the Allied Council for Japan at which the repatriation of Japanese remaining outside Japan was discussed. He said, however, that he was pessimistic with regard to action by the Russians in the matter.

Both Dr. Ashida and Mr. Matsumoto expressed hope for an early peace treaty. Ashida pointed out that a treaty will not solve Japan's problems, but that it will be a major step forward. Neither Ashida nor Matsumoto appeared to be under any illusion that the treaty may be of a negotiated type. They stated rather that the treaty will no doubt be simply announced, so far as the Japanese are concerned, and that the Japanese will sign it without question.

Ashida indicated a belief that the Japanese government must play a stronger part in the efforts to increase coal production. He stated that Communist activity, particularly in Hokkaido, is a major obstacle to increased coal production, and expressed the view that some means must be found to check such activity. He indicated that he was conscious of the difficulty of overcoming this obstacle by means consistent with democracy.

Matsumoto remained a few minutes after Ashida's departure and mentioned that, in connection with the current pressure on Agriculture-Forestry Minister Rikizo Hirano to resign, rumors have started to circulate that Ashida might be the next cabinet member forced to resign, by reason of his former editorship of the Japan Advertiser. Matsumoto made the point that that newspaper was mainly for the foreign population and, therefore, had a different editorial policy

than