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Section (Kōtō Keisatsu-ka) of the prefectural Police Division (Keisatsu-bu or Keimu-bu) was specifically empowered with the duty of supervising campaigns and elections within the prefecture, but in 1935 this section was abolished because of proof of partisan activity. Its functions, however, continued to be performed by the prefectural police.⁶²

Under the 1925 and 1934 laws, important duties directly concerned with the administration of candidature and elections were delegated to the prefectural governors and municipal heads. These duties included the establishment of voting districts in cities, the preparation of electoral lists, the supervision of balloting, the counting of votes, the publication of election expenses, and the holding of substitutional or by-elections.

C. Electoral Districts

The law of 1925 provided for a system of "medium size" election districts, which was retained under the law of 1934. The country was divided into 122 of such districts,⁶³ from each of which three to five candidates were to be elected; each⁶⁴ elector was to vote for only one candidate however. Under this system of multi-membered constituencies, one seat in the House of Representatives of the Diet was apportioned to every 120,000 of the population. The system created was, therefore, a compromise between the large electoral districts of the 1900 law and the small ones found under both the 1889 and the 1919 act. Other features of the 1925 law included the separation of

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cities from rural constituencies and the division of each large city into a number of small districts. As a result, there were fifty-three districts which elected three members, thirty-eight which elected four, and thirty-one which elected five, for a total of 466 seats.⁶⁵

Electoral lists (Senkyo jinmeibō) of those males qualified to vote are prepared annually by the city and town mayors by 15 September⁶⁶ and are exhibited publicly for a period of fifteen days beginning on 5 November.⁶⁷ Objections are heard and acted upon by the district voting supervisor,⁶⁸ and a final corrected list is posted by 20 December.⁶⁹

D. Qualifications for Participation

1. Qualifications for Voting

The franchise right in Japan is restricted to male Japanese subjects, twenty-five years of age and over,⁷⁰ who have resided within their respective electoral districts for at least six months prior to the compilation of the electoral list.⁷¹

Incompetents, bankrupts, vagabonds, those "who receive public or private aid or relief for their living," convicts, former convicts for a limited period following release from confinement, the heads of noble houses, and members of the Army and Navy on active service are denied suffrage.⁷²

Interpretation of the somewhat loose provision regarding persons receiving charity is left to the prefectural governor.⁷³

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Table 3. FIXED NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES IN JAPAN

(5 May 1945)

Prefecture	Electoral Districts	No. of Members	Prefecture	Electoral Districts	No. of Members
Tōkyō	7	31	Yamagata	2	8
Kyōto	3	11	Akita	2	7
Ōsaka	6	21	Fukui	1	5
Kanagawa	3	11	Ishikawa	2	6
Hyōgo	3	11	Toyama	2	6
Nagasaki	2	9	Tottori	1	4
Niigata	4	15	Shimane	2	6
Saitama	3	11	Okayama	2	10
Gunma	2	9	Hiroshima	3	10
Chiba	3	11	Yamaguchi	2	9
Ibaraki	3	11	Wakayama	2	6
Tochigi	2	9	Tokushima	2	6
Nara	1	5	Kagawa	2	6
Mie	2	9	Ehime	3	9
Aichi	5	17	Kōchi	2	6
Shizuoka	3	13	Fukuoka	4	18
Yamanashi	1	5	Ōita	2	7
Shiga	1	5	Saga	2	6
Gifu	3	9	Kumamoto	2	10
Nagano	4	13	Miyazaki	1	5
Miyagi	2	8	Kagoshima	3	12
Fukushima	3	11	Okinawa	1	5
Iwate	2	7	Hokkaidō	5	20
Aomori	2	6	TOTAL		466
					(sic)

Source: Asahi Nenkan, 1944 pp. 115-116.

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2. Qualifications for Holding Office. Eligibility to office is restricted to male Japanese subjects, thirty years of age and over, who reside in the districts they desire to represent.⁷⁴ The list of those ineligible to hold office is almost identical with the list of those ineligible for the franchise, except that the former also excludes the following classes of judicial officers and "officials:" officials in the Imperial Household Ministry, judicial officials in the governments of Korea, Formosa, Kwantung Province, and the South Sea Islands, judicial officials of the Army and Navy, the president and councilors of the Court of Administrative Litigation, auditors, revenue officials, and police officials.⁷⁵ Moreover, officers engaged in the management of an election are ineligible to run for office within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective offices.⁷⁶ The 1934 law also stipulated that certain other "officials," with seven exceptions, could not "combine their offices with membership in the House of Representatives."⁷⁷ On 12 June 1945, however, a bill permitting members of the Lower House to hold other government offices concurrently was introduced and received favorable comment in the Diet and from the press.⁷⁸ It is not known whether it became law.

E. Nominations

The primary election or nominating convention does not exist in the Japanese party system. Any person desirous

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of becoming a candidate for office or of recommending another for candidacy is required to notify his district election chairman of that intention between the date of publication of the election notice and the seventh the day before balloting.⁷⁹ In addition, two thousand yen in cash or national bonds must be deposited as security. This sum is forfeited to the state if the unsuccessful aspirant fails to receive more than one-tenth of the total number of votes divided by the number of contested seats in that election district, or if he resigns from candidature within ten days of election.⁸⁰

F. Campaigning

The legal definition of permissible activities during an election campaign is found, first, in the provisions of the election law; second, in the ordinances promulgated for the enforcement of the law; and finally, in a number of regulations that have been issued from time to time by the Home Affairs Ministry.

The law permits each candidate to maintain only one election office (senkyo jimusho), but in certain districts, the prefectural governor has the power to allow a maximum of three.⁸¹ The candidate is required either to appoint an "election manager" (senkyo jimuchō) or act in that capacity himself.⁸² As additional support, he can enlist the services of not more than twenty official electioneers, who constitute an "election committee" (senkyo iin);⁸³ all

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of these electioneers must be qualified voters.⁸⁴ The names of the manager and the committeemen are to be registered with the police, and specially prescribed badges must be worn by them at all times.⁸⁵ They alone are allowed to conduct the aspirant's campaign, for which services, however, only the election committee can receive compensation. Letters of recommendation (suisenjō) are allowed. In addition, anyone is at liberty to make what is called a "recommendation speech" (enzetsu),⁸⁶ but the number of such speakers at a meeting cannot exceed four.⁸⁷ These speakers and the candidate's manager are both entitled to expense money.⁸⁸ The law also grants free distribution by the post office of one letter containing a statement of qualifications and platform by each candidate or by his manager to every elector in the constituency.⁸⁹

The aspirant in Japan is also hedged about in his methods of campaigning. Violations punishable by law include door-to-door canvassing by the aspirant or his agent; sending individual letters of appeal; telephoning voters to recommend local candidates to their consideration;⁹⁰ the use of more than a definitely limited number and type of posters and other literature;⁹¹ and the expenditure of more than a fixed sum per voter.⁹² Voters cannot be entertained with food or amusement during the campaign, and post-election celebrations in the form of parades, bonfires, and the ringing of bells are also forbidden.⁹³

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Political meetings are permitted, but methods of publicizing such occasions are stringently limited. Notification of the speeches to be given can be made through newspaper advertisements, handbills, circular letters, posters, and notice boards. The circular letters are not to be printed in more than two colors and can state only the name of the candidate, his party, and the fact that he will make a speech at some specified place.⁹⁴ Handbills, similarly restricted in content, are limited in size to one foot by seven inches, and posters to three and one-tenth feet by two and one-tenth feet, with the name and address of the distributor clearly designated.⁹⁵ Each candidate is allowed to display a maximum of thirty posters per meeting,⁹⁶ all bearing the police seal of approval.⁹⁷ These posters, and name cards announcing meetings, may be printed in black and white only.⁹⁸ Distribution of any of the above by airplane or balloon is prohibited.⁹⁹

Notice boards used for general campaign purposes cannot exceed nine feet by two, and the characters must be printed in black on a white background. Each candidate is allowed no more than 150 of such boards, which carry only his name and party, for the entire campaign.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, posters and notice boards must be displayed at a fixed distance from the campaign office.¹⁰¹

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G. Election Finance

The election law of 1925 prescribed that the expense of the election campaign for each candidate could not exceed the amount obtained when the total number of electors registered on the final electoral list, divided by the number of members to be elected in the district, is multiplied by forty sen.¹⁰² It was estimated that each aspirant was thus permitted to spend a maximum of about 12,000 yen for election.¹⁰³ The fixed sum allowed for each voter was reduced to thirty sen by the 1934 legislation, thus limiting the candidate's fund to approximately 10,000 yen. This amount varied, however, with the size of the constituency.¹⁰⁴

Campaign funds may be disbursed only by the election manager or with his consent.¹⁰⁵ The manager is required to record all expenses, with some exceptions. His accounts must be submitted within two weeks after election day to the prefectural governor through the local police or, in Tōkyō, to the Superintendent General of the Metropolitan Police Board (Keishi-sōkan). The accounts are then made public by these officials.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the manager must retain his account book and other documents dealing with campaign expenses for one year, during which period his accounts are subject to police inspection.¹⁰⁷ Expenditures which candidates are not required to enter in the official accounts include transportation fees, the amounts for the adjustment of the remaining business of an election campaign after the date of election,

and certain other items incurred in connection with the activities of election officials.¹⁰⁸ All other obligations incurred, however, are to be regarded as expenses.¹⁰⁹

Table IV. ELECTION EXPENSES OF PROF. ABE ISOO OF SHAKAI MINSHUTO PARTY, 1928 ELECTION

Rent of Telephones	¥ 94.40
Telegraphic Charges	16.91
Postage	72.17
Train Fare	250.15
Motor Car Fare	249.40
Lodging charges for Canvassers	803.96
House Rent (1 election office)	162.48
Meeting Place Charges	565.80
Wages	610.22
Advertisement Cost	1,235.19
Miscellaneous Expenses	654.22
Writing Materials	609.17
Total	<u>¥ 5,610.38</u>

Source: Japan Chronicle, 8 March 1928, p. 282.

H. Mechanics of Voting

1. Balloting. The date of a general election is announced twenty-five days beforehand by Imperial ordinance.¹¹⁰

The law provides that general elections must be held within five days of the expiration of the concluding Diet session; in the case of dissolution, a special election is required within thirty days.¹¹¹

Balloting takes place in the city, town, and township offices (shi-yakusho, machi-yakuba, and mura-yakuba, respectively) and schools,¹¹² the polls (tōhyōjō) being open from seven in the morning until six o'clock at night.¹¹³ Each qualified voter receives a numbered election notice, delivered by hand, informing him of the polls nearest his home where his vote is to be

recorded.¹¹⁴ When the forms are presented to the recording official at the balloting place, the elector in exchange receives a blank piece of paper, upon which, in secret, he writes the name of a single candidate.¹¹⁵ He may use Japanese, Chinese, or Korean characters, Japanese phonetic symbols (kana), Korean phonetic symbols making Japanese sounds, romaji, or braille, but any mistake in writing the ballot renders it worthless.¹¹⁶ After casting his vote, the elector returns to the desk of the recording official, where, in the presence of the police, he folds the ballot and inserts it in the ballot box (tōhyōbako).

Those incapacitated by illness or "other recognized circumstances" may fill out ballots at home and send them to the polls. Moreover, persons who are away from home on election day may vote by making arrangements with the authorities to have their ballots cast by proxy by a member of their family.¹¹⁷

2. Supervision of Voting. The city and town mayors and the township headmen, in the capacity of "voting overseers" (tōhyō kanrisha), supervise balloting and the polls.¹¹⁸ In addition, each candidate is entitled to appoint an election inspector (tōhyō tachiainin) for each district.¹¹⁹ The latter's functions include the identification of qualified voters and the duty of passing upon and affixing his name to the voting minutes prepared and signed by the voting overseer.

Under the law, all votes cast at different polling stations in the cities are counted separately by the mayors, on behalf

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of the prefectural government. In the towns and townships this same function is performed by prefectural officials appointed by the governor.¹²⁰ To the offices of these "counting overseers" are sent the sealed ballot boxes, the voting minutes, and the electoral lists. There, on the following day, in the presence of the candidates' watchers (kaihyō tachiainin),¹²¹ to whom each aspirant is also entitled, the officials open the boxes and record the total number of ballots and voters.¹²² Questionable forms are sorted out, and the minutes kept of the counting process, together with those of the voting, are preserved during the tenure of the members affected.¹²³

Reports of the ballot count are then forwarded to the proper election judge (senkyochō),¹²⁴ an official appointed from among the mayors and prefectural officials of each district by the prefectural governor. The election board (senkyo-kai)¹²⁵ selected by the judge convenes a special meeting at the prefectural or city office for the purpose of examining the reports of the counting overseers. Both watchers and inspectors as well as interested voters may attend. Minutes are again kept of the proceedings, and, after being signed by the election officials, are preserved with the other election documents.¹²⁶

Candidates with the highest pluralities within the district up to the number of seats to be filled are declared elected, provided each has received at least the quotient obtained by dividing the total vote of the district by the number of seats to be filled plus one.¹²⁷ Persons elected must notify the judge

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of their acceptance; failure to do so within twenty days implies a declination.¹²⁸ The law also provides that if a successful candidate dies, declines office, or if his election is invalidated, the successor is to be chosen from among those candidates who have the required quota at an election meeting, presumably attended by the same persons who examined the original voting results.¹²⁹ Usually the aspirant with the next highest plurality is chosen, but in case of a tie, age is the determining factor.¹³⁰

By-elections take place only after two vacancies have occurred within a given district. Such elections must take place within twenty days after the prefectural governor receives notice that the second vacancy has occurred. Notice of the date of the by-election must be given at least fourteen days beforehand by the governor.¹³¹ Persons elected to fill such vacancies hold the unexpired terms of their predecessors.¹³²

I. Election Offenses and Disputes

1. Legal Provisions for Offenses. The election law is detailed in its enumeration of offenses and corresponding penalties. Invalidation of a candidate's election, prohibition to vote or to be a candidate, fines ranging up to ten thousand yen, and imprisonment for as long as seven years are the principal penalties provided. Prohibited actions are numerous, including gifts or promises of gifts, money, goods, employment, or influence; the use of violence, intimidation, or obstruction; violation, or attempted violation, of the secrecy of the ballot; tampering with ballot boxes or manipulation of votes; carrying

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deadly weapons; conducting parades or other forms of display; instigation of others to illegal practices; publication of falsehoods concerning a candidate; and illegal voting. In addition, election or campaign officials are held responsible for failure or willful neglect in the performance of their duties.¹³³

A new and important provision with respect to penalties was added by the 1934 law. Under this provision, the candidate is held responsible for offenses committed by his election manager or other persons in charge of his campaign. In such a situation, where the successful candidate's manager is convicted, the election of the candidate is invalidated and he is unseated. He is absolved, however, if he can prove that he observed proper caution under the circumstances when selecting his manager or that he was ignorant of the fact that a person other than the legal manager was superintending his election campaign.¹³⁴ If the elected person is unseated, the highest unsuccessful candidate in the district is automatically returned, provided, however, that the offender is convicted of the offense charged within one year after the election.¹³⁵ In many such cases, final judgment was not secured within the time limit set, chiefly because of the deliberate attempts on the part of the accused to prolong the trial and delay the decision.

The 1934 law also stipulated that both parties to the purchase of a vote, if convicted, were to have all civic rights suspended for five years, and a repetition of this same offense by either party doubled the penalty imposed.¹³⁶

2. Election Disputes. Any elector or candidate who questions the validity of an election may institute a legal suit against the election chairman¹³⁷ and/or against the successful candidate¹³⁸ in the Supreme Court (Daishin-in) within thirty days after the date of the election. If the law is deemed to have been violated, the court is empowered to void the election either in whole or in part, provided the violation affected the returns.¹³⁹

Footnotes

1. Uyehara, G.E., Political Development of Japan, p. 169; Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 253.
2. For further discussion of early electoral systems, See: Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, New Series II, pp. 5-35; Uyehara, G.E. Political Development of Japan, pp. 168-179; Sato, H., Democracy and the Japanese Government, pp. 34-40.
3. The National Students' League presented a petition to the Emperor in 1919, recalling the Imperial promise of 1868 "to consult widely and to transact state affairs in accordance with public opinion" and strongly urged adoption of universal manhood suffrage. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 253.
4. Sato, H., Democracy and the Japanese Government, pp. 34-40.
5. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 254.
6. Pacific Affairs, Vol. 3, Sept. 1930, p. 913; American Political Science Review, Vol. 20 May 1926, pp. 392-395; Japan Advertiser 20 Feb. 1928, p. 1; Japan Chronicle, 23 Feb. 1928, p. 221.
7. Qualified electors for the 1928 election totalled 12,409,078. Dōmei Jiji Nenkan, 1943, pp. 95-96.
8. The number of qualified voters for the 1936 election was 14,303,780. Ibid.
9. Japan Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1936, p. 159.
10. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 25.
11. Japan Chronicle, 22 May 1930, p. 538. Provision has recently been made to extend the suffrage to women, see n. 61.
12. Ibid. 12 March 1925, pp. 334-338; 12 March 1931, p. 274; Trans-Pacific, 21 March 1935, p. 12; Federal Communication Commission Daily Report, 11 Sept. 1945, hereafter referred to as FCC, DR.
13. For a description of the legal provisions governing the conduct of elections, see Part III.
14. In the 1928 election, for example, 70.6 percent of the official Seiyukai candidates were elected, while 15 percent of the unofficial aspirants were successful. The corresponding Minseito percentages were 72.5 and 24.6. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 256.
15. Washio, S., "The Recent Election," Japan Advertiser, 5 March 1930, p. 4; Nakano, S., "The Wholesale Vote Trade," Ibid. 15 Jan. 1930 p. 4.
16. Careful management concerning this matter was required of the political managers, for naturally the most popular aspirant on the slate could draw too many votes, and the rest of the ticket might be sacrificed to his popularity.

17. Washio, S, "The Recent Election," Japan Advertiser, 5 March 1930, p. 4; "In the Constituencies," Ibid., 28 Jan. 1930, p. 4.
18. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, pp. 262-263.
19. In the 1928 election, 3,780 political meetings were held in Tokyo with an attendance of 1,140,273. In the 1930 election, 2,150,370 people attended 5,654 meetings in Tokyo. Japan Advertiser, 26 Feb. 1930, p. 4.
20. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 265.
21. Japan Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1936, p. 158.
22. "The largest part of the money is contributed by the great business establishments such as Mitsui, Mitsuibishi, Yasuda, Okura, and others." Ibid., p. 260. In 1930, one Mitsui firm alone contributed 450,000 yen to the funds of one party. Japan Advertiser, 28 Jan. 1930, p. 63.
23. Ibid., 28 Feb. 1930, p. 64.
24. Chuō Kōron, Feb. 1930, p. 186.
25. Wildes, Harry E., Japan in Crisis, p. 158.
26. "Voters in Ibaragi prefecture have been caught by one candidate there, who extensively defrauded country depositors through the creation of savings unions. He then bought votes on a large scale and built roads and schools to capture votes....Okayama prefecture was also noted for this type of collective bargaining. Voters there passed a resolution to vote for candidates who offered to build schools and make roads." Japan Advertiser, 15 Jan. 1930, p. 4.
27. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 269.
28. Other violations in addition to vote buying, however, were common. In the 1928 general election 723 cases of electioneering by outsiders were reported. Calls on voters and personal interviews with voters brought many into trouble, 227 persons standing convicted of these charges. Seventy-four were charged with the obstruction of meetings and speeches. Those who were prosecuted for offenses against the Home Ministry order for the control of election literature and posters were rather few (63). Japan Chronicle, 22 March 1928, p. 347.
29. Ibid., 14 August 1924, p. 230.
30. Examples of this are numerous. For instance, when in November 1930, the Zenkoku Taishuto (National Masses Party) held a general meeting in Ōsaka, which 1,000 persons attended, it was prevented by the police from discussing the government's economic program. A like fate was experienced by a meeting of the party in Tōkyō. A month later, the party sought to hold its annual meeting in Tōkyō. The police seized all documents,

- stopping the opening speech of the chief secretary and the reading of all branch reports, arrested several delegates, dragged a number of speakers from the platform, and finally broke up the meeting. In the same month the police broke up the annual meeting of the Rōnōtō (Labor-Farmer Party) after bloodshed and the arrest of fifty people. Japan Chronicle, 6 Nov. 1930 p. 545; 11 Dec. 1930, p. 658; 1 Jan. 1931, pp. 9-10.
31. Japan Advertiser, 26 Feb. 1930, p. 4.
 32. After much controversy, the Peace Preservation Act (better known as the Dangerous Thoughts Law) was passed by the Diet on 19 March 1925. Japan Chronicle, 23 April 1925, p. 430.
 33. Pacific Affairs, Vol. 3, Sept. 1930, p. 913.
 34. Trans-Pacific, 20 Dec. 1934, p. 15.
 35. Japan Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1936, p. 158.
 36. Fahs, C.B., Government in Japan, p. 74.
 37. Japan Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1936, p. 64.
 38. Ibid., 6 Feb. 1936, p. 158; 27 Feb. 1936, p. 263.
 39. Ibid., 5 March 1936, p. 384.
 40. Ibid., 22 April 1937, p. 482.
 41. FCC DR, 11 May 1942.
 42. Japan Advertiser, 1 Feb. 1928, p. 4.
 43. Japan Chronicle, 5 March 1936, p. 384.
 44. Trans-Pacific, 15 April 1937, p. 10.
 45. Law of 1934, Art. CXII, Sec. 2.
 46. Japan Chronicle, 15 August 1935, p. 210.
 47. Ibid., 5 Sept. 1935, p. 311.
 48. Trans-Pacific, 15 April 1937, p. 10. Members of the Imperial Ex-Servicemen's Society were instructed by the Army's Ōsaka Regimental Commander with reference to voting in the 1937 election. They were told to "vote for a candidate who realizes the necessity of strengthening the national defense" and "in case there are no candidates you can honestly support, renounce your right to vote." Japan Chronicle, 15 April 1937, pp. 447-448.
 49. All political parties and organizations had either dissolved or had been involuntarily liquidated by 12 October 1940 when the Imperial Rule Assistance Association was inaugurated. Latter hereafter referred to as the IRAA.
 50. FCC, DR, 26 March 1942.
 51. Far Eastern Survey, Vol. XI, 18 May 1942, pp. 115-116.
 52. FCC, DR, 7 April 1942; Nippon Kokumin Undō Nanshin, Tokyo, Vol. 1 20 August 1943, pp. 93-107.
 53. FCC, DR, 23 April 1942.
 54. Ibid., 27 Feb. 1942.
 55. Dōmei Jiji Nenkan, 1943, p. 96.
 56. The total number of qualified voters in the 1942 election was 14,594,958. The number who actually cast ballots in that election totalled 12,135,217. FCC, DR, 3 May 1942.

57. FCC, Dōmei to Home Audience, 25 April 1942.
58. FCC, DR, 19 Feb. 1943.
59. Ibid., 14 Sept. 1945.
60. On 15 October 1945 the Cabinet decided that the suffrage right should be extended to men and women of twenty years of age and above. The necessary bill making these changes will be introduced at the next Diet session. Ibid., 15 Oct. 1945.
61. The Administration Section (Gyōsei-ka) of the Home Ministry's Local Bureau (Chihō-kyoku) is charged with matters pertaining to the organization and administration of Diet elections -- Shokuin Roku, 1943, p. 9. The Home Affairs Ministry, the most important organ for the control of Japan's internal, political life, has immediate jurisdiction over the nation's police; the prefectural governors, and through them all other local officials; and the maintenance of national shrines -- OSS, R & A # 1939 "Japan, Government and Administration", 3 July 1944, p. 13.
62. Japan Chronicle, 15 August 1935, p. 210.
63. Ibid., 5 March 1925, p. 303.
64. Pacific Affairs, Vol. 3, September 1930, p. 913.
65. Proceedings of Tōkyō Imperial Academy, Vol. 4, 1928, p. 445.
66. Law of 1934, Art. XII, Secs. 1-3.
67. Ibid., Art. XIII.
68. Ibid., Arts. XIV - XVI.
69. Ibid., Art. XVII, Sec. 1.
70. Law of 1934, Art. V, Sec. 1. See also footnote 61.
71. Ibid., Art. XII, Sec. 1. The 1925 law required residence for at least one year prior to the compilation of the electoral lists.
72. Ibid., Art. VI, Secs. 1-7.
73. Wildes, Harry E., Japan in Crisis, p. 155.
74. Law of 1934, Art. V, Sec. 2.
75. Ibid., Art. IX.
76. Ibid., Art. VIII.
77. The seven classes of officials excepted by Art. X of the 1934 act are:
- a. Cabinet Ministers
 - b. Chief Secretary of the Cabinet
 - c. President of the Bureau of Legislation
 - d. Parliamentary Undersecretaries of all ministries
 - e. Councillors of all ministries
 - f. Private secretaries of the premier
 - g. Private secretaries of all ministries
78. FCC, DR, 12 June 1945.
79. Law of 1934, Art. LXVII, Sec. 1. This same official is known as the "judge of elections" in most states of the United States. See Section G, 2 of Part II below.
80. Law of 1934, Art. LXVIII, Secs. 1-3.
81. Law of 1934, Art. XC, Sec. 1 Art. XCI stipulates that election offices cannot be maintained within 360 yards of the polls.

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82. Ibid., Art. LXXXVIII, Sec. 1.
83. Ibid., Art. XCIII. The law also provides, however, that "In case of any changes, the number shall not exceed fifty." In addition to the committeemen allowed each candidate, thirty romusha "Workers" may be hired each day presumably to carry on the menial tasks, such as hanging posters, running errands, etc.
84. Ibid., Art. XCIX.
85. Ministry of Home Affairs Ordinance #36, Chapter II, Art. III, 12 December 1934, Nippon Horei Zensho, p. 47.
86. Law of 1934, Art. XCVI. The government does not forbid its ministers to write letters of recommendation, in their personal capacity, on behalf of candidates -- Japan Chronicle, 15 April 1937, p. 449.
87. Law of 1934, Art. XCVIII, Sec. 3.
88. Ibid., Art. XCVII.
89. Ibid., Art. CXL, Sec. 1.
90. Ibid., Art. XCVIII, Secs 1-2. In April 1937 the regulations forbidding successful or unsuccessful candidates from thanking their friends for congratulations tendered or sympathies expressed, either by personal calls, by telephone, or in printed letters was removed by the Home Affairs Ministry -- Japan Chronicle, 22 April 1937, p. 479.
91. Law of 1934, Art. C.
92. See Section G below.
93. Law of 1934, Art. CXXIV.
94. Ministry of Home Affairs Ordinance #36, Art. VII, 12 December 1934, Nippon Horei Zensho, p. 47.
95. Ibid., Art. VI, Sec. 1
96. Ibid., Art. VIII.
97. Ibid., Art. XII.
98. Ibid., Art. VI, Sec. 2.
99. Ibid., Art. V, Sec. 4.
100. Ibid., Art. XI.
101. Ibid., Art. II, Sec. 2 provides that not more than two can be posted within 109 metres from the entrance to the area where the campaign office is established.
102. Law of 1934, Art. CII, Sec. 1.
103. Quigley, Harold S., "The New Japanese Electoral Law," American Political Science Review, Vol: XX, May 1926, pp. 392-395.
104. Law of 1934, Art. CII, Secs. 1-2. In the 1937 general election, the amounts candidates were legally allowed to spend varied with the size of the electorate. The fifth electoral district of Tōkyō prefecture headed the list, permitting each to spend 23,553 yen and the first electoral district of Saga prefecture was the lowest with 6,119 yen. The average amount was 9,412 yen per candidate. Japan Chronicle, 15 April 1937, p. 448.
105. Law of 1934, Art. CI. However, this did not include

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- election campaign expenses due to lectures or letters of recommendation.
106. Ibid., Art. CVI.
 107. Ibid., Arts. CVII-CVIII.
 108. Ibid., Art. CIV.
 109. Ibid., Art. CIII.
 110. Ibid., Art. XVIII, Sec. 4.
 111. Ibid., Art. XVIII, Secs: 1-3.
 112. Ibid., Art. XXI.
 113. Ibid., Art. XXIII.
 114. Japan Chronicle, 23 Feb. 1928, p. 221. Students who live in the country but study in Tokyo, if otherwise qualified, may vote in Tokyo in the constituency where they reside. Trans-Pacific 4 Feb. 1928, p. 15.
 115. Law of 1934, Art. XXVII, Secs. 1-2.
 116. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 258.
 117. Trans-Pacific, 4 Feb. 1928.
 118. Law of 1934, Art. XX.
 119. The 1934 law refers to this official as a voting witness in Art. XIV. He is commonly known in the United States as an "election inspector." (See Abraham, Lewis, New York Election Law Manual.)
 120. Law of 1934, Art. XLIV.
 121. The Japanese official is known as the "counting witness" in Art. XLIX of the 1934 law. In New York these same duties are performed by "election watchers." Abraham, Lewis, New York Election Law Manual, p. 173.
 122. Law of 1934, Art. XLVIII, Sec. 1.
 123. Ibid., Art. LIV.
 124. The law of 1934 refers to this official as the "chairman of elections" in Art. LVIII, Sec. 1. In the United States, he is commonly known as the "judge of elections." Pa. Election Guide, p. 46.
 125. The Japanese system calls this group the "election committee." It is known as the "election board" in the United States. Pa. Election Guide, p. 47.
 126. Law of 1934, Art. LXIV.
 127. Ibid., Art. LXIX.
 128. Ibid., Art. LXXIV.
 129. Ibid., Art. LXIX, Secs. 3-5.
 130. Ibid., Art. LXIX, Sec. 2.
 131. Ibid., Art. LXIX, Secs. 1-6.
 132. Ibid., Art. LXXX.
 133. Ibid., Arts. CXII-CXXXVIII.
 134. Ibid., Art. CXXXVI.
 135. Japan Chronicle, 5 March 1936, p. 292.
 136. Law of 1934, Art. XXXVII.
 137. Ibid., Art. LXXXI.
 138. Ibid., Art. LXXXIII, Sec. 1.
 139. Ibid., Art. LXXXI, Sec. 1.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Interim Research and Intelligence Service

RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS BRANCH

R & A No. 3405

The Japanese National Election System

APPENDICES

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Appendix A

ELECTION RESULTS

Table I. RESULTS OF EVERY ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE JAPANESE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Date of Election.	Fixed No. of representatives to be elected	Number of Candidates	Number of voters	Number of non-voters	Number of voters per thousand population	Population	For one member of the House Number of voters	Average votes obtained
July, 1890	300		453,885	32,777	11.51	100,180	1,513	
Feb. 1892	300		453,200	36,743	10.95	101,779	1,451	
Mar. 1894	300		400,031	48,161	10.92	103,471	1,467	
Sept. 1894	300		460,113	68,077	11.42	103,471	1,524	
Mar. 1898	300		453,329	57,152	10.86	108,072	1,511	
Aug. 1898	300		501,459	103,553	12.01	108,073	1,672	
Aug. 1902	376		983,193	113,709	20.83	119,521	2,605	1,597
Mar. 1903	376		951,860		20.91	121,069	2,533	1,763
Mar. 1904	379		757,788		19.43	121,679	1,999	1,410
May 1908	379		1,582,676	226,016	52.80	127,320	4,176	2,987
May 1912	381		1,503,650	151,875	29.24	135,001	3,947	3,513
Mar. 1915	381		1,546,341	121,646	28.81	140,862	4,059	3,720
April 1917	381		1,422,118	114,951	25.75	144,973	3,733	3,414
May 1920	464		3,069,789	408,106	46.33	121,235	6,616	5,686
May 1924	464		3,288,368	290,052	55.60	126,038	7,087	3,992
Feb. 1928	466		12,409,078	2,441,056	199.75	133,309	26,629	24,885
Feb. 1930	466		12,812,192	2,107,656	198.81	138,309	27,496	16,915
Feb. 1932	466		13,095,621	2,201,421	200.32	140,271	28,102	12,732
Feb. 1936	466		14,303,780	3,054,118	206.54	148,614	30,695	17,500
April 1937	466	826	14,401,173	3,757,097	206.11	152,903	30,904	17,682
April 1942	466	1,080	14,594,998	2,459,755	199.61	156,897	31,319	--

Source: Domei Jiji Nenkan, 1943 pp. 95-96.

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Appendix A

ELECTION RESULTS

RESULTS OF EVERY ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE JAPANESE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Number of Candidates	Number of voters	Number of non-voters	Number of voters per thousand population	For one member of the House of Representatives		
				Population	Number of voters	Average % of new votes obtained per 100 voters
	453,885	32,777	11.51	100,180	1,513	7.22
	453,200	36,743	10.95	101,779	1,451	8.44
	400,031	48,161	10.92	103,471	1,467	10.94
	460,113	68,077	11.42	103,471	1,524	14.80
	453,329	57,152	10.86	108,072	1,511	12.61
	501,459	103,553	12.01	108,073	1,672	30.65
	983,193	113,709	20.83	119,521	2,605	11.59
	951,860		20.91	121,069	2,533	
	757,788		19.43	121,679	1,999	
	1,582,676	226,016	52.80	127,320	4,176	14.38
	1,503,650	151,875	29.24	135,001	3,947	10.13
	1,546,341	121,646	28.81	140,862	4,059	7.87
	1,422,118	114,951	25.75	144,973	3,733	8.08
	3,069,789	408,106	46.33	121,235	6,616	13.51
	3,288,368	290,052	55.60	126,038	7,087	8.82
	12,409,078	2,441,056	199.75	133,309	26,629	19.67
	12,812,192	2,107,656	198.81	138,309	27,496	16.66
	13,095,621	2,201,421	200.32	140,271	28,102	18.32
	14,303,780	3,054,118	206.54	148,614	30,695	21.35
826	14,401,173	3,757,097	206.11	152,903	30,904	26.69
1,080	14,594,998	2,459,755	199.61	156,897	31,319	16.80

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Appendix A

Table II. RESULTS OF THE MOST RECENT ELECTIONS FOR ALL PARTIES

Name of Party	1932			1936			1937			Number elected
	Number Elected	Number of candidates	Number of votes obtained	Number elected	Number of candidates	Number of votes obtained	Number elected	Number of candidates	Number of votes obtained	
Minsei Party ()	146	278	3,383	205	296	4,468	179	267	3,677	
Seiyu Party ()	303	342	5,675	172	336	4,171	175	267	3,585	
Showa Party ()				20	49	532	19	36	418	
National League Party ()			136	15	33	422	11	20	281	
Eastern Party ()							11	20	217	7
Proletarian Party ()	5	35	275	22	39	629				
Other Parties	2	4	39	3	24	184	8	45	317	4
(IRAA)										381
Miscellaneous Parties ()	10	51	287	27	101	726	25	101	694	74
Total	466	708	9,660	468	878	11,133	466	826	10,203	466

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Source: Dōmei Jiji Nenkan, 1943, p. 96.

Appendix A

Table II. RESULTS OF THE MOST RECENT ELECTIONS FOR ALL PARTIES

1932	1936				1937			1942			
	Number of candidates	Number of votes obtained	Number elected	Number of candidates	Number of votes obtained	Number elected	Number of candidates	Number of votes obtained	Number elected	Number of candidates	Number of votes obtained
278	3,383	205	296	4,468	179	267	3,677				
342	5,675	172	336	4,171	175	267	3,585				
		20	49	532	19	36	418				
	136	15	33	422	11	20	281				
					11	20	217	7	46	356	
35	275	22	39	629							
4	39	3	24	184	8	45	317	4	10	197	
								381	466	7,958	
51	287	27	101	726	25	101	694	74	557	3,479	
708	9,660	468	878	11,133	466	826	10,203	466	1,079	11,991	

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an, 1943, p. 96.

APPENDIX B
ELECTION FORMS ^I

I. BADGE FOR CAMPAIGN WORKERS¹

Date of House of Representatives Election

Showa Year Month Day

Badge for House of Representatives candidate's work

SPECIAL
No.

Notes:

1. Must be of white cloth - 8 centimeters long and 4 wide.
2. "Special" must be inscribed above the "no." on the badge worn by the election worker according to provision Article 96, Section 2 of member of House of Representatives Election Law.

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1. SOURCE: Ministry of Home Affairs
Ordinance #36, in Nippon Horei
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APPENDIX B
ELECTION FORMS ¹

I. BADGE FOR CAMPAIGN WORKERS ¹

Date of House of Representatives Election

 Showa Year Month Day

Badge for House of Representatives candidate's worker

SPECIAL
No.

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white cloth - 8 centimeters long and 4 wide.

to be inscribed above the "no." on the badge worn by the election worker,
to provision Article 96, Section 2 of member of House of Representatives
Law.

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1. SOURCE: Ministry of Home Affairs

Ordinance #36, in Nippon Horei Zensho Nov., Dec. 1934
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VI. ELECTION CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT BOOK

A. Acceptance Register (Shodaku bo)

(Consent) Acceptance	DATE		Acceptance	AMOUNT		Name of Person Receiving Consent
	Cancellation	Final account		Cancel- lation	Final account	
			Yen	Yen	Yen	

Notes:

1. In regard to disbursement of election campaign expenses, "this account book will conform of person getting consent of campaign manager and open an account of (a) 'candidate' and Committee' and record under it".
2. Amount column: When making disbursement by cash, record the total amount; in case of profit or profit from property other than cash or when giving consent for spending, record the amount of liability or profit.
3. "Summary of Uses" column: Specify purpose, classification, number of persons, etc. of disbursement.
4. When recording property liability, use of property profit other than cash or spending in register, after recording the estimated liability or profit in the Estimate Register, enter number of the Estimate Register in "Remarks" column of this account book.

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VI. ELECTION CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT BOOK

A. Acceptance Register (Shodaku bo)

Final account	Acceptance	AMOUNT		Name of Person Receiving Consent	Sum- mary of uses	Remarks
		Cancel- lation	Final account			
	Yen	Yen	Yen			

ment of election campaign expenses, "this account book will conform to classification
 ment of campaign manager and open an account of (a) 'candidate' and (b) 'Election
 under it".

making disbursement by cash, record the total amount; in case of property liability
 ty other than cash or when giving consent for spending, record the kind and total
 or profit.

olumn: Specify purpose, classification, number of persons, etc. of disbursement.
 erty liability, use of property profit other than cash or spending in the account
 ording the estimated liability or profit in the Estimate Register, enter the proper
 ate Register in "Remarks" column of this account book.

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B. ESTIMATE REGISTER (Hyōkabo)

Disbursement Date	Estimated Amount	Detailed Basis of Estimate	Summary of uses	Payable to Address Name
	Yen			

Notes:

1. "Disbursement Date" column: enter day of property liability or application of property than cash or when there is spending.
2. "Estimated Amount" column: enter amount of property liability or property profit estimated at current price.
3. "Summary of Uses" column: specify purpose, kind, number of people, etc. of disbursement.

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B. ESTIMATE REGISTER (Hyokabo)

Estimated Amount	Detailed Basis of Estimate	Summary of uses	Payable to Address Name	Remarks
---------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------	----------------------------	---------

Date column: enter day of property liability or application of property profit other than when there is spending.

Amount column: enter amount of property liability or property profit other than cash at current price.

Uses column: specify purpose, kind, number of people, etc. of disbursement.

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Form #2

C. DISBURSEMENT REGISTER (Shishutsubo)

Date of Disbursement	Amount of Disbursement		Summary of uses	Payable to		Name of Disburser
	Disbursement	Total		Address	Name	
	Yen	Yen				
	Total					

Notes:

1. Open account of following four items and record in this account book:
 - (1) Expense disbursement for candidacy preparation
 - (2) Expense disbursement by campaign manager
 - (3) Expense disbursement by candidate and election committee
 - (4) Expense disbursement by person other than campaign manager, candidate, or election committee

Conforming to classification of expense items of these various accounts open following items and record accordingly:

- (1) Remuneration
- (2) Building expense
 - a. Election office expense
 - b. Assembly hall expense
- (3) Communications expense

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C. DISBURSEMENT REGISTER (Shi shutsubo)

Amount of Disbursement	Summary of uses	Payable to Address	Name of Disburser	Remarks
Total				
Yen				

of following four items and record in this account book:

disbursement for candidacy preparation

disbursement by campaign manager

disbursement by candidate and election committee

disbursement by person other than campaign manager, candidate, or election committee

classification of expense items of these various accounts open following specified ten

and accordingly:

ation

g expense

tion office expense

sembly hall expense

ations expense

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- a. Postal charge
 - b. Telegraph charge
 - c. Telephone charge
 - d. Others
- (4) Transportation expense
- a. Train fare
 - b. Street car fare
 - c. Automobile fare
 - d. Cab fare
 - e. Jinrikisha fare
 - f. Boat fare
 - g. Others
- (5) Printing expense
- (6) Advertisement expense
- (7) Stationery expense
- (8) Lodging expense
- (9) Food and drink expense
- (10) Miscellaneous
2. Under "Date of Disbursement", record date of application of cash disbursement, property liability, or application of property profit other than cash or when there is spending.
3. Under "Amount of Disbursement", whenever you record, add and enter the total.
4. Under "Summary of Uses", specify purpose, classification, number of people, etc. of disbursement.
5. When recording in this account book, enter the proper number of consent register or estimate register and name of account book under "Remarks Column."

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III. NOTIFICATION OF FINAL ACCOUNT OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN

EXPENSES

Final Account Report of Election Campaign Expenses

Prefecture _____ District _____ Candidate _____

The following is exact election campaign expense calculation of aforementioned candidate during member of House of Representatives Election of Date reported according to Article 106 of member of House of Representatives Election Law.

Date _____

Campaign Manager

Signature and stamp

To Prefectural governor (Superintendent - general of Metropolitan Police)

Account

	<u>Amount</u>
1. <u>Total Amount of Disbursement</u>	
(1) Amount disbursed by campaign manager	"
(2) " " with consent of campaign manager	"
Amount disbursed by candidate	"
" " " election committee	"
(3) Amount disbursed by person other than candidate, campaign manager, or election committee	<u>Amount</u>
Amount disbursed on understanding with candidate	"
Amount disbursed on understanding with campaign manager	"

2. Disbursement Particulars

(1) Remuneration

Workers

x

y

z

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	<u>Amount</u>
(2) Building Expense	"
a. Election office	"
1. Name of Election office	"
b. Assembly Hall	"
1. Name of Assembly Hall	"
(3) Communications Expense	"
Postal fee	"
Telegraph fee	"
Telephone charge	"
Others	"
(4) Transportation Expense	"
Train fare	"
Street car fare	"
Auto fare	"
Cab fare	"
Jinriksha fare	"
Boat fare	"
Others	"
(5) Printing expense	"
(6) Advertising expense	"
(7) Stationery expense	"
(8) Lodging expense	"
(9) Food and Drink expense	"
(10) Miscellaneous expense	"
TOTAL	TOTAL

<u>Reimbursement of Expense Incurred</u>	<u>Amount</u>
(1) Campaign manager	"
(2) Election committee	"
(3) Canvassers, other than candidate, election manager, or election committee	"
(4) Workers	"

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Interim Research and Intelligence Service
Research and Analysis Branch

R & A No. 3405

THE JAPANESE NATIONAL ELECTION SYSTEM

Description

A study of the pre-surrender Japanese national election system, with a discussion of its development and operation.

18 October 1945

Copy No. _____

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(79240)

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RESTRICTEDSUMMARY

1. Election regulation in Japan prior to surrender was characterized by an increasingly enlarged suffrage, culminating in the establishment of universal manhood suffrage in 1925. The law of 1934, while it did not alter the basic features of the system, introduced important reforms aimed at correcting corruption and other abuses. Until October 1945 women were disenfranchised, but recent Cabinet action looks toward the extension of the suffrage to women and the reduction of the voting age from twenty-five to twenty.

2. Although Japanese law regulates election and campaign practices extensively and in detail, the system in operation differs substantially from the one on the books. The Japanese system makes no provision for nomination by primary election or convention, but, in actual practice, prior to the dissolution of political parties, few sought office without the financial and political support of one of the major parties. Campaigns were directed by the campaign manager for the party; for the party in control of the government this post was often filled by the Home Affairs Minister. The manager was responsible for raising the necessary funds and for securing an equal distribution of his party's votes in any area in order to ensure the election of all sponsored candidates. Campaign literature was written in an easy,

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popular style, but party platforms were vague and varied little between parties or from election to election.

3. Prior to passage of the 1934 law, wealth was one of the most decisive factors in determining the fate of many candidates. Many persons were subsidized by big corporations, financial leaders, and other interest groups, including the Cabinet itself. Financial corruption was common, occurring generally in the form of vote buying, which, by the late 1920's, had come to be regarded almost as a national institution in Japan. Vote brokerage seems to have been more common in rural than in urban areas, but there are no indications that controls of any sort, other than that of the mutual trust of the buyer and seller, were used to ensure the effectiveness of the system.

4. The election campaigns of the 1920's in Japan were marked by open government interference and partisan police activity, both designed to retain the existing party in office. The controls enforced primarily by the Home Affairs Minister not only effectively influenced the will of voters and consequently the outcome of elections, but also hampered the efforts of opposition candidates. Meetings of many aspirants were interrupted and the spokesmen assaulted by the police and professional bullies. Proletarian candidates suffered more than others in this respect, being, in addition, subject to constant harassment under the provisions of the Peace Preservation

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Act of 1925.

5. The revised election law of 1934 was aimed principally at the reduction of election costs and the decrease of official and police interference. This program to encourage free elections was strengthened not only by the co-operation offered by the political parties but also by the government's decision to undertake the management of all campaigns for the 1936 election. The plan for government supervision was not entirely successful, but the results of the 1936 election indicate that the reforms instituted by the 1934 law had succeeded in decreasing the amount of corruption, and, consequently in curtailing the advantage of wealth when seeking office. In addition, official interference and partisan police activity were lessened as the result of nation-wide "purity" campaigns and the diminution of the powers of local government officials with reference to elections. Free elections seemed a distant prospect, however, with the rise to power of the nationalists and militarists in the late 1930's.

6. Although the reform law of 1934 was successful in reducing the element of corruption in national elections, the gains made under it in the direction of reducing government interference in elections were nullified after 1940. In that year political parties were abolished and the government-sponsored Imperial Rule Assistance Association

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was created. In the 1942 election recommendation by the IRAA was substituted for political party nomination. Despite this attempt to control elections completely, however, eighty-five of the 466 candidates elected to the Diet had not been sponsored by the IRAA.

7. Elections in Japan are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs, with important administrative functions delegated to the government officials on the local level. Each of Japan's 122 election districts returns from three to five members to the House of Representatives; each elector votes for one candidate only.

The franchise is restricted under the 1934 law to male Japanese subjects, twenty-five years of age and over, who have resided within their respective electoral districts for at least six months prior to the annual compilation of the electoral lists. Incompetents, criminals, soldiers on active duty, and others specifically listed by the act are denied the right to vote. Eligibility to office is limited to male Japanese subjects, thirty years of age and over, who reside in the districts they desire to represent. Methods of campaigning, including the number of workers to be employed by each candidate, the amount of money to be spent, and the type of publicity employed, are regulated in detail.

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The date of a general election is announced twenty-five days beforehand by Imperial ordinance. Balloting takes place in the city, town, and township offices and schools, and the elector writes his vote in secret. Provision has been made for those incapacitated by illness or other recognized circumstances to cast their ballots.

The city and town mayors and the township headmen supervise balloting, the polls, and the counting of votes. Reports of the ballot count are forwarded to the proper election judge, who is appointed by the prefectural governor from among the mayors and prefectural officials. Candidates with the highest pluralities are declared elected at an election meeting, provided each has obtained the required minimum amount of votes stipulated in the law. By-elections take place only after two vacancies have occurred within a given district.

The election law is detailed in its enumeration of offenses and corresponding penalties. The principal penalties provided are invalidation of a candidate's election, prohibition to vote or to be a candidate, fines ranging up to ten thousand yen, and imprisonment for as long as seven years. Prohibited actions are numerous, and the candidate is held responsible for all offenses committed by his campaign manager. The law also provides for suits by the candidate or an elector against the successful candidate or local election chairman.

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RESTRICTEDTHE JAPANESE NATIONAL ELECTION SYSTEMI. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAPANESE ELECTION SYSTEMA. Major Characteristics

Election regulation in Japan prior to surrender was characterized by an increasingly enlarged suffrage, culminating in the establishment of universal manhood suffrage in 1925.

Wealth, whether private or in the hands of political parties, has played an important part in elections because of the extensive practice of vote buying and the requirement that candidates post bonds which were forfeited if they failed to receive more than a given number of votes. A major attempt to reduce the importance of financial considerations was made in the reform law of 1934, which successfully reduced vote buying and other corruption in the three national elections which followed its passage.

Government interference has been common in Japanese elections, the party in power frequently seeking to utilize its control of the Home Affairs Ministry -- and hence of the police and of the machinery for the regulation of election procedures -- to hamper the campaign of its major opponent. Proletarian parties, limited from the outset by the restrictions of the Peace Preservation Laws, suffered most severely from government interference. Despite the moves toward reform embodied in the 1934 law, the provisions of which were of important effect in the 1936 and 1937 elections, the so-called Imperial

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Rule Assistance Election of 1942 represented a high point in government interference with election campaigns.

B. Early Election Laws

The Japanese Constitution, promulgated in 1889, created a House of Representatives to be elected by the people, but was silent as to the provision for suffrage. Both the voting right and the right to hold office were defined in a law enacted in the same year, however, which subdivided the prefectures of Japan into 257 small electoral districts, each entitled to one representative. Earlier, during the period immediately following the Meiji Restoration of 1867, political leaders had repeatedly sought the adoption of popular suffrage, but they made little headway chiefly for want of support from the general population.¹

The 1889 law stipulated that qualified voters had to be male Japanese subjects, twenty-five years of age or over, who had paid direct national taxes of not less than fifteen yen, and who had resided in a given administrative district for more than one year. Lunatics, idiots, criminals, undischarged bankrupts, and military men in active service were ineligible to vote. As a result of these limitations, the number of voters qualified to exercise the franchise in the first general election of 1890 was a meager 450,000. Candidates for office, in order to qualify, had to be at least thirty years of age and meet similar tax and residency requirements. In addition, certain classes of people, specifically teachers, Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian priests and clergymen and

government contractors, could not hold office.

The 1890 law failed to satisfy many politicians, primarily because the high tax qualifications largely disenfranchised the former warrior class and members of the educated class. Many potential voters were also eliminated by the residency requirement. Nevertheless, six general elections took place before the law was revised in 1900.

Unsuccessful attempts to change the system were made in 1895 and 1898. Finally, in 1900, an electoral reform bill reduced the annual tax qualifications for voters to ten yen and provided for a decrease in the number of electoral districts. In addition, the system of large electoral districts was adopted. Thus Japan had forty-seven rural electoral districts which coincided with the prefectures (fu or ken), to each of which were allotted from four to twelve seats according to the population. There were also sixty-one urban electoral districts, to each of which were allotted from one to two seats, except for Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, which had more. The law also abolished the tax and residency requirements for candidates and introduced the principle of the secret ballot and the single non-transferable vote. This measure qualified 1,700,000 persons for the franchise, an increase of more than three times the number that had met the requirements under the law of 1889.

Despite the new features, however, the law of 1900 proved unsatisfactory. The arbitrary division of representation by which certain districts with as few as fifty voters were entitled

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to the same number of seats in the Lower House as those with several thousand often resulted in a minority of electors electing the majority of members. Moreover, the continuing tax qualifications for voting, as well as other restrictive features, evoked severe criticism from political leaders. Repeated attempts to revise the system were made. Bills advancing more liberal electoral provisions were introduced in the Diet on several occasions; one of these bills, introduced in 1911, proposed the granting of universal suffrage. Some of these measures failed to pass both Houses of the Diet, while others were rejected when the government dissolved the legislature.

After 1910, the people joined the politicians in the clamor for extension of the suffrage and a genuine liberalization of the entire electoral system. Public demonstrations, the Tokyo Imperial University students' petition to the Emperor,³ and the untiring efforts of outstanding liberals such as OZAKI Yukio contributed to forcing through the 1919 electoral reform law. The most important features of the new legislation included the re-establishment of the system of small electoral districts (which were subdivided into numerous constituencies, each electing only one member to the Lower House); a reduction of the annual tax qualification for voters from ten yen to three; and a redistribution of the seats in the Lower House, in proportion to the readjustment of electoral districts, to increase its membership from 381 to 464.⁴

The law enfranchised the small landowning class but

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continued to exclude the peasants, laborers, and nearly two hundred thousand other men. Widespread dissatisfaction remained, giving impetus to reform movements that finally induced the government to introduce and secure passage of another electoral reform bill six years later.

C. The Law of 1925

The 1925 law abolished the tax qualification for voters. The bill was apparently "brought forward not because the Cabinet thought the time was opportune for so great an expansion of the electorate, but because popular sentiment for it had become too strong to resist."⁵ Nevertheless, the final provisions did contain important qualifying amendments, such as the one demanded by the Privy Council and the Peers which disenfranchised all otherwise eligible persons who were receiving public or private charity. Passage was secured on 5 May 1925 only after the Lower House agreed to compromise on this point.

The law instituted certain significant changes. In addition to abolishing all tax qualifications, the electoral districts, formerly small areas sending one member to the Lower House of the Diet, were now enlarged sufficiently to elect from three to five representatives. The voter, however, could vote for only a single candidate. Election expenses for aspirants were limited, and detailed provisions regulating campaigning, the classes and numbers of election agents employable, and the methods of determining expenses were also included.⁶

D. The Law of 1934

The 1925 act increased the size of the Japanese electorate to over twelve million voters, or one-fifth of the total population.⁷ Nevertheless, many evils, such as bribery, financial irregularities, government interference, and partisan police activity in campaigns and elections persisted. Minority parties, which had grown in strength by the late 1920's and the early 1930's, continued their agitation for greater representation in the Diet and for a genuine liberalization of the entire system. This agitation, coupled with the pleas from the public itself for honest elections, which were reflected in the numerous "purity" campaigns launched throughout the country, compelled passage of the 1934 legislation.

The 1934 act, which is still in force, was aimed chiefly at the reduction of election costs in order to facilitate minority representation, and at the imposition of heavier penalties for election offenses and bribery in order to encourage the growth of free elections. Passage of the act not only effectively increased the competitive chances of all minority aspirants but also added many more persons to the rolls of qualified electors.⁸ Nevertheless, certain critics contended that the restrictions and intricacies of the revised law caused many voters "to remain aloof and abstain from voting for fear of being caught in the meshes of the law."⁹

The 1934 act was the last step taken prior to the war in the direction of increasing the size of the Japanese electorate and permitting greater popular participation in the government.

E. Movements to Enlarge Suffrage Further

Until October 1945, women were disenfranchised in Japan. Following World War I, organized woman suffrage movements, usually associated with one or more of the proletarian groups, became more numerous and grew in power. The New Women's Society founded in 1919, although short-lived, succeeded in 1922 in having the police regulations forbidding women to attend political meetings abolished.

In 1921 the Diet was petitioned to grant women limited franchise in municipal elections, and in 1926 this petition took the form of a bill which, if enacted, would have granted such rights to all women over thirty years of age who were the heads of families. However, the measure was rejected by the Lower House.¹⁰

After the passage of the 1925 law, women began to play a more prominent part in political campaigns and elections. Figures indicate that some 250 political speeches were given by members of the Women's Suffrage League in Tokyo and vicinity alone in the 1928 election, while a considerable share of other work connected with the contests was also carried on by them.

Two years later, the Lower House passed a Women's Suffrage Bill granting Japanese women the rights to vote and become candidates in municipal elections. The proposed legislation was defeated in the House of Peers, however, because of the alleged fear that such a step would endanger the stability of the nation's family system.¹¹

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Nevertheless, in spite of numerous setbacks, the Women's movement continued to grow, and by the middle of the 1930's it had the support of many Japanese from all classes of society.

Other efforts to increase the size of the electorate included proposals to lower the qualifying age for electors; to admit persons designated as "officials" and the heads of noble families into the electorate; and to permit students of certain grades to exercise the franchise.¹² Each new attempt at reform, however, though backed by many interest groups in and out of the government, was blocked by the conservative elements in control.

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II. ELECTION PRACTICES BEFORE AND AFTER THE LAW OF 1934

A. Introduction

Japanese law regulates election practices extensively and in detail, covering in its provisions such minor matters as the size of the posters as well as more important questions of financing and vote counting.¹³ As elsewhere, however, the system in operation differs from the system on the books because of both the gaps in the law which are filled in practice if not in theory and the development of corruptions despite provisions in the laws to the contrary. Corruptions were particularly prevalent prior to the passage of the 1934 law.

B. Political Parties and Election Campaigns

Despite the fact that the Japanese election system as such makes no provisions regarding nominations by primary election or convention, in actual practice few have sought office without the financial and political support of one of the major parties. The organization usually provided the necessary security money for its chosen candidates and helped direct campaign strategy. Party members who ran without official sanction were often defeated and, as a result, were usually dropped from the party rolls.¹⁴

Before granting official recognition to any potential candidate, party officials and local vote brokers and political leaders carefully weighed the aspirant's financial status, clan connections, religious affiliations, and family reputation in relation to the attitudes of the district voters. In return for such official support, of course, the candidate necessarily aligned

himself with the party in the Diet, voting for the organization's measures and taking orders from the party president.¹⁵

Campaigns were directed by the campaign manager for the party. This post was frequently filled for the party in control of the Cabinet by the Home Affairs Minister, (Naimu daijin) whose knowledge of local electoral conditions and control of the conduct of elections placed him in an advantageous position for influencing their outcome. The major functions of the manager were the raising of funds and the securing of an equal distribution of his party's votes in any area, so as to ensure election of all sponsored candidates.¹⁶ The latter task was greatly facilitated by the existence and cultivation of "inner constituencies," or certain separated nuclei of voters within the district who were bound together by common interests and traditions.¹⁷ Each candidate concentrated all efforts on the particular "inner constituency" he was depending on, instead of distributing his campaign activities evenly throughout his electoral district. How successful this scheme has been is indicated by the results of the election of 1930. In the first district of Akita prefecture, for example, three of the four seats were won by Minseitō candidates with votes of 20,990; 20,426; and 20,134. In the first district of Hiroshima, one of the two successful Seiyūkai candidates received 13,727 votes, the other 13,702.¹⁸

The local political leaders or "bosses" also played an important role in campaigns and elections. As in the United States, they had; in most instances, a strong attachment to their parties.

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The vote brokers, on the other hand, were genuine traders who received money from candidates for votes and were interested only in their own enrichment.

The campaign literature of all parties was written in an easy, popular style, containing slang phrases; great care was taken to make the reading intelligible to any person with even a minimum of education. The posters used were simple and appealing, and most of them bore the candidate's name in both characters (Kanji) and the phonetic alphabet (Kana) for the benefit of the uneducated voter. They were usually displayed in railway stations, shops, and other places frequented by the public.

Party platforms tended to be couched in vague generalities and to vary little either between parties or from election to election. Popular interest in political meetings,¹⁹ therefore, was high, since they provided a guide to the voter which was absent in party platforms. Issues, in most cases, especially in the rural areas, centered about personalities and what the candidates proposed to do to promote local interests if elected. In urban areas, however, loyalty to and interest in political parties as such tended to be stronger than interest in individual candidates. As in other countries, persons who dwelt and worked in crowded cities in Japan were more responsive to the efforts of political organizers and more keenly concerned with political issues than the agricultural population, which, though tightly knit socially, tended to be suspicious of organization and

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indifferent to political questions which did not affect their daily lives. Then too, voters of the large cities were less interested in national elections as a means of promoting purely local issues, being less dependent upon national and prefectural funds for the construction of roads, bridges, and schools.

In the country, on the other hand, there were many considerations, in addition to the attractive prices of the vote brokers, that caused the rural voters to regard political principles and practical issues as only secondary in importance. One of these was the almost chivalrous partiality shown by voters for the weak, intense sympathy always being felt for the candidates who had failed at previous elections. Moreover, men who were poor, seriously ill, or in a like unhappy predicament could make much of their apparent handicap. Finally, in some districts, candidates such as OZAKI Yukio were virtually worshipped as local deities, and popular admiration for and trust in them became a sort of religion with the voters of their constituencies, from which it was almost impossible to oust them.

On the whole, popular interest at election time ran high. This is evident from the percentage of qualified voters who actually cast ballots. The figure of 19.7 percent absentees in the 1928²⁰ election represented the average amount of abstention up to 1940, even though in many instances vote buying and police compulsion were largely responsible for turning out many of the eligible voters.

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C. Corruption, Interference, and the Influence of Wealth
Prior to 1934.

1. The Importance of Financial Considerations. Prior to 1934 wealth was acknowledged by all as constituting one of the most decisive factors in the fate of many candidates. Often the first qualification for "official" recognition of a potential candidate by most parties was money, "the weight of the bag" being the measure of the chance of success of the aspirant in any given locality. Such considerations were probably dictated by the acknowledged fact that, especially before the 1936 election, the purchase and sale of votes very often influenced the outcome of general elections in Japan.

Aspirants usually began the struggle for funds after they had secured the recognition of party headquarters and paved the way for running. As in the United States and England, the financial resources of the organization and its members were placed at the disposal of the sponsored candidates. In the 1932 election, for example, the Seiyukai Party gave ten thousand yen to each aspirant nominated by the party, and it is probable that the Minseitō Party did likewise.²¹

Many persons were also subsidized by big corporations, financial leaders, and other interest groups.²² In addition, there is evidence that the Japanese cabinets, through the numerous economic enterprises that the government dominated, often gave financial aid to favored candidates. One source states, for instance, that for the year of 1929-30, the South Manchuria Railway and the Bank of Japan, both of which are government-controlled, has secret funds of over a million yen and 540,000 yen.

respectively earmarked for this purpose.²³

Financial corruption, especially before the enactment of the 1934 law, was common with most aspirants, the large contributions probably providing an incentive to such irregularities. One trustworthy commercial journal in 1930 stated that "at least 30,000,000 yen is required for an election, of which 80 percent is expended secretly. If the handling of this fund were exposed, 99 percent of the members of the House of Representatives, would be disqualified."²⁴ The Yomiuri Shimbun on 2 February 1932 declared that "although under the election law the election expense of one candidate must be kept below the sum legally fixed, the actuality is that most candidates spend five or eight times more than the legal maximum. It is a well known fact that the total expense in which the two political parties are involved at a single general election amounts to twenty or thirty million yen." Scores of candidates reportedly spent as much as 100,000 yen in an election, while the average expenditure of all participants was estimated by one skilled campaigner at not less than 60,000 yen. Printing, rent for halls, transportation, and other legal expenditures often came to about 20,000 yen, but the purchase of votes involved the greatest financial drain amounting to as much as 60,000 yen in some cases.²⁵

2. Vote Buying.

Vote buying in Japan had come to be regarded almost as a national institution by the late 1920's. A majority of the elections had been carried out under a closely developed system

of brokerage. Such traffic had been a relatively open and accepted practice under the early systems and the one set up in 1925. From 1902 until 1928, an average of 91 percent of the total electoral violations reported involved the purchase of votes. (See Table I.)

The vote brokers (men who bought votes from the electors and sold them to the candidates or their managers) were in constant demand by hopeful aspirants, and a network of such middlemen posted in the towns and rural areas constituted the sphere of influence of the politician in whose interest it was to be used. Any man able to acquire or buy such a vote-bloc was almost certain to be elected, and such a person was then regarded as an "officially" recognized candidate.

The following table gives a list of reported election offenses, with the number and percentage of purchases of votes at each general election held in Japan since 1890.

Table I. PURCHASE OF VOTES

<u>General Election</u>	<u>Cabinet</u>	<u>Total No. of Offenses</u>	<u>Purchase of Votes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1st 1890	Yamagata	159	131	82
2nd 1892	Matsukata	126	95	75
3rd 1894	Ito	359	254	71
4th 1894	Ito	229	189	82
5th 1898	Matsukata	364	258	71
6th 1898	Ito	339	310	91
7th 1902	Katsura	1,202	1,004	81
8th 1903	Katsura	487	424	87
9th 1904	Katsura	202	171	84
10th 1908	Sionji	1,427	1,338	93
11th 1912	Sionji	3,472	3,329	95
12th 1915	Okuma	7,437	7,278	97
13th 1917	Terauchi	23,208	22,932	98
14th 1920	Hara	5,393	5,266	97
15th 1924	Kiyoura	14,363	13,986	97
16th 1928	Tanaka	8,873	7,258	81
17th 1930	Hamaguchi	5,893	5,270	89

Source: Japan Chronicle 6 February 1930, p. 121.

This situation was seemingly fostered by the fact that the Japanese electorate, even after the enactment of suffrage legislation, had apparently never understood the full significance of the franchise, with the result that they failed to realize the irregularity of selling their votes to the highest bidders. Furthermore, the "pork barrel" and "log-rolling" were familiar features of the Japanese system. There are numerous reports of the wholesale acquisition of blocs of votes of an entire town or township by candidates who promised, if elected, to promote projects of local interest, such as the construction of roads, bridges, and schools.²⁶

Bribery seems to have been more common in the rural areas than in the urban districts. To the farmer, sale of his vote was "akin to accepting payment for a day's work or other routine service and carried with it no flavor of dishonor."²⁷ Japanese farmers were neither politically conscious of the election issues nor idealistic in outlook; they were readily tempted by the prospects of political patronage or offers of cash payments for their votes. Moreover, the poor financial status of the rural voters, plus the fact that they lived great distances from each other, lent favor to the operations of the vote brokers and the district political leaders.

Until the passage of the 1934 law, wide acceptance of the vote brokerage system, had severely handicapped the efforts of the proletarian aspirants, especially in the country areas. Only a few of such candidates were elected in those

constituencies, largely because they lacked the funds to establish themselves in the confidence of the villagers.

Most of the serious violations of the election law, such as vote buying, were committed prior to the day of balloting. Although brokers might agree early in the campaign to deliver blocs of votes on election day, there are no indications that controls of any sort, other than that of the mutual trust of the buyer and seller, were used to ensure the effectiveness of the vote brokerage system. Conspicuously absent from the list of Japanese corruption techniques in this respect were many of the methods used in America and England, including the "chain" and marked ballots. Furthermore, such practices as the stuffing of ballot boxes, the corruption of election watchers, and the registration of dead men as voters were seldom, if ever, employed.²⁸

3. Government Interference. The election campaigns of the 1920's in Japan were marked by open government interference and the suppression of the activities of opposition parties. Such interference, when directed against members of the leading opposition party, served to diminish the possibility that a general election would cause the downfall of the party in power and, when employed against candidates of the proletarian party, lent support to the maintenance of the status quo. That these aims were often accomplished is evident from the fact that only in very few instances has the government or the party favored by the government lost in any election.

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In most contests for public office, the police have constituted one of the dominant factors in control, being used to bring pressure to bear upon opposition candidates.

The Minister of Home Affairs, who, until 1940, was usually the government party's campaign manager, had almost complete control of all phases of the electoral system. This extensive power he wielded over prefectural governors and the local police was often used to bring pressure to bear upon opposition candidates; the party in office was therefore in an excellent position to influence directly the will of the voters, and, consequently, the outcome of elections. In addition, friends of the administration who were placed in high posts of the semi-official banks, business concerns, and monopolies used every possible resource of men, money, and influence to keep the administration in power. Hand in hand with such efforts went the extensive suppression of the activities of the proletarian and radical candidates.

One of the most effective methods of interference often employed by a newly appointed cabinet was the immediate replacement of the prefectural governors and police chiefs who owed allegiance to the opposition party by their own supporters. This was done to prepare the party machinery in case the Diet were dissolved and a general election followed. New appointees would then be called upon to collect information with respect to the local electoral situation and the prospects of all candidates, in order to be able to assist government supporters as

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far as possible.

As the situation was described by Home Minister WAKATSUKI Reijiro in 1924: "Police and other officials inquired of voters as to whom they were going to vote for, suggesting to vacillating voters the advisability of casting their votes for pro-government candidates. Police officials sometimes went further and gave voters to understand that their support of opposition candidates laid them open to suspicion of corruption. Cases of violation of the election law, in which pro-government candidates were involved, were deliberately handled with gloved hands, while those of the opposition candidates were most strictly dealt with."²⁹

Meetings of many candidates were interrupted and the spokesmen assaulted by the police and the professional bullies (soshi) hired especially for that purpose. On the slightest pretext speeches were suppressed and the audience dissolved.³⁰ In the 1928 election, 978 political meetings in Tokyo were broken up by the police; in the 1930 election, 155 Tokyo meetings were similarly dealt with.³¹ Such practices as summoning the campaign manager and the workers of the opposition party to the police station at a critical time of their campaign merely on vague grounds of suspicion, prohibiting the distribution of campaign literature on equally vague grounds, or shielding the bribery and corruption of government candidates were also common. Moreover, whatever rights had been granted by the 1925 law were subject to extensive qualifications by the provisions

and workings of the Peace Preservation Law which was passed the same year.³² Although this law was aimed specifically at the growing threat of Communist and left-wing elements in the country, it was conveniently used to restrain the efforts of all opposition political parties. Activities of any organization deemed likely to disturb the public peace and order were short-lived, the leaders of such groups being arrested and confined for long periods of time without formal charges.³³ Thus the weight of the burden under which opposition candidates -- and especially those of the proletarian and radical parties -- campaigned was left almost entirely to the discretion of the police.

D. The Reform of 1934

1. Reduction of the Importance of Wealth and Financial Corruption. The revised election law of 1934 was aimed principally at the reduction of election costs and the decrease of official and police interference. Legal expenditures for candidates were reduced from forty to thirty sen per voter in each district, thus entitling each candidate to spend a maximum of about ten thousand yen on an election, the exact amount varying with the size of the constituency. Other revisions limited the number of campaign offices and legal electioneers permitted to each candidate, provided for greater control over election literature, and greatly increased the penalties for irregular use of election funds and for partisan activity by the authorities during the campaigns and elections.³⁴

The program initiated by the 1934 law, designed to foster and encourage free elections, was implemented further two years later. In the 1936 election, the government announced its intentions of undertaking the management of all campaigns. The plan called for the placing of public facilities, including meeting halls, at the disposal of all candidates in an effort to equalize the chances of the minority parties with those of the two major parties. Local authorities were to be responsible for the printing and distribution of an "Election Gazette" (Senkyo Ho), in which every candidate of any given district was to be allotted three thousand words to set forth his life history, experience, and political views. General campaign literature was forbidden, but bills announcing the date and place of public meetings to be organized by any candidate were still permitted.³⁵ The plan was thus designed to lighten greatly the burden of those aspirants who campaigned with limited financial means and to afford them greater opportunity for placing the issues before the public for appraisal.

The official program to sponsor the growth of free elections in Japan was strengthened by the co-operation of the political parties themselves. This co-operation was, in part, stimulated by the fact that the law itself did not directly diminish party influence. As a matter of fact, discipline within the party ranks was further solidified and made easier to control. "In some ways, it gave the established parties an added advantage, for it placed no limitations on party campaigns as long as they

were general in nature and not specifically directed toward aiding a single candidate."³⁶ In the 1936 election the Seiyukai reduced its financial contribution to each sponsored candidate to three thousand yen; the Minseito effected a similar reduction.³⁷ Nevertheless, there were indications in the 1936 contest that the system of government supervision had not been entirely successful, primarily because of the almost total lack of uniformity in the manner in which the various local authorities attended to their responsibilities under the plan. Very few candidates, except those of the proletarian parties, made full use of the benefits offered. Although candidates were to have set forth their political views in the Election Gazette, no earnest effort in this direction was discernible. Most candidates carefully avoided committing themselves to any set policy and utilized only about one-tenth of the space allotted. Moreover, the type in which the Gazette was printed varied greatly according to prefectures, and such matters as misprints, plagiarism, duplication by party aspirants called forth many complaints. The candidates of the major parties also objected to the inadequacies of the meeting places provided by the government.³⁸

Despite the weaknesses of the law and the difficulties involved in its interpretation, the 1934 reforms did succeed in decreasing the amount of corruption and, consequently, in curtailing the advantage of wealth when seeking office. The reforms were especially effective with respect to vote buying. Although in the 1936 election a non-party government was in

power and there was less cause for the familiar type of party favoritism, it was generally admitted afterwards that the nationwide "purity" campaigns had been more successful than on any other occasion in eliminating many of the unscrupulous election brokers. Nevertheless, 3,831 persons, involved in 1,513 cases, were convicted on various charges. These included cases of bribery and "treats" of food and drink, while, in a number of instances, campaigners violated the prohibition against personal canvassing. The buying of votes, though greatly reduced (totaling 416 cases involving 2,094 persons³⁹ in contrast to much larger figures in earlier elections) still stood out conspicuously among the violations recorded. In the 1937 contest, there was a further decrease in election offenses; only 1,827 people, charged with violations in 978 cases, were convicted.⁴⁰ The general election that was held five years later resulted in a still further reduction in the number of offenses committed, with only 431 cases, involving 1,176 persons reported.⁴¹

2. Reduction of Government Interference in Election. Attempts to eliminate government interference and partisan police activity in campaigns and elections were initiated in the early 1930's. In many instances, the parties opposing the government had formed vigilance committees consisting of ex-governors and police chiefs to counteract official interference. The administration itself was even compelled to initiate several similar projects.⁴² With the passage of the 1934 act, nationwide "purity" campaigns were launched with great vigor by all parties

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to indoctrinate the public with regard to the sanctity of the franchise and the necessity for eradicating official corruption and interference.⁴³ At the same time, the education of the electors, designed to increase popular interest and participation in campaigns and elections, was intensified.⁴⁴ Moreover, the provisions of the 1934 law greatly increased the penalties for official and police interference.⁴⁵ In the next year, the Higher Police Section of the prefectural Police Division was completely abolished because of proof of partisan activity.⁴⁶ Finally, the role of the local governors was greatly diminished; after 1935 instead of supplying the government party with complete information concerning the local electoral situation and the prospects of all candidates, they were called upon to report only such items as the number of local candidates and their party affiliations.⁴⁷

The results of the 1936 and 1937 elections were generally regarded as a great improvement over prior contests with respect to the lessening of both corruption and official interference. Nevertheless, free elections in which all aspirants could campaign without restraint from any quarters still seemed a distant prospect in Japan. With the rise to power of the militarists and nationalists in the 1930's, new limitations were imposed from above on the activities of all political parties. In the 1937 election, for example, police chiefs were instructed by the government that although "the right of campaign speakers to express their opinions must be respected, there must be no

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utterances charging the military with trying to provoke a war, alleging that the fighting services mean to reject the parliamentary system, arousing suspicion about obedience to orders in the services or affecting the attitude of the people toward the conscription system."⁴⁸

E. The Election of 1942

Although the reform law of 1934 was successful in reducing the element of corruption in national elections, the gains made under it in the direction of reducing government interference in campaigns were nullified after 1940. In that year all political parties were abolished. Their functions were assumed by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei Yokusan-kai), the single government-sponsored organization which was created in an effort to unify the nation's political life.⁴⁹ The 1934 election law remained in force, but a new method of nomination was devised to guarantee the election to the Diet of men who were completely in accord with the policies of the ruling group of the government. Candidate selection committees of the IRAA were established in each prefecture to compile lists of persons for potential party candidacy. The names selected were forwarded to the central IRAA headquarters, where they were carefully investigated and a final group of candidates chosen.⁵⁰ Officially sponsored candidates were then to have at their disposal all facilities and resources of the organizations' national and local structures to facilitate campaigning and ensure election. The security money was also presumably to be paid by

the IRAA.

Complete information is not available concerning the campaign and election activities of the aspirants in the 1942 election. It is known, however, that the candidates of the government-sponsored IRAA party enjoyed the support of a broad campaign in their favor, in which apparently all members of the the government participated, including the premier, General Tojo. It has since been labelled a "khaki election;" the government tried to push its candidates by making them, through its support, the representatives of Japan's military forces.⁵¹ Moreover, there are definite indications that the sponsored candidates maintained quite a vigorous pace throughout the entire campaign. "Political education speeches" were numerous; public indoctrination was carried out through the media of radio, phonograph records, and the moving picture screen. In all of this indoctrination, the mission of IRAA and its role in support of the government was the central theme.⁵²

Little is known of the campaigns carried on by the dissident candidates, nor have the differences in their respective programs come to light. Moreover, it is not quite clear to what extent unofficial organizational activities tended to keep together the dissolved parties as political units. Nevertheless, the familiar pattern of government interference was as evident in 1942 as it had been in previous contests. In the campaign preceding election day, the Justice Minister ordered the police to do everything possible to prevent corruption, but at the same

time "to refrain from excessively severe punishment of small offenses."⁵³ This might be interpreted to mean that the IRAA was to have a free hand in preventing undesirable independents from participating in elections. In the same spirit, Premier Tojo called upon the electors to vote only for candidates who understood the foreign and home situations, promising "active enforcement of the various rules in order that excellent leaders ... to meet the situation be sent to the wartime Diet."⁵⁴

The election of 1942 was the only one held under the candidate selection system. Results indicate that, of the 1,080 registered candidates, the IRAA succeeded in having 381 out of its total of 466 sponsored persons elected, while 85 independents gained office.⁵⁵ Thus, although the IRAA might have been expected to enjoy a nomination and election monopoly after the dissolution of the traditional political parties, it was unable to prevent sharp competition. The fact that 19 percent of the Diet seats were won by dissidents clearly reflected a stronger opposition than appeared probable at first. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the rate of abstention from voting had been reduced to 16.8 percent,⁵⁶ the new candidate selection system instituted by IRAA was viewed with contempt by the public; many persons went so far as to ask officials "why members had not been appointed instead of elected!"⁵⁷ The government was also dissatisfied with the result and announced that "hereafter, the recommendation system would not be adopted."⁵⁸

Table 2. RESULTS OF THE APRIL 1942 ELECTION

Name of Prefecture	Fixed number of representatives to be elected	Number of Candidates	Number of voters	The ratio of non-voters
Hokkaidō	20	53	599,199	2.43
Aomori	6	18	184,416	2.02
Iwate	7	12	209,317	1.67
Miyagi	8	19	329,996	1.43
Akita	7	17	197,444	1.70
Yamagata	8	21	208,938	1.37
Fukushima	11	24	239,607	1.37
Iberaki	11	25	322,418	1.38
Toshigi	9	13	227,172	1.30
Gumma	9	17	250,907	1.11
Soitama	11	26	324,263	0.93
Chiba	11	24	311,508	1.70
Tōkyō	31	99	1,449,424	1.40
Kanagawa	11	22	439,187	2.10
Niigata	15	35	403,240	1.73
Toyama	6	17	168,572	1.56
Ishikawa	6	14	157,906	1.66
Fukui	5	12	135,978	0.87
Yamashi	5	13	126,326	1.10
Nagano	13	25	343,757	1.24
Kifu Gifu	9	27	259,281	1.27
Shizuoka	13	26	397,342	1.38
Aichi	17	37	640,979	1.52
Mie	9	13	252,304	1.29
Shiga	5	14	150,035	1.51
Kyōto	11	22	365,318	1.89
Osaka	21	52	1,055,825	2.44
Hyōgo	19	39	680,227	1.75
Nara	5	10	128,074	1.50
Wakayama	6	17	184,832	1.92
Tottori	4	8	97,743	1.25
Shimane	6	10	160,277	1.59
Okayama	10	25	288,612	1.73
Hiroshima	13	27	392,020	1.58
Yamoguchi	9	19	265,124	2.05
Tokushima	6	13	151,451	1.75
Kogawa	6	11	154,656	1.75
Ehime	9	21	237,224	1.62
Kōchi	6	16	153,630	1.90
Fukuoka	18	45	578,124	1.63
Saga	6	12	127,625	1.15
Nagasaki	9	18	248,646	1.94
Kumamoto	10	19	261,869	1.74
Oita	7	17	196,058	1.58

Table 2. continued

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Name of Prefecture	Fixed number of representatives to be elected	Number of Candidates	Number of voters	The rate of non-voters
Miyasaki	5	10	156,265	1.85
Kagoshima	12	28	286,249	1.56
Okinawa	3	112	124,652	3.50
Total	466	1,079	111,594,998	73.76

Source: Dōmei Jiji Nenkan, 1943, pp. 95-96.

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III. LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR THE PRESENT ELECTORAL SYSTEM

A. Introduction

The legal provisions governing the conduct of elections in Japan are to be found in the election law of 1934. This law, however, aimed principally to correct the abuses which had existed under the 1925 act rather than to alter the system completely. For this reason many of the important provisions of the 1925 Act, remained unchanged, particularly those defining qualifications for the suffrage and establishing electoral districts. The Japanese Government has recently announced its intention of altering the election law prior to the next election. Changes which have been discussed to date are concerned primarily with a reallocation of election districts and a modification of residency requirements in order to adjust the system to the dislocations of the population which occurred during the war.⁵⁹ Indications are that the suffrage will be extended to women and to men under twenty-five.⁶⁰

B. Enforcement of Electoral Regulations

Elections in Japan are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Naimu-shō).⁶¹ Under the direction of the Home Ministry, the prefectural governors (fu-ken-chiji) and municipal heads (shi-chō), with the aid of the prefectural police, are directly responsible for the enforcement of the various laws and regulations dealing with both national and local elections. At one time, the Higher Police

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Section (Kōtō Keisatsu-ka) of the prefectural Police Division (Keisatsu-bu or Keinu-bu) was specifically empowered with the duty of supervising campaigns and elections within the prefecture, but in 1935 this section was abolished because of proof of partisan activity. Its functions, however, continued to be performed by the prefectural police.⁶²

Under the 1925 and 1934 laws, important duties directly concerned with the administration of candidature and elections were delegated to the prefectural governors and municipal heads. These duties included the establishment of voting districts in cities, the preparation of electoral lists, the supervision of balloting, the counting of votes, the publication of election expenses, and the holding of substitutional or by-elections.

C. Electoral Districts

The law of 1925 provided for a system of "medium size" election districts, which was retained under the law of 1934. The country was divided into 122 of such districts,⁶³ from each of which three to five candidates were to be elected; each⁶⁴ elector was to vote for only one candidate however. Under this system of multi-membered constituencies, one seat in the House of Representatives of the Diet was apportioned to every 120,000 of the population. The system created was, therefore, a compromise between the large electoral districts of the 1900 law and the small ones found under both the 1889 and the 1919 act. Other features of the 1925 law included the separation of

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cities from rural constituencies and the division of each large city into a number of small districts. As a result, there were fifty-three districts which elected three members, thirty-eight which elected four, and thirty-one which elected five, for a total of 466 seats.⁶⁵

Electoral lists (Senkyo jinmeibo) of those males qualified to vote are prepared annually by the city and town mayors by 15 September⁶⁶ and are exhibited publicly for a period of fifteen days beginning on 5 November.⁶⁷ Objections are heard and acted upon by the district voting supervisor,⁶⁸ and a final corrected list is posted by 20 December.⁶⁹

D. Qualifications for Participation

1. Qualifications for Voting

The franchise right in Japan is restricted to male Japanese subjects, twenty-five years of age and over,⁷⁰ who have resided within their respective electoral districts for at least six months prior to the compilation of the electoral list.⁷¹

Incompetents, bankrupts, vagabonds, those "who receive public or private aid or relief for their living," convicts, former convicts for a limited period following release from confinement, the heads of noble houses, and members of the Army and Navy on active service are denied suffrage.⁷²

Interpretation of the somewhat loose provision regarding persons receiving charity is left to the prefectural governor.⁷³

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Table 3. FIXED NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES IN JAPAN

(5 May 1945)

Prefecture	Electoral Districts	No. of Members	Prefecture	Electoral Districts	No. of Members
Tōkyō	7	31	Yamagata	2	8
Kyōto	3	11	Akita	2	7
Ōsaka	6	21	Fukui	1	5
Kanagawa	3	11	Ishikawa	2	6
Hyōgo	3	11	Toyama	2	6
Nagasaki	2	9	Tottori	1	4
Niigata	4	15	Shimane	2	6
Saitama	3	11	Okayama	2	10
Gunma	2	9	Hiroshima	3	10
Chiba	3	11	Yamaguchi	2	9
Ibaraki	3	11	Wakayama	2	6
Tochigi	2	9	Tokushima	2	6
Nara	1	5	Kagawa	2	6
Mie	2	9	Ehime	3	9
Aichi	5	17	Kōchi	2	6
Shizuoka	3	13	Fukuoka	4	18
Yamanashi	1	5	Ōita	2	7
Shiga	1	5	Saga	2	6
Gifu	3	9	Kumamoto	2	10
Nagano	4	13	Miyazaki	1	5
Miyagi	2	8	Kagoshima	3	12
Fukushima	3	11	Okinawa	1	5
Iwate	2	7	Hokkaidō	5	20
Aomori	2	6	TOTAL		466
					(sic)

Source: Asahi Nenkan, 1944 pp. 115-116.

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2. Qualifications for Holding Office. Eligibility to office is restricted to male Japanese subjects, thirty years of age and over, who reside in the districts they desire to represent.⁷⁴ The list of those ineligible to hold office is almost identical with the list of those ineligible for the franchise, except that the former also excludes the following classes of judicial officers and "officials:" officials in the Imperial Household Ministry, judicial officials in the governments of Korea, Formosa, Kwantung Province, and the South Sea Islands, judicial officials of the Army and Navy, the president and councilors of the Court of Administrative Litigation, auditors, revenue officials, and police officials.⁷⁵ Moreover, officers engaged in the management of an election are ineligible to run for office within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective offices.⁷⁶ The 1934 law also stipulated that certain other "officials," with seven exceptions, could not "combine their offices with membership in the House of Representatives."⁷⁷ On 12 June 1945, however, a bill permitting members of the Lower House to hold other government offices concurrently was introduced and received favorable comment in the Diet and from the press.⁷⁸ It is not known whether it became law.

E. Nominations

The primary election or nominating convention does not exist in the Japanese party system. Any person desirous

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of becoming a candidate for office or of recommending another for candidacy is required to notify his district election chairman of that intention between the date of publication of the election notice and the seventh the day before balloting.⁷⁹ In addition, two thousand yen in cash or national bonds must be deposited as security. This sum is forfeited to the state if the unsuccessful aspirant fails to receive more than one-tenth of the total number of votes divided by the number of contested seats in that election district, or if he resigns from candidature within ten days of election.⁸⁰

F. Campaigning

The legal definition of permissible activities during an election campaign is found, first, in the provisions of the election law; second, in the ordinances promulgated for the enforcement of the law; and finally, in a number of regulations that have been issued from time to time by the Home Affairs Ministry.

The law permits each candidate to maintain only one election office (senkyo jimusho), but in certain districts, the prefectural governor has the power to allow a maximum of three.⁸¹ The candidate is required either to appoint an "election manager" (senkyo jimuchō) or act in that capacity himself.⁸² As additional support, he can enlist the services of not more than twenty official electioneers, who constitute an "election committee" (senkyo iin);⁸³ all

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of these electioneers must be qualified voters.⁸⁴ The names of the manager and the committeemen are to be registered with the police, and specially prescribed badges must be worn by them at all times.⁸⁵ They alone are allowed to conduct the aspirant's campaign, for which services, however, only the election committee can receive compensation. Letters of recommendation (suisenjō) are allowed. In addition, anyone is at liberty to make what is called a "recommendation speech" (enzetsu),⁸⁶ but the number of such speakers at a meeting cannot exceed four.⁸⁷ These speakers and the candidate's manager are both entitled to expense money.⁸⁸ The law also grants free distribution by the post office of one letter containing a statement of qualifications and platform by each candidate or by his manager to every elector in the constituency.⁸⁹

The aspirant in Japan is also hedged about in his methods of campaigning. Violations punishable by law include door-to-door canvassing by the aspirant or his agent; sending individual letters of appeal; telephoning voters to recommend local candidates to their consideration;⁹⁰ the use of more than a definitely limited number and type of posters and other literature;⁹¹ and the expenditure of more than a fixed sum per voter.⁹² Voters cannot be entertained with food or amusement during the campaign, and post-election celebrations in the form of parades, bonfires, and the ringing of bells are also forbidden.⁹³

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Political meetings are permitted, but methods of publicizing such occasions are stringently limited. Notification of the speeches to be given can be made through newspaper advertisements, handbills, circular letters, posters, and notice boards. The circular letters are not to be printed in more than two colors and can state only the name of the candidate, his party, and the fact that he will make a speech at some specified place.⁹⁴ Handbills, similarly restricted in content, are limited in size to one foot by seven inches, and posters to three and one-tenth feet by two and one-tenth feet, with the name and address of the distributor clearly designated.⁹⁵ Each candidate is allowed to display a maximum of thirty posters per meeting,⁹⁶ all bearing the police seal of approval.⁹⁷ These posters, and name cards announcing meetings, may be printed in black and white only.⁹⁸ Distribution of any of the above by airplane or balloon is prohibited.⁹⁹

Notice boards used for general campaign purposes cannot exceed nine feet by two, and the characters must be printed in black on a white background. Each candidate is allowed no more than 150 of such boards, which carry only his name and party, for the entire campaign.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, posters and notice boards must be displayed at a fixed distance from the campaign office.¹⁰¹

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G. Election Finance

The election law of 1925 prescribed that the expense of the election campaign for each candidate could not exceed the amount obtained when the total number of electors registered on the final electoral list, divided by the number of members to be elected in the district, is multiplied by forty sen.¹⁰² It was estimated that each aspirant was thus permitted to spend a maximum of about 12,000 yen for election.¹⁰³ The fixed sum allowed for each voter was reduced to thirty sen by the 1934 legislation, thus limiting the candidate's fund to approximately 10,000 yen. This amount varied, however, with the size of the constituency.¹⁰⁴

Campaign funds may be disbursed only by the election manager or with his consent.¹⁰⁵ The manager is required to record all expenses, with some exceptions. His accounts must be submitted within two weeks after election day to the prefectural governor through the local police or, in Tōkyō, to the Superintendent General of the Metropolitan Police Board (Keishi-sōkan). The accounts are then made public by these officials.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the manager must retain his account book and other documents dealing with campaign expenses for one year, during which period his accounts are subject to police inspection.¹⁰⁷ Expenditures which candidates are not required to enter in the official accounts include transportation fees, the amounts for the adjustment of the remaining business of an election campaign after the date of election,

and certain other items incurred in connection with the activities of election officials.¹⁰⁸ All other obligations incurred, however, are too be regarded as expenses.¹⁰⁹

Table IV. ELECTION EXPENSES OF PROF. ABE ISOO OF SHAKAI MINSHUTO PARTY, 1928 ELECTION

Rent of Telephones	¥ 94.40
Telegraphic Charges	16.91
Postage	72.17
Train Fare	250.15
Motor Car Fare	249.40
Lodging charges for Canvassers	803.96
House Rent (1 election office)	162.48
Meeting Place Charges	565.80
Wages	610.22
Advertisement Cost	1,235.19
Miscellaneous Expenses	654.22
Writing Materials	609.17
Total	¥ 5,610.38

Source: Japan Chronicle, 8 March 1928, p. 282.

H. Mechanics of Voting

1. Balloting. The date of a general election is announced twenty-five days beforehand by Imperial ordinance.¹¹⁰

The law provides that general elections must be held within five days of the expiration of the concluding Diet session; in the case of dissolution, a special election is required within thirty days.¹¹¹

Balloting takes place in the city, town, and township offices (shi-yakusho, machi-yakuba, and mura-yakuba, respectively) and schools,¹¹² the polls (tōhyōjō) being open from seven in the morning until six o'clock at night.¹¹³ Each qualified voter receives a numbered election notice, delivered by hand, informing him of the polls nearest his home where his vote is to be

recorded.¹¹⁴ When the forms presented to the recording official at the balloting place, the elector in exchange receives a blank piece of paper, upon which, in secret, he writes the name of a single candidate.¹¹⁵ He may use Japanese, Chinese, or Korean characters, Japanese phonetic symbols (kana), Korean phonetic symbols making Japanese sounds, romaji, or braille, but any mistake in writing the ballot renders it worthless.¹¹⁶ After casting his vote, the elector returns to the desk of the recording official, where, in the presence of the police, he folds the ballot and inserts it in the ballot box (tōhyōbako).

Those incapacitated by illness or "other recognized circumstances" may fill out ballots at home and send them to the polls. Moreover, persons who are away from home on election day may vote by making arrangements with the authorities to have their ballots cast by proxy by a member of their family.¹¹⁷

2. Supervision of Voting. The city and town mayors and the township headmen, in the capacity of "voting overseers" (tōhyō kanrisha), supervise balloting and the polls.¹¹⁸ In addition, each candidate is entitled to appoint an election inspector (tōhyō tachinainin) for each district.¹¹⁹ The latter's functions include the identification of qualified voters and the duty of passing upon and affixing his name to the voting minutes prepared and signed by the voting overseer.

Under the law, all votes cast at different polling stations in the cities are counted separately by the mayors, on behalf

of the prefectural government. In the towns and townships this same function is performed by prefectural officials appointed by the governor.¹²⁰ To the offices of these "counting overseers" are sent the sealed ballot boxes, the voting minutes, and the electoral lists. There, on the following day, in the presence of the candidates' watchers (kaihyō tachiainin),¹²¹ to whom each aspirant is also entitled, the officials open the boxes and record the total number of ballots and voters.¹²² Questionable forms are sorted out, and the minutes kept of the counting process, together with those of the voting, are preserved during the tenure of the members affected.¹²³

Reports of the ballot count are then forwarded to the proper election judge (senkyochō),¹²⁴ an official appointed from among the mayors and prefectural officials of each district by the prefectural governor. The election board (senkyo-kai)¹²⁵ selected by the judge convenes a special meeting at the prefectural or city office for the purpose of examining the reports of the counting overseers. Both watchers and inspectors as well as interested voters may attend. Minutes are again kept of the proceedings, and, after being signed by the election officials, are preserved with the other election documents.¹²⁶

Candidates with the highest pluralities within the district up to the number of seats to be filled are declared elected, provided each has received at least the quotient obtained by dividing the total vote of the district by the number of seats to be filled plus one.¹²⁷ Persons elected must notify the judge

of their acceptance; failure to do so within twenty days implies a declination.¹²⁸ The law also provides that if a successful candidate dies, declines office, or if his election is invalidated, the successor is to be chosen from among those candidates who have the required quota at an election meeting, presumably attended by the same persons who examined the original voting results.¹²⁹ Usually the aspirant with the next highest plurality is chosen, but in case of a tie, age is the determining factor.¹³⁰

By-elections take place only after two vacancies have occurred within a given district. Such elections must take place within twenty days after the prefectural governor receives notice that the second vacancy has occurred. Notice of the date of the by-election must be given at least fourteen days beforehand by the governor.¹³¹ Persons elected to fill such vacancies hold the unexpired terms of their predecessors.¹³²

I. Election Offenses and Disputes

1. Legal Provisions for Offenses. The election law is detailed in its enumeration of offenses and corresponding penalties. Invalidation of a candidate's election, prohibition to vote or to be a candidate, fines ranging up to ten thousand yen, and imprisonment for as long as seven years are the principal penalties provided. Prohibited actions are numerous, including gifts or promises of gifts, money, goods, employment, or influence; the use of violence, intimidation, or obstruction; violation, or attempted violation, of the secrecy of the ballot; tampering with ballot boxes or manipulation of votes; carrying

deadly weapons; conducting parades or other forms of display; instigation of others to illegal practices; publication of falsehoods concerning a candidate; and illegal voting. In addition, election or campaign officials are held responsible for failure or willful neglect in the performance of their duties.¹³³

A new and important provision with respect to penalties was added by the 1934 law. Under this provision, the candidate is held responsible for offenses committed by his election manager or other persons in charge of his campaign. In such a situation, where the successful candidate's manager is convicted, the election of the candidate is invalidated and he is unseated. He is absolved, however, if he can prove that he observed proper caution under the circumstances when selecting his manager or that he was ignorant of the fact that a person other than the legal manager was superintending his election campaign.¹³⁴ If the elected person is unseated, the highest unsuccessful candidate in the district is automatically returned, provided, however, that the offender is convicted of the offense charged within one year after the election.¹³⁵ In many such cases, final judgment was not secured within the time limit set, chiefly because of the deliberate attempts on the part of the accused to prolong the trial and delay the decision.

The 1934 law also stipulated that both parties to the purchase of a vote, if convicted, were to have all civic rights suspended for five years, and a repetition of this same offense by either party doubled the penalty imposed.¹³⁶

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2. Election Disputes. Any elector or candidate who questions the validity of an election may institute a legal suit against the election chairman¹³⁷ and/or against the successful candidate¹³⁸ in the Supreme Court (Daishin-in) within thirty days after the date of the election. If the law is deemed to have been violated, the court is empowered to void the election either in whole or in part, provided the violation affected the returns.¹³⁹

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Footnotes

1. Uyehara, G.E., Political Development of Japan, p. 169; Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 253.
2. For further discussion of early electoral systems, See: Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, New Series II, pp. 5-35; Uyehara, G.E. Political Development of Japan, pp. 168-179; Sato, H., Democracy and the Japanese Government, pp. 34-40.
3. The National Students' League presented a petition to the Emperor in 1919, recalling the Imperial promise of 1868 "to consult widely and to transact state affairs in accordance with public opinion" and strongly urged adoption of universal manhood suffrage. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 253.
4. Sato, H., Democracy and the Japanese Government, pp. 34-40.
5. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 254.
6. Pacific Affairs, Vol. 3, Sept. 1930, p. 915; American Political Science Review, Vol. 20 May 1926, pp. 392-395; Japan Advertiser 20 Feb. 1928, p. 1; Japan Chronicle, 23 Feb. 1928, p. 221.
7. Qualified electors for the 1928 election totalled 12,409,078. Dōmei Jiji Nenkan, 1943, pp. 95-96.
8. The number of qualified voters for the 1936 election was 14,303,780. Ibid.
9. Japan Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1936, p. 159.
10. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 254.
11. Japan Chronicle, 22 May 1930, p. 538. Provision has recently been made to extend the suffrage to women, see n. 61.
12. Ibid. 12 March 1925, pp. 334-338; 12 March 1931, p. 274; Trans-Pacific, 21 March 1935, p. 12; Federal Communications Commission Daily Report, 11 Sept. 1945, hereafter referred to as FCC, DR.
13. For a description of the legal provisions governing the conduct of elections, see Part III.
14. In the 1928 election, for example, 70.6 percent of the official Seiyukai candidates were elected, while 15 percent of the unofficial aspirants were successful. The corresponding Minseitō percentages were 72.5 and 24.6. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 256.
15. Washio, S., "The Recent Election," Japan Advertiser, 5 March 1930, p. 4; Nakano, S., "The Wholesale Vote Trade," Ibid. 15 Jan. 1930 p. 4.
16. Careful management concerning this matter was required of the political managers, for naturally the most popular aspirant on the slate could draw too many votes, and the rest of the ticket might be sacrificed to his popularity.

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17. Washio, S, "The Recent Election," Japan Advertiser, 5 March 1930, p. 4; "In the Constituencies," Ibid., 28 Jan. 1930, p. 4.
18. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, pp. 262-263.
19. In the 1928 election, 3,780 political meetings were held in Tokyo with an attendance of 1,140,273. In the 1930 election, 2,150,370 people attended 5,654 meetings in Tokyo. Japan Advertiser, 26 Feb. 1930, p. 4.
20. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 265.
21. Japan Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1936, p. 158.
22. "The largest part of the money is contributed by the great business establishments such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, Okura, and others." Ibid., p. 260. In 1930, one Mitsui firm alone contributed 450,000 yen to the funds of one party. Japan Advertiser, 28 Jan. 1930, p. 63.
23. Ibid., 28 Feb. 1930, p. 64.
24. Chūō Kōron, Feb. 1930, p. 186.
25. Wildes, Harry E., Japan in Crisis, p. 158.
26. "Voters in Ibaragi prefecture have been caught by one candidate there, who extensively defrauded country depositors through the creation of savings unions. He then bought votes on a large scale and built roads and schools to capture votes.... Okayama prefecture was also noted for this type of collective bargaining. Voters there passed a resolution to vote for candidates who offered to build schools and make roads." Japan Advertiser, 15 Jan. 1930, p. 4.
27. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 269.
28. Other violations in addition to vote buying, however, were common. In the 1928 general election 723 cases of electioneering by outsiders were reported. Calls on voters and personal interviews with voters brought many into trouble, 227 persons standing convicted of these charges. Seventy-four were charged with the obstruction of meetings and speeches. Those who were prosecuted for offenses against the Home Ministry order for the control of election literature and posters were rather few (63). Japan Chronicle, 22 March 1928, p. 347.
29. Ibid., 14 August 1924, p. 230.
30. Examples of this are numerous. For instance, when in November 1930, the Zenkoku Taishuto (National Masses Party) held a general meeting in Ōsaka, which 1,000 persons attended, it was prevented by the police from discussing the government's economic program. A like fate was experienced by a meeting of the party in Tōkyō. A month later, the party sought to hold its annual meeting in Tōkyō. The police seized all documents,

- stopping the opening speech of the chief secretary and the reading of all branch reports, arrested several delegates, dragged a number of speakers from the platform, and finally broke up the meeting. In the same month the police broke up the annual meeting of the Rōnōtō (Labor-Farmer Party) after bloodshed and the arrest of fifty people. Japan Chronicle, 6 Nov. 1930 p. 545; 11 Dec. 1930, p. 658; 1 Jan. 1931, pp. 9-10.
31. Japan Advertiser, 26 Feb. 1930, p. 4.
 32. After much controversy, the Peace Preservation Act (better known as the Dangerous Thoughts Law) was passed by the Diet on 19 March 1925. Japan Chronicle, 23 April 1925, p. 430.
 33. Pacific Affairs, Vol. 3, Sept. 1930, p. 913.
 34. Trans-Pacific, 20 Dec. 1934, p. 15.
 35. Japan Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1936, p. 158.
 36. Fahs, C.B.; Government in Japan, p. 74.
 37. Japan Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1936, p. 64.
 38. Ibid., 6 Feb. 1936, p. 158; 27 Feb. 1936, p. 263.
 39. Ibid., 5 March 1936, p. 384.
 40. Ibid., 22 April 1937, p. 482.
 41. FCC DR, 11 May 1942.
 42. Japan Advertiser, 1 Feb. 1928, p. 4.
 43. Japan Chronicle, 5 March 1936, p. 384.
 44. Trans-Pacific, 15 April 1937, p. 10.
 45. Law of 1934, Art. CXII, Sec. 2.
 46. Japan Chronicle, 15 August 1935, p. 210.
 47. Ibid., 5 Sept. 1935, p. 311.
 48. Trans-Pacific, 15 April 1937, p. 10. Members of the Imperial Ex-Servicemen's Society were instructed by the Army's Osaka Regimental Commander with reference to voting in the 1937 election. They were told to "vote for a candidate who realizes the necessity of strengthening the national defense" and "in case there are no candidates you can honestly support, renounce your right to vote." Japan Chronicle, 15 April 1937, pp. 447-448.
 49. All political parties and organizations had either dissolved or had been involuntarily liquidated by 12 October 1940 when the Imperial Rule Assistance Association was inaugurated. Latter hereafter referred to as the IRAA.
 50. FCC, DR, 26 March 1942.
 51. Far Eastern Survey, Vol. XI, 18 May 1942, pp. 115-116.
 52. FCC, DR, 7 April 1942; Nippon Kokumin Undō Nenshin, Tokyo, Vol. 1 20 August 1943, pp. 93-107.
 53. FCC, DR, 23 April 1942.
 54. Ibid., 27 Feb. 1942.
 55. Dōmei Jiji Nenkan, 1943, p. 96.
 56. The total number of qualified voters in the 1942 election was 14,594,958. The number who actually cast ballots in that election totalled 12,135,217. FCC, DR, 3 May 1942.

57. FCC, Dōmei to Home Audience, 25 April 1942.
58. FCC, DR, 19 Feb. 1943.
59. Ibid., 14 Sept. 1945.
60. On 15 October 1945 the Cabinet decided that the suffrage right should be extended to men and women of twenty years of age and above. The necessary bill making these changes will be introduced at the next Diet session. Ibid., 15 Oct. 1945.
61. The Administration Section (Gyōsei-ka) of the Home Ministry's Local Bureau (Chihō-kyoku) is charged with matters pertaining to the organization and administration of Diet elections -- Shokuin Roku, 1943, p. 9. The Home Affairs Ministry, the most important organ for the control of Japan's internal, political life, has immediate jurisdiction over the nation's police; the prefectural governors, and through them all other local officials; and the maintenance of national shrines -- OSS, R & A # 1939 "Japan, Government and Administration," 3 July 1944, p. 13.
62. Japan Chronicle, 15 August 1935, p. 210.
63. Ibid., 5 March 1925, p. 303.
64. Pacific Affairs, Vol. 3, September 1930, p. 913.
65. Proceedings of Tōkyō Imperial Academy, Vol. 4, 1928, p. 445.
66. Law of 1934, Art. XII, Secs. 1-3.
67. Ibid., Art. XIII.
68. Ibid., Arts. XIV - XVI.
69. Ibid., Art. XVII, Sec. 1.
70. Law of 1934, Art. V, Sec. 1. See also footnote 61.
71. Ibid., Art. XII, Sec. 1. The 1925 law required residence for at least one year prior to the compilation of the electoral lists.
72. Ibid., Art. VI, Secs. 1-7.
73. Wildes, Harry E., Japan in Crisis, p. 155.
74. Law of 1934, Art. V, Sec. 2.
75. Ibid., Art. IX.
76. Ibid., Art. VIII.
77. The seven classes of officials excepted by Art. X of the 1934 act are:
 - Cabinet Ministers
 - Chief Secretary of the Cabinet
 - President of the Bureau of Legislation
 - Parliamentary Undersecretaries of all ministries
 - Councillors of all ministries
 - Private secretaries of the premier
 - Private secretaries of all ministries
78. FCC, DR, 12 June 1945.
79. Law of 1934, Art. LXVII, Sec. 1. This same official is known as the "judge of elections" in most states of the United States. See Section G, 2 of Part II below.
80. Law of 1934, Art. LXVIII, Secs. 1-3.
81. Law of 1934, Art. XC, Sec. 1. Art. XCI stipulates that election offices cannot be maintained within 360 yards of the polls.

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82. Ibid., Art. LXXXVIII, Sec. 1.
83. Ibid., Art XCIII. The law also provides, however, that "in case of any changes, the number shall not exceed fifty." In addition to the committeemen allowed each candidate, thirty romusha "Workers" may be hired each day presumably to carry on the menial tasks, such as hanging posters, running errands, etc.
84. Ibid., Art. XCIX.
85. Ministry of Home Affairs Ordinance #36, Chapter II, Art. III, 12 December 1934, Nippon Horei Zensho, p. 47.
86. Law of 1934, Art. XCVI. The government does not forbid its ministers to write letters of recommendation, in their personal capacity, on behalf of candidates -- Japan Chronicle, 15 April 1937, p. 449.
87. Law of 1934, Art. XCVIII, Sec. 3.
88. Ibid., Art. XCVII.
89. Ibid., Art. CXL, Sec. 1.
90. Ibid., Art. XCVIII, Secs 1-2. In April 1937 the regulations forbidding successful or unsuccessful candidates from thanking their friends for congratulations tendered or sympathies expressed, either by personal calls, by telephone, or in printed letters was removed by the Home Affairs Ministry -- Japan Chronicle, 22 April 1937, p. 479.
91. Law of 1934, Art. C.
92. See Section G below.
93. Law of 1934, Art. CXXIV.
94. Ministry of Home Affairs Ordinance #36, Art. VII, 12 December 1934, Nippon Horei Zensho, p. 47.
95. Ibid., Art. VI, Sec. 1.
96. Ibid., Art. VIII.
97. Ibid., Art. XII.
98. Ibid., Art. VI, Sec. 2.
99. Ibid., Art. V, Sec. 4.
100. Ibid., Art. XI.
101. Ibid., Art. II, Sec. 2 provides that not more than two can be posted within 109 metres from the entrance to the area where the campaign office is established.
102. Law of 1934, Art. CII, Sec. 1.
103. Quigley, Harold S., "The New Japanese Electoral Law," American Political Science Review, Vol. XX, May 1926, pp. 392-395.
104. Law of 1934, Art. CII, Secs. 1-2. In the 1937 general election, the amounts candidates were legally allowed to spend varied with the size of the electorate. The fifth electoral district of Tokyo prefecture headed the list, permitting each to spend 23,553 yen and the first electoral district of Saga prefecture was the lowest with 6,119 yen. The average amount was 9,412 yen per candidate. Japan Chronicle, 15 April 1937, p. 448.
105. Law of 1934, Art. CI. However, this did not include

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- election campaign expenses due to lectures or letters of recommendation.
106. Ibid., Art. CVI.
 107. Ibid., Arts. CVII-CVIII.
 108. Ibid., Art. CIV.
 109. Ibid., Art. CIII.
 110. Ibid., Art. XVIII, Sec. 4.
 111. Ibid., Art. XVIII, Secs. 1-3.
 112. Ibid., Art. XXI.
 113. Ibid., Art. XXIII.
 114. Japan Chronicle, 23 Feb. 1928, p. 221. Students who live in the country but study in Tokyo, if otherwise qualified, may vote in Tokyo in the constituency where they reside. Trans-Pacific 4 Feb. 1928, p. 15.
 115. Law of 1934, Art. XXVII, Secs. 1-2.
 116. Quigley, Harold S., Japanese Government and Politics, p. 258.
 117. Trans-Pacific, 4 Feb. 1928.
 118. Law of 1934, Art. XX.
 119. The 1934 law refers to this official as a voting witness in Art. XIV. He is commonly known in the United States as an "election inspector." (See Abraham, Lewis, New York Election Law Manual.)
 120. Law of 1934, Art. XLIV.
 121. The Japanese official is known as the "counting witness" in Art. XLIX of the 1934 law. In New York these same duties are performed by "election watchers." Abraham, Lewis, New York Election Law Manual, p. 173.
 122. Law of 1934, Art. XLVIII, Sec. 1.
 123. Ibid., Art. LIV.
 124. The law of 1934 refers to this official as the "chairman of elections" in Art. LVIII, Sec. 1. In the United States, he is commonly known as the "judge of elections." Pa. Election Guide, p. 46.
 125. The Japanese system calls this group the "election committee." It is known as the "election board" in the United States. Pa. Election Guide, p. 47.
 126. Law of 1934, Art. LXIV.
 127. Ibid., Art. LXIX.
 128. Ibid., Art. LXXIV.
 129. Ibid., Art. LXIX, Secs. 3-5.
 130. Ibid., Art. LXIX, Sec. 2.
 131. Ibid., Art. LXIX, Secs. 1-6.
 132. Ibid., Art. LXXX.
 133. Ibid., Arts. CXII-CXXXVIII.
 134. Ibid., Art. CXXXVI.
 135. Japan Chronicle, 5 March 1936, p. 292.
 136. Law of 1934, Art. XXXVII.
 137. Ibid., Art. LXXXI.
 138. Ibid., Art. LXXXIII, Sec. 1.
 139. Ibid., Art. LXXXI, Sec. 1.

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The Japanese National Election System

APPENDICES

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Appendix A

ELECTION RESULTS

Table I. RESULTS OF EVERY ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE JAPANESE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Date of Election	Fixed No. of representatives to be elected	Number of Candidates	Number of voters	Number of non-voters	Number of voters per thousand population	Population	Number of voters	Average votes obtained
July, 1890	300		453,885	32,777	11.51	100,180	1,513	
Feb. 1892	300		453,200	36,743	10.95	101,779	1,451	
Mar. 1894	300		400,031	48,161	10.92	103,471	1,467	
Sept. 1894	300		460,113	68,077	11.42	103,471	1,524	
Mar. 1898	300		453,329	57,152	10.86	108,072	1,511	
Aug. 1898	300		501,459	103,553	12.01	108,073	1,672	
Aug. 1902	376		983,193	113,709	20.83	119,521	2,605	1,597
Mar. 1903	376		951,860		20.91	121,069	2,533	1,783
Mar. 1904	379		757,788		19.43	121,679	1,999	1,410
May 1908	379		1,582,676	226,016	52.80	127,320	4,176	2,987
May 1912	381		1,503,650	151,875	29.24	135,001	3,947	3,513
Mar. 1915	381		1,546,341	121,646	28.81	140,862	4,059	3,720
Apr 1, 1917	381		1,422,118	114,951	25.75	144,973	3,733	3,414
May 1920	464		3,069,789	408,106	46.33	121,235	6,616	5,686
May 1924	464		3,288,368	290,052	55.60	126,038	7,087	3,992
Feb. 1928	466		12,409,078	2,441,056	199.75	133,309	26,629	24,885
Feb. 1930	466		12,812,192	2,107,656	198.81	138,309	27,496	16,915
Feb. 1932	466		13,095,621	2,201,421	200.32	140,271	28,102	12,732
Feb. 1936	466		14,303,780	3,054,118	206.54	148,614	30,695	17,500
Apr 1, 1937	466	826	14,401,173	3,757,097	206.11	152,903	30,904	17,682
Apr 1, 1942	466	1,080	14,594,998	2,459,755	199.61	156,897	31,319	--

Source: Domei Jijū Nenkan, 1943 pp. 95-96.

Appendix A

ELECTION RESULTS

RESULTS OF EVERY ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE JAPANESE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Number of Candidates	Number of voters	Number of non-voters	Number of voters per thousand population	For one member of the House of Representatives		
				Population	Number of voters	Average % of new voters per 100 voters
	453,885	32,777	11.51	100,180	1,513	7.22
	453,200	36,743	10.95	101,779	1,451	8.44
	400,031	48,161	10.92	103,471	1,467	10.94
	460,113	68,077	11.42	103,471	1,524	14.80
	453,329	57,152	10.86	108,072	1,511	12.61
	501,459	103,553	12.01	108,073	1,672	30.65
	983,193	113,709	20.83	119,521	2,605	11.59
	951,860		20.91	121,069	2,533	1,783
	757,788		19.43	121,679	1,999	1,410
	1,582,676	226,016	52.80	127,320	4,176	2,987
	1,503,650	151,875	29.24	135,001	3,947	3,513
	1,546,341	121,646	28.81	140,862	4,059	3,720
	1,422,118	114,951	25.75	144,973	3,733	3,414
	3,069,789	408,106	46.33	121,235	6,816	5,686
	3,288,368	290,052	55.60	126,038	7,087	3,992
	12,409,078	2,441,056	199.75	133,309	26,629	24,885
	12,812,192	2,107,656	198.81	138,309	27,496	16,915
	13,095,621	2,201,421	200.32	140,271	28,102	12,732
	14,303,780	3,054,118	206.54	148,614	30,695	17,500
	14,401,173	3,757,097	206.11	152,903	30,904	17,682
	14,594,998	2,459,755	199.61	156,897	31,319	--

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