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SECTION XII.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Governmental and political reforms are inevitably bound up with the problem of political education. It is evident that a new Constitution and legislation required to implement it, however enlightened, will ultimately prove ineffectual unless broadly based on popular understanding and support.

An interview with a Japanese woman revealed that as a consequence of divorce she was dependent on meager public charity, although her former husband was well-to-do. She was unaware that the revised Civil Code granted her a share of community property.[1] Yet even when she understood the new provisions of the Code, enacted to implement equality guarantees of the Constitution, she was reluctant to assert her rights in the face of family disapproval. To be effective, laws must be known and understood. It is also clear that popular attitudes concerning feudal social structures such as the family system must be altered if democracy is to take firm root in Japan.

The Constitution clearly provides that the Emperor is a symbol of the people's unity, who is assigned ceremonial and routine functions such as that of attesting the appointment of designated public officials.[2] Yet some minority spokesmen have sought to interpret the attestation provision as an assignment of governmental authority to the Emperor. On one occasion, for example, it was argued that the appointment of a State Minister was invalid until after attestation. Others held that the attestation clause also assigned the Emperor responsibility for appointing or dismissing Prime Ministers, and consequently for creating governments.

Some reports indicate that persons wronged have been reluctant to seek legal redress. They have failed to understand that the procurators and the police are the servants of the people, who have a solemn responsibility to

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1/ Appendix H: 38 Amendment to the Civil Code; Law No. 222, December 22, 1947

2/ Appendix C: 21 The Constitution of Japan

safeguard and protect property and all the rights guaranteed the Japanese people under the Constitution.

Hundreds of law-abiding Japanese have been intimidated into paying large sums to blackmailing "goro" newspaper publishers to prevent publication of slanderous "news reports", and then have failed to file complaints with the procurators, because they did not know that they might seek legal redress through the courts. And occasionally, when called to account, these disreputable newspaper publishers have defended their actions on the ground of "freedom of speech and press."

A newspaper editor recently commented: "I don't like some policies of the Government, but there is nothing I can do to change them until the next election." He failed to understand that in a democratic state every citizen is privileged at all times to make his desires and opinions known and the government is subject to and sensitive to the expressed desires of the people. To the extent that his cause is worthy and just and to the extent that he is determined, energetic, and forthright in presenting it, he can be assured of influencing government in support of his views.

These are a few of many examples that illustrate the extent to which political education is related to and bound up with government reform and reorganization. And in Japan these reforms represent the basis of the entire democratization process. It is imperative, therefore, that all measures be taken to insure the permanence of the democratic structure being erected in Japan, a structure that can only be established on the solid foundation of an informed citizenry. An awakened people, conscious of their sovereignty and

fully aware of their privileges and responsibilities as members of a democratic state, represent the only real insurance against the possibility of eventual perversion by aggressive and unscrupulous extremists of the objectives achieved during the Occupation.

Because of this conviction, Government Section indicated to Civil Information and Education Section its willingness to give all possible assistance in developing education and information programs to assist the people of Japan in assuming the responsibilities of citizenship in a democratic state.

It would be impossible in the following review of specific political education projects accurately to indicate the extent of Government Section participation since most were evolved as a result of almost daily conferences between representatives of the two Sections. In general, Government Section's function was advisory, although in some instances participation extended to the preliminary or partial drafting of materials. But the major share of the task and responsibility was assumed by Civil Information and Education Section.

It should be noted that CI&E was completely and unstintingly cooperative, ready at all times to initiate creative action to effectuate specific programs or projects.

Political education programs have been developed in three general ways: (a) by direct SCAP planning and preparation; (b) by assisting Japanese agencies in the development of plans and programs; and (c) by establishing information offices in the various Ministries of the government and in prefectural governments.

SCAP-projected programs are not offered to the Japanese people as Headquarters sponsored programs. Instead, the basic plans, and in some cases

essential materials, are prepared in the Headquarters and are made available for presentation to Japanese agencies such as the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan. In all cases, however, the Japanese participate in formulating plans and materials.

Substantial assistance in the development of effective political education programs has been given to such organizations as the Constitution Popularization Society, the League of Women Voters, the League of Political Education for Democracy, the Civil Liberties Union, and the Family Law Democratization League. This assistance usually takes the form of advice and counsel concerning over-all plans of operation and general advice concerning techniques of effective presentation.

As of June 1948, information offices had been established in most Ministries of the national government to inform the people concerning the duties and functions of government agencies and to emphasize their direct responsibility to the people. Every care is taken by these information offices to avoid involvement in political activities. For example, the information office of the Attorney General's Office limits itself to the dissemination of essenential information concerning such matters as the status of special investigations and prosecutions, the civil liberties guarantees of the Constitution, basic provisions of the Civil and Criminal Codes and the Procedural Codes.

During the summer of 1948 provision was made for the establishment of similar information offices in all prefectures. These agencies will perform only those functions specifically assigned by the prefectural governments. Operational regulations prohibit utilization of these offices to achieve political objectives.

Headquarters representatives have assisted government information agencies to utilize the most modern and effective information and education techniques.

I. BASIC PROGRAM OUTLINE

In an effort to integrate the various phases of the political situation activities of Civil Information and Education Section and Government Section, GS early formulated a brief outline, subsequently elaborated by CI&E, which served from the beginning as the basis for all planning and operation by the two Sections. Although no action was taken either to seek or grant formal concurrence to the program outline until the spring of 1948, by which time all phases had been tested and put into operation, it actually represents the basis for all political education activity by GS and CI&E. Formal action was delayed (GS concurred on April 12) to permit adequate testing of media and techniques and the completion of major phases of the government reorganization program. As finally formulated, the program did not represent a rigid pattern of operation but rather a broad foundation on which a continuing program could be based.

Text of the coordinated program follows:

1. General Objectives

a. To help change the present cynical, and therefore, passive attitude towards government to one of more positive participation, and to awaken the people to the fact that it is their responsibility to maintain a government which they can trust.

b. To help develop in the Japanese people an acute awareness of their rights as well as their responsibilities under the new Constitution.

c. To assist in eliminating age-old concepts of law and order as engendered by a totalitarian type of government.

d. To assist the Japanese people in recognizing the fallacies behind opportunistic promises and non-democratic ideologies and the benefits of living in a free, democratic state.

2. Specific Objectives

a. To present the Constitution realistically, chapter by chapter, in its relations to the daily lives of the people.

b. To develop understanding of the practical operations and functions of the Japanese government at all levels.

c. To give the people necessary information and help in developing an understanding of the objectives and responsibilities regarding the purge.

d. To give the people necessary information regarding the organization and functions of political parties, and the influence of parties on legislation and in governmental affairs.

e. To expand the number of groups now participating in political education programs and provide the leadership of such groups with adequate information.

3. Procedures

a. Survey political organizations, both partisan and non-partisan, to determine the extent to which they will lend themselves to participation in the program.

b. Hold individual conferences with political science scholars to ascertain their appraisal of the situation and enlist their active as well as critical support in the program.

c. Encourage development of the Democratic League for Political Education (or its equivalent) along non-partisan, realistic, and democratic lines, and utilize their organization as a medium for disseminating political information.

d. Confer regularly with representatives of political, agricultural, labor, cultural, radio, magazine and press groups to discuss salient features of this political information-education program.

e. Organizations represented in the above mentioned meetings as well as organizations throughout the country, would be provided with necessary printed materials, displays, program outline, et cetera, so that they would develop their own political information-education programs.

(1) A pamphlet, "Committees and Programs for Democratic Organizations", containing chapters on the work of a "Political Study Committee", an "Education Committee", practical community projects, suggestions for visits to and reports on governmental bodies from the National Diet to local courts, was published by the Social Education Association. This is being distributed throughout the country in conjunction with appropriate lectures given by CI&E representatives in the field.

(2) A joint Labor Division-CI&E program, emphasizing the need for political understanding and pointing up the dangers of totalitarian concepts, is in progess. In this connection, 175,000 copies of a pamphlet "Trade Unionism: Dangers of Totalitarian, Undemcoratic Control", and 14,000 copies of a pamphlet, "Trade Union and Political Action", have been distributed to labor groups throughout the country.

(3) Implementation of the foregoing will be effected through guidance exercised by Military Government teams in the field under instructions from CI&E through necessary channels.

f. Public lectures on current legislation now being given throughout the country by Occupation personnel and/or Japanese leaders will be continued.

4. Themes

a. National Government

(1) The Diet

(a) Highest organ of state power and sole law-making body of the nation; no longer dependent upon or subordinate to the executive.

(b) Members are independent representatives of the people and not "rubber stamps" of the Ministers.

(c) Democratization of procedures in both houses; election of officials, free debate, standing committees, public hearings, public sessions.

(d) House of Representatives: veto power, election of the Prime Minister, responsibility for the budget, treaties.

(e) House of Councillors: now composed of popularly elected representatives, unlike democratic House of Peers; scope of its authority and functions.

(f) Relationship of Diet to executive and judicial branches of government.

(2) The Cabinet

(a) Method of election of Prime Minister and appointment of Ministers.

(b) Executive powers, limited legislative powers.

(c) Changed relationships to the Emperor.

(d) Relationship to local government.

(e) Relationship to the Diet and to the judiciary.

(3) Judiciary

(a) Significance of the reorganization of the court system.

(b) Method of appointment of Supreme Court justices and lower court judges.

(c) Popular review of all appointments to the Supreme Court.

(d) Supreme Court's rule-making power.

(e) Importance of the Supreme Court's power to review the constitutionality of all laws, regulations, or official acts.

(f) Relationship of judiciary to legislative and executive branches of government.

(4) Local Self-Government

(a) Changed status of governors, mayors, and headmen as popularly elected representatives.

(b) Relationship of prefectural government to municipalities, towns and villages.

(c) Relationship to national government.

(d) Assemblymen's real legislative power, veto power, control over the budget.

(e) Assembly committees - authority to hold public hearings and conduct investigations.

(f) People's power to recall elected representatives and to initiate legislation and the procedure for initiating such action.

(5) Rights and Duties of the People

(a) Rights and freedoms are guaranteed to the people and not, as under the old Constitution, promised "except as determined by law".

(b) The Code of Criminal Procedure specifies safeguards of the people's rights in the matter of arrest, or search and seizure, speedy trials, evidence permitted, et cetera, and defines the powers of judges, procurators and police.

(c) The Civil Code further defines and protects the rights of the people; the equality of individuals under the law, revisions of the family law, laws governing inheritance, divorce, et cetera.

(6) The Purge

(a) The objective, basis and actual operation of the purge, implementing the statement in the Potsdam Declaration that: "there must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest..."

(7) Political Parties

(a) If the people are to use the ballot intelligently and never again submit to an Imperial Rule Assistance Association, they must understand:

(1) The basis of a sound political party.

(2) The importance and functions of political parties in representative government.

(3) The influence of parties on legislation and in governmental affairs.

(4) The objectives of the Political Parties Bill.

5. Media Plans

a. Radio

(1) The objectives outlined in this program will be projected on national, regional, and local broadcast station levels with special appeals made to women's and youth groups.

(a) Information pertaining to national affairs will be broadcast on national network programs.

(b) Information regarding prefectural affairs will be broadcast on eight regional networks.

(c) Information concerning local political and governmental affairs will be broadcast by each of the 108 local stations.

(2) The accomplishment of these ends can be achieved through the use of the following forms of presentation:

(a) News programs.

(b) Commentary and editorial programs.

(c) Question and Answer programs.

(d) Audience participation programs.

(e) Documentary dramatic treatment.

(f) Discussion programs.

(3) Political education information will continue to be included in the following radio programs:

(a) Good Morning Program.

(b) Radio Interviews.

(c) Primary School Hour.

(d) The School Hour (for secondary schools).

(e) Man on the Street

(f) The National Radio Forum.

(g) The Women's Hour.

(h) The Student's Hour.

(i) Good Neighbors (a serial drama program).

(j) Bell Hill (a serial drama program).

(k) Commentaries.

(l) Report to the Nation.

(m) The Farm Hour.

(n) The Labor Hour.

(o) The March of Time.

(p) The Family Hour.

(q) The Local Hour (local).

(r) The People's Radio School.

(s) The Diet Round Table.

(t) The Citizen's Hour (regional)

(4) The attention of listener groups, already formed, can be directed by CI&E to the problems treated in this program.

b. Press

(1) Weekly press conferences, scheduled each Friday for Government Section use in disseminating current and long-range information regarding political education, will be planned to cover the themes listed in Section IV.

(2) Press and Publications Unit will continue, through conferences and press released, to emphasize the functions and responsibilities of a free press in informing and educating the people regarding democratic government.

c. Magazines

(1) One magazine conference each month will be reserved for Government Section spokesmen. The content of these conferences will be devoted to stressing general and specific objectives of the program.

d. Exhibits

(1) Appropriate agencies and ministries of the Japanese Government will be urged to prepare, with the assistance of CI&E Exhibits Unit, visual aid materials, such as posters, photographic exhibits and kami shibai (narratives illustrated by pictures), based on the following themes:

(a) An exhibit series, "Duties and Responsibilities of a Good Citizen" (example: the new Civil Code), will portray basic democratic practices and their relation to the average citizen's day-by-day fundamental problems.

(b) A series of poster charts on "What the Constitution Means to Me (the Individual)" will exploit through a different pictorial technique the material used in the charts on the Constitution created last spring.

(c) A kami shibai treatment of the subject "Democratic Trade Unionism" has been drafted.

(2) Military Government teams will be encouraged to reach new audiences with the exhibits already available to them;

(a) Land Reform

(b) How to Organize and Operate an Agricultural Cooperative

(c) Student Self-Government

(d) Democratic Organizations

(e) British General Elections

(f) The Code of Criminal Procedure

(g) Labor Relations Adjustment Law

(h) Trade Union Law

(i) Collective Bargaining

b. Drama*

(1) The Theater Officer will continue to guide and encourage playwrights and theatrical groups in using political and social themes and to suggest more constructive approaches in plays which now portray only defeatist attitudes towards present-day problems.

(2) A survey will be made of available, politically pertinent scripts which, with proper editing and suggestions, could be published and distributed. Publication costs will be discussed with the Japanese Social Education Section and distribution can be effected through Military Government teams and/or Social Education Bureaus in every prefecture.

(3) Japanese plays produced in the past will be screened for democratic themes. It will be suggested to theatrical groups, both professional and amateur, that such plays be revived.

(4) Democratic themes will be suggested to the Experimental Theater Groups, now being organized with the advice of CIAE, the objective

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* In Japan today there exist over two thousand amateur and professional theatrical troupes. The importance of the drama as a medium for reaching masses of people is evidenced by the fact that every village has several small groups which perform in every conceivable type of building.

of which is to employ new ideas both in production techniques and in dramatic content.

(5) Liaison will be maintained with newspaper-sponsored (Yomiuri and Mainichi) play contests, and democratic themes for such contests will be suggested.

f. Moving Pictures

(1) The Motion Picture Unit will hold conferences with film producers to explain how features and documentaries can contain a certain amount of political education material and still be entertaining.

(2) The Motion Picture Unit will continue to encourage Japanese producers to make documentary films, and will suggest political education themes.

(3) Newsreels, including the monthly newsreel on Japanese women's activities, will include pertinent, timely materials concerning political affairs.

(4) Weekly screenings of Allied documentaries will continue, to determine their political education possibilities. Consideration will be given to writing appropriate explanatory lectures to accompany these films and to encourage post-showing discussion groups.

(5) National distribution of 2,000 CI&E-controlled 16 mm. projectors will be made to appropriate Japanese groups and organizations through effective channels for the projection of Allied and Japanese documentaries.

g. Libraries

(1) In connection with bibliographies and book selection aids, the CI&E Library Officer will suggest to appropriate Japanese agencies the importance of:

(a) Preparing a selective list of books and magazines in Japanese which further the objectives of this program.

(b) Publication of this list in the Japanese Librarians' Journal, with the advice that it be considered as a guide for library purchases.

(c) Endorsement of this publication by a prominent Japanese, preferably some champion of democracy.

(2) CI&E will enlist the aid of the Japanese Library Association in the publicizing informative literature on political affairs.

(a) Bring up to date and post prominently the bibliography on government and politics prepared in August, 1947.

(b) Prepare bulletin-board and window displays featuring books, pamphlets, periodicals and documents relating to the objectives of this program.

h. Organizations and Public Discussion Groups

(1) Mainichi Shimbun has agreed to sponsor and conduct a series of bi-weekly public forums simultaneously in Tokyo and other cities where it maintains offices. Representatives from the economic, labor, agricultural, press, political, cultural fields, et cetera, will participate in discussion of political subjects, and digests of subject matter under discussion will be published.

(2) PTA, adult education, youth and other groups (See V, 9, below: Education).

(3) Bi-weekly meetings (See III, 4, above).

(4) Democratic League for Political Education (See III, 3, above).

(5) Labor unions (See III, 5 and 6).

(6) Cultural groups (See III, 5 and 6).

(7) Farm groups (See III, 5 and 6).

(8) Professional societies (See III, 5 and 6).

(9) Management organizations (See III, 5 and 6).

(10) Women's groups (See III, 5 and 6).

i. Education

(1) There are many activities, both within the regular school program and outside it, which can be utilized in information programs. Adult education projects, special courses in current events, materials for youth organizations and correspondence and extension courses can include topics and materials relating to political education.

(2) Materials in the regular course of instruction of the public schools of Japan, however, are designed for a long term program of education for the youth of the country. Among the many aims of the course of study is sufficient and sound instruction designed to educate for effective citizenship. The materials of instruction are developed as parts of an integrated program adjusted to the age of the students, the psychological characteristics of children and adolescents, and the requirements of school life. Consequently, the utilization of the regular school program is by indirection. Specific information programs, even though timely, cannot be utilized in any way that will interfere with the integrated program of the schools. Materials used in the schools must meet the psychological and educational requirements of effective instructional materials.

(3) Political education will receive major attention in the regular school program as part of the social studies courses. On both the elementary and secondary levels, the courses of study include

much material on topics that constitute political education. Revisions of these courses of study will provide opportunities to introduce new materials and to improve present materials on the basis of the experience of teachers in the classroom. A course in current problems is provided in the curriculum of the upper secondary school.

(4) The Ministry of Education has already published "A Primer on the Constitution" and authorization has been given for the printing of more than six million copies. Distribution will include all 7th, 8th and 9th grade pupils, all teachers and leaders of various adult education activities. Shortage of paper is a determining factor in the completion of the printing of the present edition of this book. Extension of use of this book to other grades of the school system and to other educational projects will be possible when paper is available for further printing.

(5) The following adult education organizations and projects can be utilized as outlets of information programs on political education, provided paper for printing of information materials can be furnished the Ministry of Education for this purpose:

(a) Citizens' Public Halls

(b) Parent-Teacher Associations

(c) Youth Organizations

(d) Workers' Education Programs

(e) Visual Education Programs

(f) Correspondence Courses

(g) Community Education Classes

(6) The information-education program for Japanese repatriates at various ports of debarkation will be continued.

6. MILITARY GOVERNMENT. Implementation of this entire program will be coordinated with Eighth Army Military Government, in order to reach the "grassroots" levels.

II. PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN IN COOPERATION WITH CI&E

The program undertaken with CI&E was so comprehensive it is impossible fully to report every phase. It is necessary, therefore, generally to review the record of the two sections' operations and to limit detailed discussion to a few projects, which illustrate the manner in which the program was developed.

Representative of these projects was the assistance accorded Japanese information media in emphasizing the importance of the elections of 1946 and 1947.

1. 1946 General Elections. Prior to the general elections of April 10, 1946 authorized agencies of the Headquarters encouraged the Japanese press, radio and other information dissemination media to encourage election participation by eligible voters and to inform the nation's people, especially the millions newly enfranchised, concerning important political issues.

The effectiveness of this publicity is attested to by the large vote cast on election day: more than 27,000,000 persons voted, representing 72.2 per cent of the nation's eligible electors.

In pre-election reports the press emphasized the election's importance and the imperative need for participation by all eligible voters. Yomiuri-Hochi declared that the world was watching the Japanese election and that those who refrained from voting were "enemies of the people." Tokyo Shimbun, announcing that the election would "rehabilitate" the nation, considered it "the most important in (Japan's) history".

Asahi's constant refrain was this: "The general election is our chance to develop the political wilderness of Japan. We must not forget that the democratic organization of workers and their labors are the foundation of freedom." Mainichi cried that "Abstention from voting is a shame....It is all right for us to criticize the government...but at the same time we must endeavor

to solve the situation by our own efforts. The election is the first step toward acting for ourselves....The ideal is always remote and high but if we cannot have it right now, we must take the second or third best -- anything will do as long as it is even a single step closer to that ideal."

Mainichi also attacked the occasionally expressed opinion that the Japanese people cannot act constructively as long as the country is occupied by foreign armies: "The fundamental mistake in this attitude is that the Japanese people are too anxious for the realization of their ideals in a short time, forgetting that they are taking nothing more than the first step for the reconstruction of their country. We must understand that the nation can never be democratized unless we make strenuous efforts to that end for many years to come. We should shoulder a heavy responsibility for the reconstruction of the country. In this sense we can accomplish our hope by supporting the candidates and political parties which are nearest our ideals."

The press alternately ranted and cajoled. Candidates and parties were subjected to criticism, but simultaneously there was insistence that responsible citizens exercise their franchise. Reference to "precious vote" became a kind of recurrent theme.

Government spokesmen too -- on national, prefectural, city and town levels -- issued numberless statements, most of them duly reported by the press, calling for active participation by all Japanese in the nation's political affairs.

Space was also given to detailed discussion of the mechanics of the election procedures in an effort to inform the millions of newly enfranchised voters. The press generally gave adequate publicity to voting requirements and to the necessity for reporting omissions in voting lists.

During the weeks prior to the election considerable space was given to the campaign activities of the political parties and to individual candidates. Much of the newspaper comment was neutral or else strongly critical of the Shidehara government and its policies, but again it represented publicity which inevitably served to stimulate the political interest of the nation's electorate.

Care was exercised to effect an equitable allocation of radio time among the various political parties and candidates to assure that all would have the opportunity to express themselves through this medium during the officially designated period from 14 March through 8 April.

Time allotted to representatives of the eight leading parties (those having candidates in twelve or more prefectures) and to candidates in Tokyo, Chiba, Kanagawa, Gunma, Saitama, Tochigi, and Ibaraki prefectures, which are typical of the entire nation, is indicated in the following table:

PARTY	NO. MINUTES BROADCAST TIME (LOCAL)	NO. MINUTES BROADCAST TIME (NATIONAL)	TOTAL BROADCAST TIME (MINUTES)	PER CENT OF TOTAL
Progressive	967	320	1,287	14.3
Constitutional Yosei	148	320	468	5.2
Liberal	1,006	335	1,341	15.0
Communist	286	320	606	6.7
Cooperative	29	325	354	3.9
Social Democrat	402	340	742	8.3
Reform	29	280	309	3.4
New Japan	203	220	423	4.7
Minor Parties				
Independents	3,468	None	3,468	38.5
		Total Minutes	8,998	100.0

No full report of attendance at public meetings was compiled, but a report of 2,215 meetings in the Tokyo area during the last three weeks of March indicated that Communists held fewer gatherings than other major parties but attracted somewhat larger audiences.

	NUMBER OF MEETINGS HELD	TOTAL AUDIENCE	AVERAGE AT EACH MEETING
Progressives	307	16,619	54
Liberals	452	27,546	61
Social Democrats	382	30,469	80
Communists	108	19,266	178
Cooperatives	34	3,656	108
Minor Parties & Independents	932	71,725	77

When the government on 11 March announced postponement of the general election from 1 to 10 April, the press generally charged the government with inefficiency but, at the same time, it was suggested that the extra time would make it possible for unknown candidates to make themselves better known to their constituents. However, the fact that most candidates were relatively unknown was not regarded as entirely disadvantageous. "Where 'name' was given every consideration," said Mainichi, "the tragedy of militaristic Japan was the only result....We must take the influences now emerging and give them new value."

2. Elections of 1947. An intensive program of political education, designed to achieve the twin objectives of helping electors to cast their ballots intelligently and to stimulate participation by all eligible voters was launched in February 1947.

a. A series of sixteen press conferences was conducted during the period from mid-February to 25 April. During the first month government

spokesmen discussed such subjects as the people's sovereignty, voting as a primary responsibility of the people, the people's responsibility for good government, the imperative need for an informed electorate and for independent voting, and essential qualifications of candidates for elective office. Later immediately prior to the various elections, headquarters officials spoke concerning the duties and responsibilities of prefectural and local government executives and assemblymen, functions of the House of Representatives and of the House of Councillors. Voting techniques were also discussed.

A supplemental conference series helped to explain the objectives and the methods of the purge program, which was directly related to preparations for the elections.

Despite the severe paper shortage the press devoted extensive space to these conferences and also commented frequently and with considerable discernment on the subjects and principles under discussion.

Similar press conferences, many of them informal, were conducted by Military Government units throughout the country as part of an over-all program to stimulate intelligent voting. Military Government also used the newspapers to publish "open letters" and day to day notices, all designed to encourage serious and thoughtful consideration of election issues.

Typical of these were the following statements, issued prior to the elections by the Commanding Officer of the Saitama Military Government Team:

SAITAMA MILITARY GOVERNMENT TEAM
APO 201

SUBJECT: Democratic Elections

TO : The People of Saitama

1. In recent elections during which Land Reform Commissions were elected in the Machi and Mura of Saitama, it was disappointing to find that in the great majority of cases, no elections were held because agreement had been reached by the various groups before the elections were ever held.

2. One explanation of this phenomenon is a well known characteristic of the Japanese people, that of "Saving Face". It is reported that individuals do not want to be known as unsuccessful candidates and will not run for an election unless assured of success in the election.

3. This "Face Saving" has no place in a democratic election. For one thing, each election is a school in which potential politicians learn their lessons. If there are no schools, there are no lessons. Another objection is the fact that unless the people at large elect their candidates, they cannot hold those candidates responsible for their post-election activities.

4. It was recently brought to my attention that in one of the major cities of the prefecture all the political parties were trying to agree on a single candidate before the election. This is foolish. The place for the selection of an executive to be made is at the polls by the people at large, not by a small group of persons who take it upon themselves to pick and choose for the people. What promise does such a candidate have to make to the people at large, and what blame can those people place upon him if he fails to live up to their expectations? Furthermore what training does such an election give to the going and promising men in these political parties for future political struggles? Certainly no democratic electorates will want to give their rights away so carelessly.

5. The government of a Democratic nation is for, by and of the people. The voters have no right to delegate their power of selection to any small group. If they do this, they are failing to meet their obligations and deserve what may befall them, non-representative government. Let every man and woman who has the vote, exercise that right and make the coming election a truly democratic one.

TIMOTHY J. RYAN
Lt. Col., Infantry
Commanding

SUBJECT: Election Law Violations

TO : The People of Saitama Prefecture

1. It is essential that in the coming elections every voter make himself responsible for seeing that the election is conducted in a free and fair manner.

2. Any voter who observes violations of the election laws should immediately refer the incident with a full statement of facts to his local election administration committee. These committees are your representatives, their duty is to insure that violators of the election laws are punished. They can only do this if they have the cooperation of all citizens.

3. The following is a list of common election law violations which unscrupulous candidates may be expected to commit. Be alert for any of these violations and report them to your election administration committees:

a. Privileges granted to favored candidates.

b. Unlawful exclusions from the registration lists.

c. Police interference with legal campaign activity.

d. Efforts of either established or petty political machines to buy votes by bribes of scarce commodities or cash.

e. Excessive campaign expenditures, in cash or in kind, or failure to report campaign expenses. Excessive contributions by individuals.

f. Denials of rightful candidacies; improper candidacies.

g. Dishonest tabulation or reporting of results.

h. Failure of authorities to prosecute violators.

4. As a means of democratic training for both the citizens and officials involved, all election law violations should be referred at once to the Japanese election administration committee. Military Government is going to observe the elections very closely from the beginning of the campaign until the final votes are counted. If after reporting a violation, you are sure that nothing is being done against a violator by Japanese officials, do not hesitate to report the incident to Military Government.

5. I have repeatedly asked the people of Saitama not to use the anonymous letter in reporting law violations to Military Government. It is particularly important when reporting election law violations that you give the complete facts regarding the violation, the time, place, persons involved, money involved, etc., and that you be willing to sign your name to your report. It is your duty, if it becomes necessary, to act as a witness against those who are attempting to prevent the election from being a free and fair expression of the will of the people.

TIMOTHY J. RYAN
Lt. Col., Infantry
Commanding

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In every case, however, SCAP and Military Government teams were concerned with impressing electors with the importance of their responsibilities as citizens. Every care was taken to maintain strict neutrality concerning election issues or political personalities.

a. One of the SCAP press conferences was filmed by a major movie producer. The resulting twenty-minute films, which emphasized the responsibility of citizens to participate in all the elections, was shown in most movie theaters throughout the country immediately prior to the elections.

b. SCAP also gave assistance to the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan in developing a series of daily radio programs, likewise designed to educate voters and to stimulate widespread participation in the elections.

These general educational programs were designed to reach listeners of all interest groups: farmers, fishermen, women, shut-ins and hospital patients, repatriates, the newly-enfranchised, rank-and-file voters.

Speakers included the Prime Minister, the President of the House of Peers, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, labor leaders, representatives of farm unions, of the Fishermen's Association, Japan Red Cross, YWCA, political leaders, prominent women, the Procurator General, professors and cabinet ministers.

In the case of radio, too, a special attempt was made to explain the purposes and the methods of the purge, to emphasize that the way was being prepared for the emergence of new leadership truly representative of the people's will.

c. GHQ also published a Political Affairs Bulletin, for distribution twice monthly to military government units in the field, in which major attention was given to the elections. The Bulletin's purpose was dual, to inform Military Government personnel and to serve as the basis for local education programs. Most Bulletin material was furnished in both English and Japanese, so that

it might be made immediately available to local newspapers, radio stations, schools, or community groups by the military government teams. Reports from the field indicate that most of the material was widely and effectively disseminated.

Military government teams also conducted pre-election meetings during which representatives of women's clubs and civic groups were urged to devote their energies to getting out the votes of such electors as had indicated only slight interest in their duties as citizens.

Arrangements were made for public gatherings during which Election Administration Committees explained election procedures.

Public meetings were also scheduled to afford candidates -- of all political persuasions -- an opportunity to discuss election issues. Care was taken to avoid any suggestion of favoritism by Military Government.

Military Governments units also made use of hundreds of Civil Information and Education bulletin boards throughout the country to post public notices concerning the elections. In many instances loudspeakers at railway stations were used to urge the people to cast their votes.

Japanese Publicity:

The Japanese radio, motion pictures, government agencies and press gave the April elections more intensive publicity than had been accorded any previous election in Japan's history.

Radio:

The Broadcasting Corporation of Japan made radio time available to all candidates participating in the April elections. SCAP advised BCJ concerning program scheduling, but the basic time allocation formula was recommended by the Inter-party Negotiating Conference of the House of Representatives. An

objective decision was required since BCJ, as a non-profit public service corporation, was committed to a policy of complete neutrality and non-preference. No time was available for sale to political parties or individuals.

All candidates for posts as prefectural governors, whether independents or party candidates, were given opportunity to broadcast three times to their respective constituencies. The time available in each prefecture varied slightly, depending on the number running for election, but all candidates for the same post were accorded equal broadcast privileges. Each candidate used an average of about 30 minutes of broadcast time.

Radio time was also assigned to candidates running for office as mayors of cities of 100,000 or more population. The limited time available made it impossible to expand this service to include mayoralty candidates of all cities.

The provision of the election law requiring that a candidate for executive position must receive a minimum of three-eighths of the total vote cast necessitated a number of run-off elections on April 15. All gubernatorial candidates and all large city mayoralty candidates in these elections were granted 23 minutes of supplementary broadcast time.

Each candidate for the national constituency of the House of Councillors was allowed time for two broadcasts over a nation-wide station network. Equal time, on a prefectural basis, was allotted to prefectural district candidates.

Similar time allocations were made in behalf of all candidates for the House of Representatives. Since, however, election districts were relatively small these broadcasts were directed only to the respective constituencies of the various candidates.

Additional time, however, was allotted to political parties on a national basis. During the period prior to the Diet elections each of the five parties

(Liberal, Democratic, Social Democratic, People's Cooperative, and Communist) utilized seven 15 minute periods for presentation and discussion of party platforms. This arrangement was made specifically in compliance with the recommendation of the Negotiating Conference.

The enormous number of candidates for local and prefectural assemblies precluded the possibility of making broadcast time available to all. However, most prefectural assembly candidates and those running as large city assembly representatives (100,000 population or over) were each granted time for a single five minute broadcast. (Not all took advantage of the opportunity, but the time was set aside for them.) In the few cities or prefectures in which time limitations made such allocations impossible (Tokyo's JOAK, for example, serves five prefectures which had hundreds of candidates) it was necessary to resort to a mere listing of candidates with brief biographical information concerning each.

In addition to these political broadcasts by candidates BCJ sponsored a number of general education broadcasts such as a series to acquaint voters with voting procedures, based on material provided by the Home Ministry.

Throughout the election period broadcasters also presented a daily average of seven brief announcements reminding voters of their duty to go to the polls each election day, and the imperative need for responsible and intelligent voting.

BCJ also broadcast a number of daily announcements warning voters to guard against possible fraud or illegal attempts to influence elections that might be perpetrated by such agencies as the Tonari Gumi, which had been stripped of all bureaucratic authority.

In the huge task of developing and scheduling these election radio programs Military Government personnel throughout the country gave all possible assistance whenever required by BCJ. In particular, care was taken to ensure that no preferential treatment, whether by mistake or oversight, was accorded any individual or political group.

BCJ earned special commendation for its high sense of public responsibility when, immediately following the elections, it rejected a proposed Diet appropriation of ¥8,000,000, offered in payment for radio time devoted to election broadcasts, on the ground that it was merely fulfilling its obligations to owners of radio receivers, who by payment of annual license fees, subsidize an independent agency devoted to public service. By its action BCJ established the principle of its direct responsibility to the Japanese people free of government direction or political influence.

Motion Pictures:

Newsreel companies released a number of films in which attention was given to general election coverage and to the campaigning of prominent candidates. Of special interest was a movie made of a "man-of-the-Street" broadcast, during which the then State Minister Tokujiro Kanamori addressed a street gathering to explain the purge program as an essential preliminary to the emergence of new political leadership. This film was noteworthy since it depicted, for the first time in Japan's history, a cabinet minister discussing government policies directly with the people.

From March 15 to April 30, a total of 1,537,510 feet of film was distributed to theaters as newsreels of which a total of 532,917 feet covered subjects of elections and the purge. In other words, during this period, approximately one-third of the newsreel footage was devoted to election topics.

The Nippon Motion Picture Company produced a two-reel documentary film on elections entitled "For Whom Would You Cast Your Vote?" This picture was acclaimed by the political parties and was exhibited by many local organizations as well as in regular commercial chain and independent theaters. It is estimated to have been seen by a total audience of two million persons.

The four major motion picture companies placed "top titles" (motion picture titles preceding the main title picture) on every Japanese picture, whether old or new, to be released after March 15 until April 30. These top titles read as follows:

"It is the privilege and duty of every citizen in a democratic nation to vote."

"Study your candidates and their platforms, and vote without fail."

"Election dates are: April 5 - for Governors, Mayors and Headmen; April 20 - for House of Councillors; April 25 - for House of Representatives; April 30 - for Assemblymen. Vote without fail!"

Comprehensive surveys undertaken by the motion picture industry indicate that the election titles and the newsreels were seen by approximately 50,000,000 persons.

Government Agencies:

The Home Ministry prepared a series of posters graphically emphasizing the voter's responsibility for independent and intelligent participation in the elections. Eight hundred thousand of these posters were placed in railroad stations, in public buildings and on community bulletin boards throughout the country. In addition, the Ministry issued a series of press releases timed to precede each of the elections, containing detailed information relating to election procedures and administration, with a special effort made to indicate to voters where they might have access to detailed information on all candidates.

Bulletin boards also carried listings of all persons affected by the purge and therefore ineligible to hold public office. This means of acquainting the people of Japan concerning the scope of the purge program served also to point up the duty of the electorate to select responsible leadership, worthy and qualified to participate in the re-creation of Japan as a democratic nation.

To reduce abstention election administrative officials placed signboards on public conveyances urging voters to go to the polls. In many communities sirens and bells were rung at specified intervals to attract voters. Extensive use was also made of loudspeakers in railroad stations, at street intersections, and on trucks.

3. Press. The Japanese press devoted extraordinary attention to the four elections; for a period of two months the elections constituted the number one news story in Japan's press.

Not only did the entire Tokyo press, followed by many prefectural papers, stress the importance and the revolutionary nature of the April balloting, but on the eve of every election the press unanimously insisted upon the essential need for every Japanese citizen to cast his free and independent ballot.

When it seemed likely that popular interest in the House of Councillors might be less than the interest in the House of Representatives, the press called for special efforts to be made to vote for candidates who would properly represent the voters.

This attention was, at times, expressed at the sacrifice of what might otherwise have been regarded as pressing news, and in spite of the great shortage of newsprint.

During the last week of February, for instance, the prefectural press, far in advance of election day or even of the formal opening of the campaign, stressed the regional elections as Japan's first opportunity to establish

local self-government.

Later, during the last ten days of March, the presentation of the new election law, with the consequent filibuster of the Socialists in the Diet, and the dramatic incidents of the closing of the Diet sessions, offered topics that attracted widespread editorial and news attention with the press continuing in its limited space, to emphasize the importance of the elections.

Comparisons with past periods of Japanese political history were unavoidable. One of the notable editorials on this subject appeared in ASAHI on March 1 which pointed out that in the past, because of inadequate local autonomy, Japanese democratic tendencies, whenever allowed to exist by militarist authorities, had been merely nominal and that, in consequence, the people had never enjoyed an opportunity to display even rudimentary political aptitude.

The paper proceeded to point out that, under SCAP guidance, Japan had achieved complete freedom to choose its officials and to conduct open, fair and honest elections.

SHIN NOCHI, on the same day, asserted that the results of the elections would virtually determine the fundamental character of future Japanese democracy.

This was a popular appeal. Japanese papers, as a whole, were fully conscious of the epoch-making nature of the elections in which voters were to participate. Some, like WAKAYAMA SHIMBUN (February 23), and NANSHIN NICHI NICHI (March 1), saw an opportunity for Japan to demonstrate its entire freedom from ancient feudalistic concepts. Others, as for instance, NAGASAKI MINYU (March 26), hailed the opportunity to convert government officials, hitherto appointed,

into public servants chosen by and responsible to the people. YAMAGATA SHIMBUN (March 10) went so far as to say that the elections would have "a historical significance greater than that of the Meiji Restoration", while YOMIURI (March 19) said "The April elections will decide the fate of our country."

Every major Tokyo newspaper devoted extensive space prior to each election to urge citizens to vote.

Often these appeals were based upon the plea that all the world was watching the progress of democracy in Japan. According to HOKKOKU SHIMBUN (March 3), failure to take part in a democratic election would shame Japan. GITA GODO SHIMBUN (March 23) added the argument, later taken up by many other papers, that "An early peace conference depends upon Japan's quick rebirth as a democratic nation as evidenced by the creation of an ideal administration in the coming balloting." OKAYAMA GODO SHIMBUN and SHIMANE SHIMBUN, (both March 2), described the elections as corner stones in Japan's peaceful revolution.

Newspapers devoted much space to the problem of the absentee vote. During the totalitarian regime, great stress had been placed upon the participation of each citizen in the balloting process, since by this means a supposed popular support might be alleged for the militaristic and ultra-nationalistic factions. Under a system of free voting, some newspapers feared, voters might refrain from visiting the polls.

The press showed great concern about the possibility that, due to the multiplicity of elections, the need for tending farms or for working in the office or factory, or for any other cause, some voters might neglect their civic privileges.

Many reasons were given why abstention might occur.

Early in the campaign some journals, notably IBARAGI SHIMBUN (February 2), HYUGU NICHI NICHI, SHIKOKU SHIMBUN and SHIN IWATE (all February 24) warned that holding all the elections in a single month might result in progressive loss of interest. This argument was not repeated later and, in point of fact, proved unimportant when actual results showed that the last election in the series brought out a bigger vote than any other.

Two small papers, HOKKAI NICHI NICHI (May 25), and JINMIN (April 9 and 11), advanced arguments peculiar to themselves. The former alleged that Japanese lacked zeal for democratic reconstruction--a statement countered by the unanimous testimony of other journals--while the latter termed abstention "a kind of revolt against democracy".

More realistic reasons were advanced by editorial writers. A paper shortage that restricted the issuance of election bulletins seemed important to NAGASAKI NICHI NICHI (April 25), to GIFU TIMES and OSAKA SHIMBUN (both April 23), to ASAHI (April 10) and to numerous other journals. This made it difficult for voters to obtain information concerning candidates and issues, JIJI SHIMPO (April 10) said.

Preoccupation with food problems was mentioned by JIJI SHIMPO (April 10) by WAKAYAMA SHIMBUN (March 27) and by SHIN EHIME (March 26) as contributing factors, a statement that many other papers echoed both before and after election.

A notable feature of the press treatment of the campaign was the constant reiteration, beginning with DAI ICHI SHIMBUN's editorial of March 4, that voters should cast their ballots for parties rather than for individual candidates. This advice had its origin in the presence of a large proportion of minor party men and of Independents in the 1946 Diet and was intended to develop a feeling of responsibility among political parties themselves for the activities of their members holding office.

Among the newspapers joining this movement were NAGOYA TIMES (March 22 and 26), YUKAN KYOTO and HOKKOKU MAINICHI (both March 22) NAGASAKI MINYU (April 1) HOKKAI TIMES, OITA GODO SHIMBUN and TOO NIPPO (all April 2).

JIJI SHIMPO (April 29) dissented from the chorus by urging voters in prefectural and municipal assembly elections to choose candidates of ability and character rather than party men.

The acute shortage of newsprint made it impossible for newspapers to do more than a bare minimum to inform electors of the records of candidates for various offices. Many newspapers, however, did list the names of candidates, with brief biographical data, prior to each election.

4. Press Conferences. The Government Section, beginning on February 26, 1947 sponsored a comprehensive program in the sphere of political education by means of a series of integrated weekly press conferences. This program, carried out in cooperation with the Civil Information and Education Section, was designed to present in basic, elementary terms the contemporary political and institutional changes occurring in the governmental structure of Japan as affecting the everyday lives of the common Japanese people.

In a much wider sense, the objective of this program was to enlighten the Japanese by means of a series of free and open discussions on the part of qualified spokesmen and through the medium of responsible organs of public information on immediate problems relating to the organization and functioning of the Japanese Government and the various legislative reforms and revisions that have been effected under the new Constitution.

In both scope and design, these press conferences served as an effective campaigning for enlightenment on democratic government. Through the press and other media of public information the voice of these spokesmen has found echo among the millions of people in Japan's cities and countryside.

Within the limits of a year,--from February 26, 1947 to February 27, 1948,--Section representatives conducted fifty press conferences, reviewing and discussing the multitudinous problems connected with the overall administration of government. During this period, basic principles involved in constitutional procedures and the elements of a democratic political society were renewed.

Such basic and fundamental discussions were covered as problems relating to national and local government; national and local elections; national and local finances; the National Diet, the executive, the judiciary; the purge, fundamental legislative revisions such as reforms of the criminal and penal code and the code of civil procedure, and the functions of the newly-established Attorney-General's Office were fully explored; pertinent and general topics were analyzed, such as the Constitution of Japan, the individual and the Constitution, legal authority under the Constitution, Government and the people, civil liberties, government and the public welfare, the responsibility of the press for good government, democracy and the criminal process, the abolition of the Tonari Gumi system, the rule of the people, etc.

At least six discussions were held on specific topics concerning problems of local government and analyses of amendments to the Local Autonomy Law; three sessions were devoted to a review of the purge program; four sessions to problems of modern democracy.

The series of three discussions devoted to the subject "The Function of Political Parties in a Free Society," is to be singled out for aptness and pertinency, as well as for frankness in the treatment of subject matter.

In all cases, the entire series of press conferences was marked by sound analysis and sober presentation. Section spokesmen, moreover, were unanimous in their efforts to expose dishonesty and ineptness in government or public life.

The basis of these press conferences was derived from the concept that transmission of necessary information to the people of Japan is the moral, if not the technical, responsibility of the press and other information media. The people can cooperate effectively only if they possess the necessary facts.

Conversely, the lack of information, or a condition of misinformation, can seriously retard or hamper the achievement of reforms which the people desire and toward which the Government is working.

The editors, publishers, and reporters of some forty odd Japanese newspapers ordinarily attended the Government Section's press conferences. The papers included the metropolitan "Big Five" of Japan's journalism,-- YOMIURI, MAINICHI, JIJI SHIMPO, NIHON KEIZAI and ASAHI,--as well as representative prefectural papers. Representation also included members of the staff of the news services, KYODO, JIJI, RADIOPRESS, NIPPON NEWS, SUN PHOTO TIMES, etc.

Correspondents and representatives of the Allied and foreign press in Japan also attended.

There was no requirement imposed on any member of the Japanese press to attend these conferences. They attended voluntarily. No restriction of any sort was imposed on any segment of the press, nor was any restriction placed on what any reporter should write in comment on each discussion session.

Some newspapers sent from two to six reporters each, depending on the nature of the conference, which was announced by the Press and Publications Office of GHQ, at least one day before the conference.

There was only one injunction made,--an injunction often reiterated by practically every speaker in the series, thus serving as a leitmotif of the entire program. Each member of the press attending the discussions was urged

to make his utmost effort to inform every responsible citizen in Japan of his responsibility to acquaint himself with the features of the revolutionary changes in process in Japan, with the procedures of democratic government and of the manner in which he could most effectively serve and assist his government.

This series of discussions was of tremendous importance for the immediate as well as the future of a democratic Japan as it opened new vistas in modern Japanese political and governmental life. The impact of the effectuation of the new Constitution was immediate.

Never before had Japan faced such problems. The Meiji pioneers during the Restoration period did not face the fundamental changes which the Japanese witnessed under the Occupation and, as one spokesman pointed out, that Restoration did not involve the vital participation of millions of citizens as is the case today.

It is important to point out that the conferences were not held in a vacuum. The discussions reveal that there was free exchange of opinion on the part of the speakers and the participants. Those who attended engaged in lively and informal discussion of the ramifications of relevant problems. Pertinent questions were asked in an effort to determine how best to effect required changes or modifications of the contemporary political and social soil of Japan.

This interchange of free and open discussion on public issues, conducted in an informal atmosphere, was novel in Japan, where the press traditionally had been rigidly controlled and regimented, and accustomed to hand-outs dictating the official information.

According to Major Daniel C. Imboden of Civil Information and Education, who presided at the conferences, there is no doubt that these weekly meetings sponsored by Government Section and Civil Information and Education Section served to afford an effective training school for the free discussion of vital and contemporary public issues to the representatives of the Japanese press. The publishers, editors, and reporters who attended the conferences were not only the representatives of the chief organs of the Japanese press, but from the lowest to the highest ranks of the metropolitan and prefectural press these men are those chiefly responsible for carrying out the mandate of shaping public opinion for at least the next ten years in Japan.

It is significant that the Japanese press gave wide coverage to the press conferences. It is also important that some Japanese papers commented favorably on the feasibility of these press conferences as a forum of free discussion, of transmission and dissemination of information, and of the need of such discussions as a means of assisting and guiding the vernacular organs of public opinion. At the same time, these editorial comments reflected the prevailing sentiment that through the medium of these press conferences much has been accomplished toward instructing the Japanese people on the instruments at hand to preserve their newly-acquired rights and constitutional privileges and of the means to strengthen the safeguards against possible illegalities, unwarranted attacks and encroachments upon their legal prerogatives.

For in contemporary Japan, as in all democratic nations, the press must bear the tremendous responsibility of safeguarding the people's rights by mobilizing public opinion in support of honest constitutional government.

Following is a subject list of press conferences given by Government Section, February 26, 1947 to February 27, 1948:

TITLE		
National and Local Elections of April 1947, The	Frank E. Hays and Cecil G. Tilton	Feb. 26, 1947
Purge, The	Carlos P. Marcum	Feb. 26, 1947
National Elections	Frank E. Hays	Mar. 7, 1947
Importance of National Elections	Frank E. Hays	Mar. 19, 1947
What is Democratic Voting	Frank E. Hays	Mar. 25, 1947
Local Elections of 1947	Cecil G. Tilton	Mar. 28, 1947
Extension of Filing Date for Candidates to the House of Councillors	Frank E. Hays	Apr. 2, 1947
National Elections	Guy J. Swope	Apr. 11, 1947
Abolition of the Tonari Gumi System in Local Government	Cecil J. Tilton	Apr. 14, 1947
National Elections and the Judiciary	Frank E. Hays	Apr. 15, 1947
National Elections and Democracy, The	Frank E. Hays	Apr. 16, 1947
Election of Assemblymen in Local Government	Cecil G. Tilton	Apr. 21, 1947
Reform of Criminal Procedure	Alfred C. Oppler	Apr. 23, 1947
Civil Liberties	A. Rodney Hussey	Apr. 30, 1947
The Constitution of Japan	A. Rodney Hussey	May 7, 1947
The Diet	Justin Williams	May 9, 1947
The Executive	Guy J. Swope	May 14, 1947
The Individual and the Constitution	A. Rodney Hussey	May 16, 1947
The Judiciary	Alfred C. Oppler	May 19, 1947
Government and the Public Welfare	Cyrus Peake	May 23, 1947
Local Government Under the New Constitution	Cecil G. Tilton	May 26, 1947

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Public Finance Under the New Constitution	Frank Rizzo	May 28, 1947
KOKUTAI, Personal Liberty and Individual Dignity--The True National Polity of Japan	Chas L. Kades	June 6, 1947
The Government and the People	A. Rodney Hussey	June 27, 1947
Local Government Elections	Cecil G. Tilton	July 11, 1947
By-Elections	Cecil G. Tilton	Aug. 8, 1947
Review of the Purge Program	Jack P. Napier	Aug. 15, 1947
The Reform of Criminal Procedure	Howard Meyers	Aug. 19, 1947
Legislative Authority Under the New Constitution	A. Rodney Hussey	Sep. 5, 1947
Report of the Economic Purge	Jack P. Napier	Sep. 12, 1947
Constitution or the Dark Curtain	Chas L. Kades	Sep. 19, 1947
Local Government	Cecil G. Tilton	Oct. 3, 1947
Local Government	Cecil G. Tilton	Oct. 10, 1947
Amendments to the Local Autonomy Law	Cecil G. Tilton	Oct. 17, 1947
Public Information Media	Jack P. Napier	Oct. 24, 1947
Goro Shimbun	Daniel G. Imboden and Osborne Hauge	Nov. 7, 1947
Reform of the Penal Code, The	Alfred G. Oppler	Dec. 5, 1947
Functions of the New Autonomy General's Officer	Alfred G. Oppler	Dec. 12, 1947
Amendments to the Local Autonomy Law	Cecil G. Tilton	Dec. 19, 1947
Reform of the Criminal Code II, The	Howard Meyers	Dec. 26, 1947
Reform of the Criminal Code, III, The	Howard Meyers	Jan. 6, 1948
Amendments to the Local Autonomy Law	Cecil G. Tilton	Jan. 9, 1948
Democracy and the Criminal Process	A. Rodney Hussey	Jan. 12, 1948

Function of Political Parties in A Free Society, The	Guy J. Swope	Jan. 16, 1948
Functions of Political Parties in A Free Society, The	Guy J. Swope	Jan. 23, 1948
Function of Political Parties in A Free Society, The	Guy J. Swope	Jan. 30, 1948
Modern Democracy, I	A. Rodney Russey	Feb. 13, 1948
People Rule, The	Guy J. Swope	Feb. 24, 1948
Modern Democracy, II	A. Rodney Russey	Feb. 27, 1948

5. Release of Supplementary Materials for Publication. In addition to the subjects covered by press conferences, Government Section made available to CI&E materials relating to current problems or achievements of the government which were made available through CI&E channels to the Japanese press. In general, release of this material did not conform to any over-all program pattern; instead, subject and timing were for the most part determined by government action or news developments. For example, some laws which may not have been considered sufficiently important to justify a full-scale press conference were commented on briefly by Section spokesmen. On other occasions, Section comments were elicited by constructive government action, by significant action of the Diet, the courts, Japanese officials, etc. In all cases these press reports concerned matters of real interest and consequence to the people of Japan and were intended to keep them informed concerning the proper and effective operation of government. Publicity was also given to occasional communications from the Headquarters to the Japanese Government. Whenever advice was given the Japanese Government, it was considered important also to inform the Japanese people, since in a democratic state the people are ultimately responsible for the effective operation of government.

Prior to the reorganization of the Japanese police system, for example, assistance was given in according widespread publicity to the Supreme Commander's letter to the Prime Minister outlining principles to be observed in the reformation of the Police system and suggesting also the reorganization of the Justice Ministry, to create an agency more responsive to the will of the people. It was considered imperative that the people of Japan be completely informed concerning the real character of the feudal, autocratic police system which for decades had helped to keep the people in bondage. It was considered imperative that they understand the purpose of the reform and that they fully understand their direct responsibility for the proper and effective functioning of police in a democratic state.

Similar press releases were issued to explain the reorganization of the Central Liaison Office, the elimination of the old Bureau of Legislation and the transfer of its functions to the new Attorney General's Office, the elimination of the vicious Shokutaku system, etc.

Following is an example of the type of news story prepared and released by CI&E to all the Japanese press on the basis of materials or comments made available by Government Section:

"Abolition of the long-standing Japanese practice called '<u>shokutaku</u>' by a Cabinet ordinance issued today was commended by SCAP's Government Section.

"Under the '<u>shokutaku</u>' system, full-time employees of private business firms hold posts as advisers in various government departments.

"'These were no yen-a-year men', a Government Section official said, 'They were usually paid salaries from government-appropriated funds in addition to receiving their main remuneration from their private employers.'

"'As such,' the spokesman explained, 'the shokutaku were serving two masters -- public and private -- and were paid by both.'

"The Ordinance dismisses 706 of these advisers immediately and a large portion of another 10,000 will be dismissed by April 1, 1948, the official said. A small number, such as consultants, clerical and technical assistants whose services are especially required, will be retained as temporary government employees. However, the SCAP officer added, their appointments will be formalized in writing and their duties, responsibilities and the scope of their authority clearly defined.

"On the surface, the official explained, the 'shokutaku' system was devised so that the government might have the advice of experts in fields such as commerce, banking, foreign affairs, industry, etc. It rapidly deteriorated in practice, he added, until it was but a part of the overall system whereby private monopoly interests were furthered at the expense of the public purse and the people's interests."

III. GENERAL PROGRAMS UNDERTAKEN IN COOPERATION WITH CI&E

Beginning in the spring of 1947, Government Section cooperated with Civil Information and Education in developing a number of special education programs relating to the Civil Code, the Code of Criminal Procedures, civil liberties, the relationships and functions of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, local government reforms, and political parties. In general the pattern for each of these programs was the same. Materials were prepared for use by the press and the publications, for presentation by means of radio, for the use of Japanese organizations and institutions, for use in schools, for the use of lectures, and for presentation by means of motion pictures, posters, slides, kamishibai, and exhibits.

These programs were planned and executed independently, but since each was so comprehensive and complex it is possible in this report only to cite representative examples of projects developed for each program.

1. Civil Code.[3] In the case of the Civil Code, for example, a series of 34 radio programs were developed, illustrating basic provisions of the revised code and contrasting new provisions with the old. Particular emphasis was given to the equality of individuals under the law and to changes in the family law.

Following is a listing of the 34 broadcasts presented during the period from September 22, 1947 to December 29, 1947:

Sep 22	2000-2050	Farmers' Hour	Civil Code: General Review	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"
Sep 29	2000-2050	Farmers' Hour	Civil Code: General Review	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"
Sep 30	1230-1300	Man on the Street	Civil Code: General Review	Discussion
Oct 2	0715-0730	Radio Interviews	Effects of Marriage on Property (Article 762)	Dialogue, 15 min.
Oct 6	2000-2050	Farmers' Hour	Family Relations	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"

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Oct 10	0730-0745 (2nd Trans)	Today's Topics	Reasons for Divorce (Article 770)	Talk, 15 min.
Oct 14	0615-0645	Morning Varieties	Minimum Ages for Marriage (Article 731)	Dialogue, 10 min.
Oct 15	1300-1400	Women's Hour (Feature for Happiness' Sake)	Effects of Marriage on Property (Article 762 & 768	Questions and Answers
Oct 20	2000-2050	Farmers' Hour	Family Relations (Civil Code)	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"
Oct 23	1930-2000	Man on the Street	Family Relations (Civil Code)	Discussion
Oct 27	1300-1400	Women's Hour (For Happiness' Sake)	Minimum Ages for Marriage (Article 731)	Questions and Answers
Oct 29	0715-0730	Radio Interviews	Procedures for Obtaining Consentual Divorce	Dialogue, 15 min
Oct 31	0730-0745	Today's Topics	Inheritance Rights of Illegitimates (Article 900)	Talk, 15 min.
Nov 3	0715-2050	Farmers' Hour	The Code of Civil Procedure	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"
Nov 7	0715-0730	Radio Interviews	Equal Rights of Succession	Dialogue, 15 min.
Nov 10	0615-0645	Morning Varieties	Inheritance Rights of Illegitimates (Article 900)	Dialogue, 10 min.
Nov 12	1300-1400	Women's Hour (For Happiness' Sake)	Divorce and Property (Article 768)	Questions & Answers
Nov 17	2000-2050	Farmers' Hour	Code of Civil Procedure	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"
Nov 20	0615-0645	Morning Varieties	Disposition of Materials and Records (Article 897)	Dialogue, 10 min.
Nov 21	0715-0730	Radio Interviews	Effects of Marriage on Property (Article 768)	Dialogue, 15 min.
Nov 24	0730-0735 (2nd Trans)	Today's Topics	Division of Property (Article 768)	Talk, 15 min.
Nov 26	1300-1400	Women's Hour (For Happiness' Sake)	Duty of Support (Article 877)	Questions & Answers
Nov 27	1930-2000	Man on the Street	The Code of Civil Procedure	Discussion
Nov 30	0730-0745	Today's Topics	Physical Violence (Article 822)	Talk, 15 min.
Dec 1	2000-2050	Farmers' Hour	Inheritance & Civil Code Question Box	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"
Dec 3	0615-0645	Morning Varieties	Family System	Dialogue, 10 min.
Dec 4	0715-0730	Radio Interviews	Legal Share of Wife (Articles 890-900)	Dialogue, 15 min.
Dec 9	1230-1300	Man on the Street	Inheritance: Civil Code	Discussion
Dec 11	0715-0730	Radio Interviews	Duty of Support (Article 877)	Dialogue, 15 min.

Dec 15	2000-2050	Farmers' Hour	Inheritance & Civil Code Question Box	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"
Dec 19	1300-1400	Women's Hour (For Happiness' Sake)	Rights of Succession	Questions & Answers
Dec 23	1300-1400	Women's Hour (For Happiness' Sake)	Court of Domestic Relations	Questions & Answers
Dec 29	2000-2050	Farmers' Hour	Inheritance and the Civil Code Question Box	Chat by "Uncle Kokaku"

Individual freedom and the essential equality of sexes as provided in the Constitution was the keynote stressed in a new series of radio programs, initiated in April, designed to popularize the revised Civil Code. This series, entitled the "People's Radio School Hour," was scheduled to continue indefinitely.

Especially those broadcasts devoted to problems of domestic relations sought to enlighten the people concerning provisions governing family matters, including matrimonial relations and divorce, parental powers, guardianship, support, inheritance, etc. In each instance, the content matter of the programs was advisedly kept at a popular level with practical examples drawn from everyday life in order to appeal to the average listener. The programs, largely conducted on a question and answer basis, were made up for the most part of questions submitted by the listeners themselves.

For example, a number of broadcasts were devoted to typical cases of divorce. By means of "situations" culled from listeners' experiences, the speaker or interlocutor was enabled to explore the various circumstances under which the question of divorce arises, to explain the legal aspects and procedures involved in each case, and to elucidate objectively some of the chief problems concerning actual cases. For greater effectiveness and clarity, these "situations" were dramatized for the listeners' benefit as each problem was analyzed and pertinent questions answered.

Typical questions asked concerned the legal aspects of normal divorce cases, problems nevertheless relatively novel for the average Japanese; problems concerning support, property sharing, and inheritance, the status of children of divorced parents, and other pertinent questions of social responsibility.

Questions of this sort were fruitful since they provided an opportunity of describing and thus educating the people regarding the functions as well as the jurisdiction of the Domestic Relations Court, an innovation in social relationships among the average Japanese. Since women are keenly aware of the social implications of divorce, several of their questions sought enlightenment regarding the place of a divorcee in modern society.

Following are brief excerpts from a typical program:

"FIRST WOMAN:

"My lot has been a hard one! We women have always been at a disadvantage in comparison with our males, and we have never had any recourse to justice in problems of this sort.

"My husband was physically weak and sickly when I married him. Nevertheless I loved him dearly. I worked hard for his sake and to support our family. Single-handed I took care of our shop. The shop thrived and expanded to what it is today. But for some time, my husband has led a prodigal life. He has had several love affairs and has stayed away from our home. I have put up with all this in the hope that my husband would see the error of his ways and would return home.

"But now I have learned that he is thinking of investing our money to open a shop for one of his lady friends. The money is to come from the savings from our shop, for which I have slaved for years. When I confronted him with this fact and told him that I wished to separate from him, he merely replied: 'You can go away, if you wish, but be careful that you do not take with you more than you brought here with you when you married me.' What recourse do I have against such treatment?

"INTERLOCUTOR:

"In a case of this sort, can a divorced woman claim a share in the property?

"LEGAL EXPERT:

"To be sure, she has legal grounds for such a claim.

"In this case, both the husband and wife worked together to accumulate their mutual property. The husband, however, increased his personal wealth through the aid of his wife. Therefore, in case of divorce, the wife can legally make claim to a share of the property held in common.

"In the past, the wife was compelled to go away penniless. At present, however, the wife can advance her claim under Article 768 of the revised Code of Civil Procedure, which states that when a divorce occurs through mutual consent, one party can demand an accounting of the common property and claim a share of it.

"INTERLOCUTOR:

"But, as we have heard in this case, the wife discussed the matter with her husband and he decided that she should have no part of his property. Has the wife any legal means of pressing her claim?

"LEGAL EXPERT:

"Such matters involving property are difficult to solve loosely by mutual agreement. A problem of this sort may be referred to the Domestic Relations Court for settlement.

"INTERLOCUTOR:

"How will the Domestic Relations Court settle such a problem?

"LEGAL EXPERT:

"The Court will endeavor to arrive at an equitable settlement through an objective evaluation and accounting of the property in question. It will take into consideration the length of the marriage of the couple and all other circumstances surrounding the case. The Court will strive to reach a decision as to what extent the wife has contributed to her husband's wealth and to what degree she may lay just claim and benefits from. Of course, cases of this sort cannot be decided universally, but can only be settled individually, each case is decided according to its relative merits.

"SECOND WOMAN:

"We now understand the division of property at the time of divorce. But I know the case of a woman who was divorced without complaint, and who is now in a pitiful condition. Is there no way of helping her?

"INTERLOCUTOR:

"Let us hear the facts in this case.

"THIRD WOMAN:

"We have been married three years. My husband came to the city from the country.

"Some time ago a letter came to him urgently calling him back to his native village. A month passed and he failed to come back, nor did I ever hear from him. Then one day, an elderly man from my husband's village called on me. He informed me that my husband had divorced me, and he told me the circumstances.

"ELDERLY MAN:

"Ryuji came up to Tokyo, fell in love with you, and married you. In truth, he was already engaged to marry a girl in the village. There was a baby born to them. They were not married, and so no great fuss was raised when he married you.

"But recently the girl's brother was repatriated. He was incensed when he learned that Ryuji was married to you. His anger created such a sensation in our village that we decided to recall Ryuji and talk the matter over. The outcome was that Ryuji has consented to divorce you and has asked me to intervene to settle the matter.

"THIRD WOMAN:

"This man who called on me brought with him a petition for divorce, fully drawn up and signed by husband.

"I was shocked. I wanted to see my husband. But the man declared that my husband refused to see me. He induced me to sign the divorce petition against my will, urging me that by so doing I would be helping my husband. Recently, however, I discovered that this was all a plot on the part of the relatives to induce my husband to give me up and return to his native village. And unknowingly I was framed into giving my husband a divorce.

"What shall I do?

"INTERLOCUTOR:

"In this case, can't the divorce be annulled?

"LEGAL EXPERT:

"Yes, it can. If a wife or husband was tricked or threatened by outsiders, the divorce can be annulled. In cases of collusion or intimidation the injured party has recourse to the law by filing a petition of annulment with the Domestic Relations Court within three months from discovery of the event. If the court rules in favor of annulment, both parties in the suit will henceforth be treated as if there had been no divorce.

"Considering the importance of a case of this kind, it should be stressed that the parties concerned should be cautious to examine their situation under all phases before instituting a petition for divorce...."

The program goes on, and other phases of divorce cases are taken up.

Cases of mental and physical incompatibility, as well as cases of cruelty and cases involving children were discussed, in each instance the listeners were instructed as to the legal jurisdiction involved and the proper method of instituting legal proceedings. The announcer concluded each program by soliciting the listening audience to send in questions concerning their problems to be answered on subsequent programs.

2. Code of Criminal Procedures.[4] Since the Revised Code of Criminal Procedures represented a complete break with traditional police and judicial procedures, an intensive effort was made to inform the people concerning fundamental revisions. The press, radio, and other media were employed to transmit essential information. One of the special projects developed was a series of 20 posters, graphically illustrating principal points of the revised procedural code. Ten thousand sets of this poster series were printed and put on display throughout the nation -- in schools, community halls, post offices, government buildings, railroad stations, and in many other places where large numbers of people gather. In addition, film strips of the series were made and were distributed to schools. Following are reproductions of four posters of the series which illustrate the technique employed:

4/ Appendix H: 42, Code of Criminal Procedure, July 5, 1948

3. Local Government Reform.[5] Extensive use was made of all communications media in transmitting information concerning local government reforms: elimination of the Tonari Gumi system, the introduction and development of local autonomy, the operation of such instrumentalities of local government as prefectural assemblies and the police, the election of city, town and village officials, etc. In addition to the press and radio, and the introduction of special materials in social study courses in the schools, several films relating to local government were widely distributed throughout Japan. One, relating to local government in Pennsylvania was adapted by substituting a Japanese sound track. A commercial feature film, "The Farmers Daughter", was widely advertised as an excellent illustration of democratic procedures in local government. This film was also frequently used as part of specific education programs.

The series of press conferences relating to the functions of political parties in a free society was accorded large space in Japanese newspapers. So great was public interest in these discussions of legitimate political party operation that several political education organizations in Japan adapted the material for special use. A labor union group distributed the text of the statements to union members. Another organization published the material as a political education pamphlet for dissemination to political party leaders, public officials, high school and university teachers, etc. Still another expanded the statements into a complete four-month study course.

Radio was widely used to present party opinions and argument concerning current political issues.

Political education programs also related to the three branches of government: executive, legislative and judicial.

5/ Appendix H: 14 Local Autonomy Law; Law No. 67, April 17, 1947

4. The Executive Authority. Radio, press, motion pictures and other media were utilized in an effort to describe the powers of the executive under Japan's new Constitution. The method of electing the Prime Minister, the appointment of Cabinet ministers and their responsibility to the people was discussed and explained. A particular effort was made to indicate the Prime Minister's changed relationship to the Emperor, his new relationship to the Diet and to prefectural and local governments. The status of the executive under the new Constitution was pointed up and illustrated by widespread dissemination of information concerning Cabinet orders, their limitations and purpose. In all information concerning the Diet emphasis was given to the fact that it is the highest law-making body in the land, now no longer dependent upon or subordinate to the executive, subject only to the will of the people. An effort was made to enhance prestige of its members so that they might better function as independent representatives of the people. Materials concerning the House of Representatives have concerned such specific matters as its authority and functions, the use of standing committees, public hearings, etc. Presentations concerning the House of Councillors have emphasized its democratic character in contrast to the old House of Peers.

a. The Diet. The work of the Diet has been made widely known to the people of Japan by means of a continuing series of Sunday evening broadcasts during which the work of the Diet is reported to the nation. In arranging these programs every effort is made to permit a fair and representative hearing for all political groups. British and American films which illustrate the operation of the legislative organs in a democratic state have been widely disseminated. Motion pictures are also being made to inform the people concerning the duties and responsibilities of the Diet.

The League of Political Education for Democracy in April initiated preparation of a film explaining in simple and specific terms how a bill is enacted into law by the elected representatives of the people, with special emphasis given to the manner in which the will of the people is expressed.

b. The Judiciary. All steps in the complete reorganization of the Japanese judicial system were reported to the people of Japan by means of radio, press, pamphlets, motion pictures, posters, etc. Particular efforts were made to explain the significance of the reorganization, the new democratic method of appointing judges, the people's power of referendum, the greatly expanded power of the Supreme Court, which is primarily responsible for ensuring the establishment of government by law, and the importance of the Supreme Court's power to review the constitutionality of all laws, regulations or official acts. Especially effective were motion pictures which fully described the operation of a democratic court system and the manner in which courts operate to safeguard the people's rights.

c. Special Political Education Projects. In addition to all the generalized programs which have been described, a great number of special political education projects were developed, ranging from general advice concerning materials contained in a basic volume on the Constitution for use in the nation's schools to assistance in getting widespread publicity for reports of Diet committees.

"The Story of the New Constitution", simply and concretely written in a manner understandable to young children, was distributed in the millions of copies to the nation's schools, which are using the book as the text for an intensive course of study. The volume explains provisions of the new Constitution and discusses their meaning to the average citizen of Japan.

Assistance was given the Hoarded Goods Committee of the first National Diet in planning news coverage for the Committee's report. The press conferences, during which the report was made public, was extensively reported by all newspapers and magazines. Proceedings of the press conference were transcribed for radio and recorded by the newsreel companies for distribution to all theaters of the nation.

The following listing of radio programs during the month of April illustrates one phase of the overall program concerning general political education:

Date	Time	Program	Contents of Program	Type of Presentation	
Apr 1,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	Political Education of Women	Roundtable	(30)
Apr 5,1948	2000-2030	Farm Hour	Political Information and Education	Q & A	
Apr 8,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	Democratization of Women (Women's Day)	Talk	(8)
Apr 11,1948	2030-2100	Report to the Nation	Political Information and Education	Documentary	(7)
Apr 12,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	Liberation of Women in Daily Life	Dialogue	(15)
Apr 13,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	New Wage System for Women	Talk	(10)
Apr 14,1948	2000-2030	March of Time	The New Police	Documentary	(30)
Apr 17,1948	2000-2030	Family Hour	Criminal Code	Talk	(10)
Apr 17,1948	2000-2030	Family Hour	Social Security in the Home	Talk	(20)
Apr 19,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	Current Political Picture	Talk	(12)
Apr 19,1948	2000-2030	Farm Hour	"Be a Participant and not a Spectator in Politics"	(Uncle Kokichi)	
Apr 20,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	Women Leaders in the World	Undecided	(12)
Apr 22,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	Organization of Housewives	Talk	(10)
Apr 24,1948	2000-2030	Family Hour	Civil Code - The Eldest Son	Talk	(10)

Apr 25,1948	2030-2100	Report to the Nation	Political Review	Documentary	
Apr 26,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	Current Topics	Talk	(10)
Apr 27,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	Political Information and Education	Undecided	(15)
Apr 29,1948	1300-1400	Women's Hour	The Working Woman	Talk	(10)
Undecided (Several Dates)	2145-2200	Commentary	Political Information and Education	Talk	(10)
Several Dates	1815-1830 (2nd Trans.)	Editorials	Current Social Problems	Talk	(15)

In an effort to increase the effectiveness of motion pictures as an information dissemination media, CI&E procured 2,000 16-millimeter movie projectors and a large number of slide projectors which were strategically dispersed throughout Japan. Utilization of this equipment has made it possible to show education movies and film strips in all communities in Japan. Reports from Military Government units in the field indicate that these films have occasioned tremendous interest.

IV. LEAGUE OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

The Headquarters cooperated with Diet members in establishing the League of Political Education for Democracy, which was formally organized during Diet ceremonies in August 1947. One hundred and twenty directors were appointed, 90 of them Diet members representing all parties, 30 representatives of film, theatrical, and publishing companies.

It was not until December, however, that the Diet appropriated funds to the League. In the interim a general plan of operation was formulated and committees were organized to develop various phases of the League's program.

The Diet appropriated ¥26,000,000 for six months' operation by the League, but part of this was to be used to wind up affairs of the Constitution Popularization Society, scheduled for dissolution on December 31, 1947.

Dissolution of the Society was recommended by Komakichi Matsuoka, Speaker of the House of Representatives and president of both the Society and the League, when it became apparent that the functions of the two organizations were in some degree duplicative. To improve efficiency the Society agreed in November to assign its functions to the League and to disband.

From the beginning the League was faced with many difficulties which interfered with the launching of a constructive program, among them:

1. The large number of directors proved too unwieldy for efficient operation.

2. Non-Diet members felt too out-numbered to take an active interest.

3. Diet members tended to appoint as members of the working staff politically friendly individuals with little regard for their qualifications.

4. Political considerations received too much consideration in program planning.

5. A great deal of time was devoted to terminating affairs of the Society

and in arranging for continuance of certain of its projects.

6. Differences of opinion existed concerning the character of the program to be undertaken.

Despite these difficulties, the working staff of the League made a serious attempt to produce ideas and to initiate programs proposed by the various standing committees -- on press and publications, motion pictures, theatricals, kamishibai, radio, research, and public meetings. However, the staff's administrative inexperience and lack of familiarity with the materials and with public relations techniques caused delays. Because of this general uncertainty the League tended to wait for various groups to request specific projects with the result that many of its activities were unintegrated, "one-shot" affairs.

Although the League was organized to undertake a national mass education program, differences of opinion existed concerning the manner in which such a program should be developed. Some thought it would be best to train or indoctrinate an "elite" -- teachers, professors, government and political leaders, intellectuals, who eventually would instruct the people of the nation. Others considered it necessary more literally to interpret the League's statement of purpose -- and to devote its facilities to mass education projects.

From month to month, however, the scope of the League's program was expanded: lecture meetings, in which prominent educators, scholars, political and government leaders participated, were held in major cities; some excellent kamishibai were prepared for dissemination through community halls and schools; a series of books describing and commenting on important legislation enacted during the first national Diet session was published and distributed to schools,

libraries, editors, legislators, national and local government officials, judges, procurators, etc.; arrangements were made with movie producers to incorporate in documentary films and newsreels materials of importance to the achievement of democratic objectives in Japan.

Nevertheless, some confusion concerning program objectives continued to exist. As a consequence, Government Section and Civil Information and Education Section accepted the League's invitation to participate more actively in the operation of the League, thereby modifying the practice of serving merely as general advisors. It was made clear, however, that the Headquarters would gradually withdraw its participation as the League's program developed and became fully operative. Accordingly, a long series of conferences with League officers and staff members was initiated. As a result, organization of the League was revised to permit more efficient operation and to insure integration of the various components of the organization's program. The basic program was also revised to broaden its appeal and more effectively to utilize modern public relations techniques.

Directors of the renovated League formulated a long-range program providing for comprehensive presentation of basic political education materials by means of press and publications, radio, movies, theatricals, posters, exhibits, kamishibai, a national series of lecture meetings, etc. Various phases of the program were developed by individual divisions of the League, but individual components were integrated into a comprehensive program designed to reach the "grass roots" of the nation.

The League's program is too comprehensive to permit detailed description in this history. Suffice to report that all the techniques noted in the preceding paragraph are being utilized to develop individual, but integrated and related, programs concerning all aspects of the new constitution and the revolutionized governmental, economic, and social structure necessitated by its

full implementation. These programs concern the assignment of sovereignty to the people, and the resulting need for government decentralization, local government autonomy, reform of the police system, elimination and destruction of feudal or ultranationalistic influences, reform of the family system, and all important aspects of the Civil, Criminal, and procedural codes.

And these programs are being developed in such a manner as to reach all the people of Japan -- by national radio programs, nationally distributed movies, exhibits, kamishibai, theatrical productions, the publication and mass distribution of books, pamphlets and newspapers, and nationally scheduled lecturers. The League is also making political education materials available to schools and has initiated a series of adult education courses, which are being presented through more than 2,000 community centers throughout the country.

Headquarters participation in the League's work is being withdrawn as its program develops. Within the near future assistance will be limited to specific technical advice requested by the League.

V. INFORMATION AGENCIES ESTABLISHED IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES

The completely autocratic character of the Japanese state in the period prior to the surrender and the virtual non-existence of a public relations or advertising industry rendered difficult the task of informing the people, by indigenous means, of the tremendous social, political, and economic reforms of the Occupation.

Convinced that preservation of these reforms depends in large measure on the people's knowledge and understanding of them, Civil Information and Education Section, with some assistance from Government Section, encouraged the establishment of information agencies in the national government ministries. Provision was also made for the creation of information agencies to serve prefectural governments.

The activities of these information offices, specifically defined in regulations governing their operation, are limited to the performance of duties assigned by the ministries or local governments served. Political activity or partisanship is specifically forbidden as is any attempt to "sell" a program of the government. In the case of the information office in the Attorney General's Office, for example, functions are strictly limited to the transmittal -- by means of all media -- of information concerning the activities of procurators, measures taken to safeguard civil liberties, provisions of the Civil, Criminal, and procedural codes.

Experienced and trained public relations personnel to staff these offices were unavailable and so the Headquarters undertook the task of helping to train personnel. Operation of these agencies is being observed over an extended period in order to suggest techniques and procedures, and the effective utilization of media.

VI. LIAISON WITH MILITARY GOVERNMENT

In order to give Military Government teams first-hand information concerning the many changes and reforms in the functioning and activity of the Japanese government, the Section sponsored two series of regional conferences and published a weekly publication "Government News".

During August 1947 two teams of Government Section representatives visited the Tokyo-Kanagawa, Kanto, Kinki, Tokai-Hokuriku, Hokkaido, Tohoku, Kyushu, Chugoku and Shikoku Military Government Regional Headquarters to confer with the legal and government officers of all prefectures. Subjects discussed included "National Government", "The Relationship of National and Local Governments", "Local Government", "Reform of the Judicial and Legal System", and "The Purge". Government Section personnel answered general questions relating to each of these subjects, as well as questions relating to specific local problems.

The conferences proved so useful that they were repeated during October 1947. Government Section's heavy work schedule made it impossible to send personnel into the field to participate in projected subsequent conferences.

The first issue of Government News was published on September 17, 1947 and was distributed weekly thereafter to Military Government teams. Its purpose was to supply timely information on (1) changes in procedures in national and local governments; (2) objectives and implementation of the purge program; (3) court and legal reforms; (4) revisions of the Civil Code, the Criminal Code and the procedural codes, including specific illustrations of changed procedures; and (5) pending and enacted legislation. The periodical also included news reports illustrating development of the democratic process in Japan.

Epilogue

Epilogue

"Three years have now passed since in Tokyo Bay on the quarterdeck of the Missouri the major nations of the world entered into solemn covenants to erect upon Japanese soil a bastion to the democratic concept. They were actuated by a singleness of purpose to see restored to their respective peoples, exhausted by the trial of war, the blessings of a secure peace.

"That bastion to the democratic concept is now in the advanced stages of erection but the singleness of purpose among the nations there represented no longer exists, and the universal longing for world tranquility has not been translated into effective actuality. All peoples without exception desire peace but the mutual misunderstandings, the blind misconceptions, the general frailties and inadequacies of the human being have made it impossible as yet for him to devise the mechanical processes to achieve his noble purpose. The council tables of the world have failed to produce a just resolution of vital issues among nations and men, and fear grips the peoples of many lands as the specter of war yet hovers over the earth.

"During these three years the Japanese people have done their part, and, in the existing circumstances, done it well. This, despite the austerity of life in the wake of the tragedy of war and disaster and the ideological clash which impinges upon all mankind. For they have here, in a confused and bewildered world, a calm and well ordered society dedicated to the sanctity of peace. Flanked by the newly born Korean Republic and that stalwart land of the Filipino patriot, Japan now forms a sturdy pillar in a triangular buttress exemplifying before all of the peoples of the East the wisdom of the democratic concept.

"There need be no fear concerning the future pattern of Japanese life for the Japanese people have fully demonstrated both their will and their capacity to absorb into their own culture sound ideas, well tested in the crucible of Western experience, in lieu of those concepts responsive to the myths and legends which have so handicapped their past. And today those practical weapons needed to repel the totalitarian advance -- liberty, dignity and opportunity -- now safely rest in every Japanese hand, and the nation has thereby become an asset upon which the free world may confidently count. It stands as an oasis of relative calm in a troubled and turbulent universe.

"Progress of the past three years thus offer striking proof that the impelling need of modern society lies in the moral recrudescence of the peoples of the earth, as to whom, regardless of racial derivation, nationalistic individuality, or geographic location, there exists no dissimilarity whatsoever in hopes and aspirations and ultimate human objectives. It demonstrates that the peoples of the East and the peoples of the West are motivated by these identical basic instincts, and that their interests lie in the attainment of that cultural blend, as between East and West, best calculate to advance the human welfare. It points with unmistakable clarity to the fallacy of the oft-expressed dogma that the East and the West are separated by such impenetrable social, cultural and racial distinctions as to render impossible the absorption by the one of the ideas and concepts of the other. It emphasized again the immutable truism that sound ideas cannot be stopped.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR"