

	Nishimurayama-gun	
	Minamiokitama-gun	
	Higashiokitama-gun	
	Nishiokitama-gun	
	No. 2 District	
	Tsuruoka-shi	4
	Sakata-shi	
	Kitamurayama-gun	
	Mogami-gun	
	Higashitagawa-gun	
	Nishitagawa-gun	
	Atsumi-gun	
<u>Akita-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	
	Akita-shi	4
	Noshiro-shi	
	Kazuno-gun	
	Kitaakita-gun	
	Yamamoto-gun	
	Minamiakita-gun	
	Kawabe-gun	
	No. 2 District	
	Yuri-gun	4
	Senkoku-gun	
	Hiraka-gun	
	Okachi-gun	
<u>Fukui-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	
		4
<u>Ishikawa-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	
	Kanazawa-shi	3
	Komatsu-shi	
	Enuma-gun	
	Nomi-gun	
	Ishikawa-gun	
	No. 2 District	
	Nanao-shi	3
	Kakoku-gun	
	Hagui-gun	
	Kashima-gun	
	Fugeshi-gun	
	Suzu-gun	
<u>Toyama-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	
	Toyama-shi	3
	Kaminikawa-gun	
	Nakanikawa-gun	
	Shimoniikawa-gun	
	Nei-gun	
	No. 2 District	
	Takaoka-shi	3
	Imizu-gun	
	Himi-gun	
	Higashitonami-gun	
	Nishitonami-gun	
<u>Tottori-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	
		4
<u>Shimane-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	
		5

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<u>Okayama-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	5
	Okayama-shi	
	Tsuyama-shi	
	Mitsu-gun	
	Akaiwa-gun	
	Wake-gun	
	Oku-gun	
	Jodo-gun	
	Maniwa-gun	
	Tomata-gun	
	Katsuta-gun	
	Aida-gun	
	Kume-gun	
	No. 2 District	5
	Kurashiki-shi	
	Tamono-shi	
	Kojima-gun	
	Tsukubo-gun	
	Asakuchi-gun	
	Oda-gun	
	Shitsuki-gun	
	Kibi-gun	
	Kamibo-gun	
	Kawakami-gun	
	Atetsu-gun	
<u>Hiroshima-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	3
	Hiroshima-shi	
	Saheki-gun	
	Asa-gun	
	Yamagata-gun	
	Takata-gun	
	No. 2 District	4
	Kure-shi	
	Aki-gun	
	Kamo-gun	
	Toyota-gun	
	No. 3 District	5
	Onomichi-shi	
	Fukuyama-shi	
	Mihara-shi	
	Mitsugi-gun	
	Sera-gun	
	Numakuma-gun	
	Fukayasu-gun	
	Ashina-gun	
	Jinseki-gun	
	Konu-gun	
	Futami-gun	
	Hiba-gun	
<u>Yamaguchi-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	4
	Shimonoseki-shi	
	Ube-shi	
	Hagi-shi	
	Onota-shi	
	Asa-gun	
	Toyora-gun	
	Mine-gun	
	Otsu-gun	
	Abu-gun	

	No. 2 District	5
	Yamaguchi-shi	
	Tokuyama-shi	
	Bofu-shi	
	Shitamatsu-shi	
	Iwakuni-shi	
	Hikari-shi	
	Oshima-gun	
	Kuka-gun	
	Kumage-gun	
	Tsuno-gun	
	Saba-gun	
	Yoshiki-gun	
<u>Wakayama-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	3
	Wakayama-shi	
	Kainan-shi	
	Kaiso-gun	
	Naka-gun	
	Ito-gun	
	No. 2 District	3
	Shingu-shi	
	Tenabe-shi	
	Arita-gun	
	Hitaka-gun	
	Nishimuro-gun	
	Higashimuro-gun	
<u>Tokushima-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	5
<u>Kagawa-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	3
	Takamatsu-shi	
	Okawa-gun	
	Kida-gun	
	Shozu-gun	
	Kagawa-gun	
	No. 2 District	3
	Marugame-shi	
	Sakaide-shi	
	Ayauta-gun	
	Nakatado-gun	
	Mitoyo-gun	
<u>Ehime-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	3
	Matsuyama-shi	
	Onsen-gun	
	Iyo-gun	
	Kamikeana-gun	
	No. 2 District	3
	Imaharu-shi	
	Nihama-shi	
	Saijo-shi	
	Ochi-gun	
	Shuso-gun	
	Nihi-gun	
	Uma-gun	
	No. 3 District	3
	Uwajima-shi	
	Yawatahama-shi	
	Kita-gun	
	Nishiuwa-gun	
	Higashiuwa-gun	
	Kitauwa-gun	
	Minamiuwa-gun	

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<u>Kochi-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	5
<u>Fukuoka-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	5
	Fukuoka-shi	
	Kasuya-gun	
	Munakata-gun	
	Asakura-gun	
	Tsukushi-gun	
	Sawara-gun	
	Itoshima-gun	
	No. 2 District	5
	Yawata-shi	
	Tobata-shi	
	Nogata-shi	
	Iizuka-shi	
	Onga-gun	
	Furate-gun	
	Kaho-gun	
	No. 3 District	5
	Kurume-shi	
	Omuta-shi	
	Ukiha-gun	
	Mitsui-gun	
	Mitsuma-gun	
	Yame-gun	
	Yamato-gun	
	Miike-gun	
	No. 4 District	4
	Kokura-shi	
	Moji-shi	
	Kagawa-shi	
	Kiku-gun	
	Tagawa-gun	
	Miyako-gun	
	Chikujo-gun	
<u>Oita-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	4
	Oita-shi	
	Hida-shi	
	Saeki-shi	
	Oita-gun	
	Kitaamabe-gun	
	Minamiamabe-gun	
	Ono-gun	
	Naonri-gun	
	Hide-gun	
	No. 2 District	3
	Beppu-shi	
	Nakatsu-shi	
	Nishikunisaki-gun	
	Higashikunisaki-gun	
	Hayami-gun	
	Shimonoge-gun	
	Usa-gun	
<u>Saga-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	5
<u>Kumamoto-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	5
	Kumamoto-shi	
	Arao-shi	
	Hotaku-gun	
	Tamana-gun	
	Shikamoto-gun	
	Kikuchi-gun	
	Aso-gun	

	No. 2 District	5
	Yatsushiro-shi	
	Hitoyoshi-shi	
	Udo-gun	
	Kami Masushiro-gun	
	Shimo Masushiro-gun	
	Yatsushiro-gun	
	Ashikita-gun	
	Kyuma-gun	
<u>Miyazaki-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	3
	Miuazaki-shi	
	Nobeoka-shi	
	Miyaza'ti-gun	
	Konoyu-gun	
	Higashi Sonoki-gun	
	Nishi Sonoki-gun	
	No. 2 District	3
	Miyakonojo-shi	
	Minami Naka-gun	
	Kita Morogata-gun	
	Nishi Morogata-gun	
	Higashi Morogata-gun	
<u>Kagoshima-Ken</u>	No. 1 District	4
	Kagoshima-shi	
	Kagoshima-gun	
	Ibusuki-gun	
	Kawanabe-gun	
	Hioki-gun	
	No. 2 District	3
	Sendai-shi	
	Satsuma-gun	
	Izumi-gun	
	Isa-gun	
	Aira-gun	
	No. 3 District	3
	Kanaya-shi	
	Kimotsuki-gun	
	Soo-gun	
	Kumage-gun	
	Area under the jurisdiction of Oshima-shicho	
<u>Hokkaido</u>	No. 1 District	5
	Sapporo-shi	
	Otaru-shi	
	Area under the jurisdiction of Ishikari-shicho	
	Area under the jurisdiction of Shiribeshi-shicho	
	No. 2 District	4
	Asahigawa-shi	
	Area under the jurisdiction of Kamikawa-shicho	
	Area under jurisdiction of Soya-shicho	
	Area under jurisdiction of Rumoi-shicho	
	No. 3 District	3
	Hakodate-shi	
	Area under the jurisdiction of Hiyama-shicho	
	Area under the jurisdiction of Toshima-shicho	

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- No. 4 District 5
Muroran-shi
Yubari-shi
Iwamizawa-shi
Area under the jurisdiction of
Sorachi-shicho
Area under the jurisdiction of
Ibari-shicho
Area under the jurisdiction of
Hidaka-shicho
- No. 5 District 5
Kushiro-shi
Obihiro-shi
Kitami-shi
Abashiri-shi
Area under the jurisdiction of
Tokachi-shicho
Area under the jurisdiction of
Kushiro-shicho
Area under the jurisdiction of
Nemuro-shicho
Area under the jurisdiction of
Abashiri-shicho

SUPPLEMENTARY RULES

Article 1 - This law shall come into force so that the coming general election may be effected according thereto. However Articles 10 and 11 of supplementary provisions shall be applied to the coming election for members of assemblies of city, town and village, or chief executives of city, town and village.

When members of assemblies of public entities or chief executives thereof are elected, amended provisions for the law of election for the House of Representatives shall be considered enforced, in the case of these provisions being applied mutatis mutandis, if the amended provisions above mentioned are not yet enforced.

Article 2 - The President of the Court of Administrative Litigation and judges of the same in active service shall not be eligible until the Japanese Constitution comes into force in spite of the provisions of this Law.

Article 3 - In Article 10 of this revised Law for the Election of Members of the House of Representatives, "the director-general of the cabinet secretariate" shall read "the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet", till the coming into force of the Japanese Constitution.

Article 4 - In Article 16, Para 2, of this revised Law for the Election of Members of the House of Representatives, "the Supreme Court" and in Article 81, Article 83, Para 1, and Article 84, Para 1, "the High Court" shall read "The Supreme Court", that is "Daishin-in", till the coming into force of the Japanese Constitution.

Article 5 - Before the coming into force of the Japanese Constitution, the date of a general election shall be determined and proclaimed by an Imperial Ordinance in spite of the provisions of revised Article 18, Para 4, of this revised Law for the Election of Members of the House of Representatives.

Article 6 - In the coming general election, "within ten (10) days" in Article 7 of the Law for Election of Members of the House of Representatives shall be regarded as five (5) days.

Article 7 - Partial amendments shall be made to the Law for Election of Members of the House of Councillors as follows:

Article 2 in Additional Rules shall be amended as follows -
Article 2. Deleted.

Articles 5 to 8 in Additional Rules shall be amended as follows -

Articles 5 to 8 - Deleted.

Article 8 - Partial amendment shall be made to the Law for the Tokyo Metropolis System as follows:

In Article 93-20 (of the said Law), the following shall be added -

": names, personal histories etc. in Article 140, Para 4 of the said Law shall read political opinions."

Article 9 - Partial amendment shall be made to the Law for the District and Prefectures System as follows:

In Article 74 - 20 (of the said Law), the following shall be added -

"; names, personal histories etc. in Article 140 Para 4 of the said Law shall read political opinions."

Article 10 - Following amendments shall be made to the law concerning organization of city:

In Article 39, proviso, "officials are commissioners for overseeing election, ward commissioners for overseeing election, secretaries of commission for overseeing election and of ward commission for overseeing election, chairman of election, chairman of subcommittees for voting and chairman of subcommittee for ballot counting" shall read "those mentioned in Article 8 are chairman of subcommittee for voting and chairman for ballot counting".

Article 40, proviso shall read as follows -

However, those mentioned in Article 8 which is quoted in Article 112, Para 2, Article 113, Para 2, Article 116, Article 117 and Article 127, Para 4, the law of election for the House of Representatives, shall include chairmen of sub-committee for voting and chairman of sub-committee for ballot counting.

Article 11 - Following amendment shall be made to law concerning the organization of town or village.

In Article 36-2 of the said law, "Article 96" shall be added next to "Article 95" and also Article 100-2 shall be deleted.

Article 36 proviso shall read as follows:

Ho ever those mentioned in Article 8 which is quoted in Article 99 of the said law shall include chairman of subcommittee for voting and chairman of subcommittee for ballot counting.

Article 37 proviso shall read as follows -

However those mentioned in Article 8 which is quoted in Article 112, Para 2, Article 116 Article 117 and Article 127, Para 4 of the law of election for the House of Representatives shall include chairman of subcommittee for voting and chairman of subcommittee for ballot counting..

CHAPTER FOUR

Ordinance Concerning Publicity on Election Expenses

(Ministry of Home Affairs Ordinance No. 1 of 1947 as amended by Ministry of Home Affairs Ordinance No. 16 of 1947).

Matters concerning the Publicity of the Expenditures of Election Campaigns and the Receipts in respect of Election Campaigns relating to the Elections of Members of the House of Representatives, Members of Local Assemblies, etc. shall, in pursuance of the Imperial Ordinance No. 542 of the twentieth year of Showa, Matters concerning the Ordinance issued in consequence of the Acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, be provided as follows:

Minister of Home Affairs

OMURA Seiichi

Ministerial Ordinance

Article 1. This Ministerial Ordinance shall be applied to those elections which are set up by the use of the electors' register for the Election of the Members of the House of Representatives.*

Article 2. The election campaign expenses contemplated in this ordinance shall mean the election campaign expenses of those elections described in the preceding Article and correspond to election campaign expenses prescribed in the Law for the election of the Members of the House of Representatives. The receipts pertaining to election campaigns contemplated in this Ordinance shall mean money or financial assets received for the purpose of allocating them to the expenses described in the preceding paragraph. In the estimation of the financial assets contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the example of the estimation of the financial assets pertaining to election campaign expenses prescribed in the Law for the Election of the Members of the House of Representatives shall be followed.

Article 3. The responsible disburser contemplated in this Ordinance, shall mean the responsible person concerning the disbursement of election campaign expenses in the Law for the Election of the Members of the House of Representatives or in provisions to which the latter law is applied mutatis mutandis (including any person who executes such function in his behalf) and the responsible person concerning the disbursement of election campaign expenses contemplated in paragraph 2.

A candidate or a recommender of candidate for the election of, member of town or village assembly, member of the association assembly of the town and village association of general business as well as the supervision of association of town and village association of general or village business, shall in accordance with the example of appointment and report of a responsible person in respect of the disbursement of election campaign expenses in the House of Representatives, appoint a responsible person in respect of the disbursement of election campaign expenses of such election and make a report thereof to the electoral administration committee which controls such elections. The

* This applies to all elections to be held in April, 1947

same shall apply when a candidate or a recommender becomes himself the responsible disbursing officer.

Article 4. The responsible disbursing officer shall report election campaign expenses and receipts relating to election campaigns to the electoral administration committee which controls the said election according to the form prescribed in Annex Form No. 1.

Article 5. The principal officers of any party or other organization which recommends or supports a candidate shall report election campaign expenses and receipts relating to election campaigns to the electoral administration committee which controls the said election according to the form prescribed in Annex Form No. 2, provided that in the case of any organization which recommends or supports a candidate over the areas of two or more district, urban or rural prefectures, they shall report this fact to the Minister for Home Affairs through the members of the electoral administration committee of the metropolitan assembly of the metropolis, district or prefectures or the electoral administration committee for the election of the members of the metropolitan, district or prefectural assembly and in the case of any organization which recommends or supports a candidate in the elections which pertain to two or more cities, wards, towns or villages, (including those which correspond to towns and villages) of one and the same district or urban or rural prefecture, they shall report this fact to the electoral administration committee for the election of the members of the metropolitan assembly of the metropolis, district or prefectures or the electoral administration committee for the election of the members of the metropolitan, district or prefectural assembly. The provisions of the preceding paragraph shall be applied mutatis mutandis to any branch of a party or organization which recommends or supports a candidate.

Article 6. The report as provided for in Article 4, which pertains to election campaign expenses and receipts prior to the date of elections prescribed under each of the following respective items shall be made within the respective time limits.

1. In respect to expenses and receipts prior to filing of candidacy within three days from the date of filing of candidacy (in the case of election contemplated in Article 3, paragraph 2, two days).

2. Excluding the election contemplated in Article 3, paragraph 2, in respect to expenses and receipts subsequent to the filing of candidacy, for those from the day of the filing of candidacy up to the eleventh day before the date of election within three days and for those from the tenth day before the election to the fourth day before the election within two days from that day.

3. In respect to expenses and receipts subsequent to the filing of candidacy in the election contemplated in Article 3, paragraph 2 for those from the day of the filing of candidacy up to the third day before the election within two days from that day.

Any report which is made in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Article in respect of election campaign expenses or election campaign receipts prior to the date of election and which relates to expenses and receipts before the date of the promulgation or announcement of the date of election, shall be made within ten days (in the election contemplated in Article 2, paragraph 3, within five days) from the day on which the date of the election is promulgated or announced, and in the case of expenses and receipts after the date of the promulgation or announcement of the date of election they shall be calculated every ten days (in the election contemplated in Article 2, paragraph 3, within five days) within such period and reported within five days (in the election contemplated in Article 2, paragraph 3, two days) counting from that day. Provided, however, that report relating to expenses and receipts in the final period may be substituted for by the report mentioned in paragraph 3.

In regard to any report made in accordance with the provisions of the preceding two Articles and which pertain to those expenses of election campaigns and incomes of election campaigns which occur after the date of the election, they shall be calculated together with expenses and incomes which occurred prior to the date of election and shall be reported within fifteen days from the date of the election.

Article 7. In regard to those elections prescribed in Article 93-13, paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Tokyo Metropolis, Article 74-13, paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of District and Urban or Rural Prefectures, Article 73-9, paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Cities, or Article 61-8, paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Towns and Villages (including those provisions to which the above provisions are applied mutatis mutandis) or of Article 78-10, paragraph 1 of the Ordinance for the Enforcement of the Law for the Organization of Tokyo Metropolis, the report contemplated in Article 4 shall be made, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 1 and 3 of the preceding Article in respect of election campaign expenses and receipts which occurred prior to the date of election and which come under the expenses and receipts which occurred prior to the date of announcement in accordance with Article 93-13, paragraph 2 of the Law for the Organization of Tokyo Metropolis, Article 74-13, paragraph 2 of the Law for the Organization of District and Urban or Rural Prefectures, Article 73-9, paragraph 2 of the Law for the Organization of Cities or in Article 61-8, paragraph 2 of the Law for the Organization of Towns and Villages or Article 78-10, paragraph 1 of the Ordinance for the Enforcement of the Law for the Organization of Tokyo Metropolis, and in respect to expenses and receipts which occurred subsequent to the date of announcement in accordance with these provisions and from the day following the date of announcement up to three days prior to the date of election (in the election prescribed in Article 61, paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Towns and Villages, two days) shall be made on the day following that day (in election prescribed in Article 61, paragraph 1 of the Towns and Village Laws, on the following day) and for those which occur after

that time up to the date of election, these shall be calculated together with those expenses or incomes which occurred subsequent to the election date as well as those which occurred prior to the same and shall be made within 15 days from the date of election.

In regard to the report prescribed in Article 5, the election campaign expenses and incomes of the election contemplated in the preceding paragraph shall be deemed to be the election campaign expenses and incomes which occurred after the date of election of the Governor of Tokyo Metropolis, Prefectural Governor, Mayor of city, town or village, Supervisor of association and the Chief of Ward of Tokyo Metropolis, which made such elections necessary and the provisions of paragraph 3 of the same Article shall be applied, provided that, such report shall be made within fifteen days from the date of elections contemplated in the preceding paragraph.

Article 8. In case two or more elections are to be held and it is difficult to differentiate the election campaign expenses and the election campaign receipts, the report mentioned in Article 5 shall be made by combining such expenses and receipts in accordance with the example of Article 6, paragraphs 2 and 3 and paragraph 2 of the preceding Article, provided that in this report the period of election shall be deemed to be between the first date of promulgation or announcement of date of election and the date of the final election.

Article 9. Deleted

Article 10. On receipt of the report prescribed in the 3 preceding Articles the Minister for Home Affairs, Electoral Administration Committee for the Election of the members of the Metropolitan Assembly, the Electoral Administration Committee for the Election of the members of the Prefectural Assembly, or the election administration committees for members of the Municipal, Ward, Town, and Village Assemblies or other election administration committees of a similar character, shall immediately make a public announcement of the main outline of the report in their respective competent districts.

Article 11. The documents pertaining to the report mentioned in Article 4 to Article 8 inclusive shall be preserved in custody of the Minister for Home Affairs, Electoral Administration Committee for the Election of the Members of the Metropolitan Assembly, the Electoral Administration Committee for the Election of the Members of the Prefectural Assembly, or the election administration committees for members of the Municipal, Ward, Town and Village Assemblies or other election administration committees of a similar character as from the day in which such report was filed up to the date of the next election of the members or the date of the election of the Governor

of Tokyo Metropolis, Prefectural Governor, Mayor of city, town or village, Supervisor of town or village association of general or village business or the head of a ward in Tokyo Metropolis.

Any person shall be entitled to demand the inspection of the report prescribed in the preceding paragraph within the period prescribed in the preceding paragraph.

Article 12. Any person who neglects to make a report or makes a false report which is prescribed in Article 4, or Article 5, shall be subject to imprisonment not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding 3,000 yen.

Supplementary Rule:

The present ordinance shall come into effect on the date of promulgation.

(NOTE: In general the above law provides for the following chronology in reporting election expenses and receipts of individual candidates:

Date of Expense or Receipt	Date of Filing
Prior to filing candidacy	Within 3 days of filing candidacy
Day of filing to 11th day before election	By 8th Day before election
10th day before election to 4th day before election	By 2nd day before election
Total Expenditures and Receipts	Within 15 days after election

In respect to expenses and receipts of parties, the law provides that a report on receipts and expenses prior to the announcement of an election shall be made within ten days of that announcement and that further reports shall cover successive ten day periods and shall be made within five days of the end of any such period. A final report is due within 15 days after an election. In all instances, reports of expenses and receipts should be made public by election administration committees shortly after receipt.)

Form No. 1

Report of Estimate of Incomes and Disbursements of Election
Campaign Expenses

Name of Election (Electoral District)

Name of Candidate

A report concerning Incomes and Disbursements pertaining to Election Campaign in accordance with the provisions of Home Ministry Ordinance No. 1, Article 4, of 1947 is submitted as follows.

Date _____

Responsible Disburser _____ (Name) Seal

To Chairman of Election Administration Committee

1. Section of Incomes		From To	(or prior to filing of candi- dacy or after date of election)	
Date	Amount	Kind of Incomes	From where disbursed	
			Address	Name or Name of Organiza- tion
Total				
Grand Total				

2. Section of Disbursement		From To		(or prior to filing of candidacy or after date of election)	
Date	Amount		Outline of Use	Name of Disburser	
	Money Disbursement	Other than money			
Total					
Grand Total					

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Note:

1. In the Section of Incomes, for those exceeding 100 yen enter separately and for these not exceeding 100 yen enter the total sum showing kinds of incomes.
2. In the column for kinds of incomes, distinctions of donations, loans etc. shall be entered.

Annex Form No. 2

Report of Estimate of Incomes and Disbursements of Expenses of Parties, Associations and other Organizations.

Name of Organization (or name of branch of organization)

A report concerning Incomes and Disbursements pertaining to election campaigns of (such and such) party of (such and such) election in accordance with the provisions of Home Ministry Ordinance No. 1, article 5, of 1947, is submitted as follows.

Date

Name of Organization (Name of Branch of Organization)

Principal officer (Name) Seal

To: Minister for Home Affairs (or Chairman of Election Administration Committee)

1. Section of Incomes		From To	(Prior to promulgation or announcement of date of election or after date of election)	
Date	Amount	Kinds of Incomes	From where disbursed	
			Address	Name or Name of Organization
Total				
Grand Total				

2. Section of Disbursement		From To	(Prior to promulgation or announcement of date of election or after date of election)	
Date	Amount		Outline of Use	
	Money Disbursement	Other than Money		
Total				
Grand Total				

Note:

1. In the Section of Incomes for those exceeding 100 yen enter separately and for those not exceeding 100 yen enter the total sum showing kinds of incomes.
2. In the column of kinds of incomes, subscription fees, donations, loans, enterprise incomes etc. are to be entered in detail.

LAW CONCERNING SPECIAL REGISTRATION PRIOR TO ELECTION

Law for Exceptions to Article 12 of the
House of Representatives Election Law
(Law No. 2 of 1947)

Article 1. When an election is held using the Electors' Register for the election of Members of the House of Representatives in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 of Law No. 30, 1946 (Exception to the Electors' Register for the Election of Members of the House of Representatives)*, and there is any person who is not registered in the Electors' Register for the members of the House of Representatives but who possesses the right to vote at the election of the Members of the House of Representatives, the Electoral Administration Committee for the election of the Members of the city, ward, town or village assembly or any agency concerned with the making of the register, shall, in accordance with the application of the person concerned, temporarily make an Elector's register for the Election of the Members of the House of Representatives which will have such person or persons registered therein.

Any repatriate who resides within the area of a city, ward, town or village, (including any corresponding organization, hereinafter the same) may be registered in the electors' register mentioned in the preceding paragraph even if such person has not resided continually for over six months thereat.

The electors' register mentioned in paragraph 1 shall be valid for the period of validity of the basic electors' register.

The provisions of Article 1 shall not apply to the election contemplated under the provisions of Article 93-(13) paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Tokyo Metropolis, Article 74-(13), paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of District and Urban or Rural Prefectures, Article 73-(9), paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Cities, Article 61-(8), paragraph 1 and Article 136 of the Law for the Organization of Towns and Villages and Article 78-(10) paragraph 1 of the Imperial Ordinance for the Enforcement of the Law for the Organization of Tokyo Metropolis.**

With the exception of those provided for under three preceding paragraphs, necessary matters in the case contemplated in paragraph 1 shall be determined by Ordinance.

* This includes all elections to be held in April, 1947. However, see footnote below.

** This would apply to the run-off elections for chief executives, which will be held on April 15 in those entities in which no candidate received 37½ percent of the votes in the April 5 elections.

Article 2. In regard to the application of the provisions of Article 16 - (11), paragraph 1 of the law for the Organization of Tokyo Metropolis, Article 20 - (2), paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Cities, Article 17 - (2) paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Towns and Villages, in the case of an election of a head of a local government or of the members of the assembly thereof by the use of the electors' register for the election of the members of the House of Representatives which contains the registration of those persons mentioned in paragraph 2 of the preceding Article, that part concerning those persons who possess the right to vote at the election of members of the assembly of a local government at the date of the making of the electors' register (to be called the relevant part of the Electors' Register for the election of the Members of House of Representatives) shall be regarded as the Electors' Register for the election of the Members of the House of Representatives.

Necessary provisions concerning the relevant part of the Electors' Register for the election of the House of Representatives shall be provided for by Ordinance.

Article 3. When there is any person who has the right to vote at the election of the members of the assembly of a local government, and who is not registered in the relevant part of the Electors' Register for the election of the Members of the House of Representatives or in the Supplementary Electors' Register in the case of an election held by the use of the Supplementary Electors' Register in accordance with the provisions of Article 3 of Law No. 30 of 1946, the Electoral Administration committee for the election of members of city, ward, town or village assembly or any other agency concerned with the making of Electors' Register shall, in accordance with the application of the person concerned, temporarily make a Supplementary Electors' Register with such person registered therein.

The provisions of Article 1, paragraphs 3 to 5 inclusive shall apply with necessary modification to the case described in the preceding paragraph. Supplementary Provisions:

The present Law shall come into force as from the day of its promulgation.

Law No. 84 of 1938 is hereby abrogated, provided that in respect of any Electors' Register for the election of the Members of the House of Representatives or Supplementary Electors' Register as provided for in the same Law which is valid or which is in the process of making at the time of the enforcement of this Law and in respect of any member of an assembly of a local government who having lost his office due to being called up but who has been discharged during the period of the remainder of his term of office, the same Law shall continue to apply.

Law No. 42 of 1945 (Law concerning the partial amendment of the Law for the Election of the Members of the House of Representatives) shall be amended as follows:

Paragraph 2 of the Supplementary Provisions shall be deleted.

(NOTE: The net effect of this law is to provide for special registration, prior to the April elections, of all individuals newly eligible for voting, and to provide for the waiver of the normal six months residence requirement in the case of repatriates desiring to vote in the Diet elections.

It should be noted that six months residence is still required of all individuals desiring to vote in local elections. The Enforcement Ordinance for this law provides that, for all elections, registration will be held from March 18 to 24 and that registration lists will be open for inspection and complaint from March 29 to 31. March 23 is the day set to be used in determining age, residence, etc.* The Ordinance follows:

Home Ministry Ordinance No. 15

Details concerning the exceptions mentioned in Article 1 of Home Ministry Ordinance No. 2, 1947 (Special exceptions re electors' registers for the House of Representatives members) shall be provided for as follows:

Etsujiro Uehara
Minister for Home Affairs
15 March, 1947

As regards elections of the Metropolitan governor, prefectural governors, the heads of cities, wards, towns, villages and other communities corresponding thereto, and the general elections of the members of the assemblies of all these communities, which will be conducted for the first time after the enforcement of the present Ordinance, the date and period of preparation of special elector's registers for the House of Representatives members prescribed under Article 1 of Law No. 2, 1947 (Exceptions in Article 12 of the House of Representatives Members Election Law), or of special supplementary electors' registers prescribed under Article 3, the date of inspection of such registers, the period of decision of objections, the date of confirmation thereof, and the period of application prescribed under these provisions, shall be as follows, irrespective of the provisions of Article 1, of Home Ministry Ordinance No. 2, 1947 (Special exceptions concerning electors' registers for the House of Representatives members). However, when special circumstances necessitate it in islands or other districts where communication is difficult, the Election Management Committee for the Metropolitan Assembly Members or the Election Management Committee for Prefectural Assembly Members may determine these dates and periods separately.

Date or preparation	23 March 1947
Period of application for registration	7 days from 18 March 1947
Period of preparation	4 days from 25 March 1947
Period of inspection	3 days from 29 March 1947
Period of decision on objections	Within 2 days from appli- cation for amendment
Date of confirmation of objections	3 April 1947

Supplementary Provisions

The present Ordinance shall come into force as from the day of promulgation.

* (But see Page 81A for supplementary Home Ministry Ordinance which extends the above dates for national elections only).

Home Ministry Ordinance No.

The following rules shall be stipulated with regard to exceptions to Article I, Home Ministry Ordinance No. 2, 1947
(Temporary exceptions of electors' register for the members of the House of Representatives)

31 March, 1947

Minister of Home Affairs

ETSUJIRO UEHARA

With respect to the first general election for the members of the House of Representatives and the first ordinary election for the members of the House of Councillors to be held after the enforcement of this Ordinance, compilation, application for, inspection, settlement of objections and confirmation of electors' provisional register for the members of the House of Representatives to be compiled according to Article I, Law No. 2, 1947 (concerning exceptions to Article 12 of the Law of election for the members of the House of Representatives) shall be made in the following date and period, notwithstanding the provision of Article I of Home Ministry Ordinance No. 2, 1947 (Temporary exceptions to electors' register for the members of the House of Representatives), provided, however, that the commissions for overseeing election for the members of the Metropolitan Assembly or District and Prefectural Assemblies may, if necessary, set different dates and period where there is lack of communications or transport.

Date of compilation	10th, April, 1947
Application for registration	From 5th, April to 10th April, 1947,
Period of compilation	From 10th, April to 13th, April, 1947
Inspection	From 14th, April, to 16th, April, 1947
Settlement of objections	Within 2 days after objection is filed.
Date of confirmation	19th, April, 1947

Supplementary Provisions

This Ordinance shall be enforced from the date of its promulgation.

In case electors' provisional register for the members of the House of Representatives is compiled according to this Ordinance, applications filed according to Paragraph I, Article I, Law No. 2 under the provisions of Home Ministry Ordinance No. 15, 1947, when these applicants are registered in the supplementary register temporarily compiled according to paragraph I, Article 3, Law No. 2, shall be considered the same in this Ordinance.

The following amendment shall be made to Home Ministry Ordinance No. 15, dated 15th, March, 1947 (concerning exceptions to Article I, Home Ministry Ordinance No. 15, 1947)

"a general election for the members of the House of Representatives and an ordinary election for the members of the House of Councillors and" shall be omitted.

LAW CONCERNING LIMITATION OF USE OF POSTERS

(Law for Exceptions concerning Writings,
Drawings and Others for Election Campaigns.)

Article 1. With the purpose of making the elections which are to be held under the present extremely straitened economic circumstances resulting from the shortage of paper and other materials, most legitimate and fair ones, this law shall be applicable to the distribution or notification of writings, drawings and others intended for election campaigns in the 1947 elections of members of the House of Representatives, House of Councillors and local assemblies as well as the heads of local public entities.

Article 2. No writings or drawings shall be distributed primarily for election campaigns, except free post cards provided for by the following items:

1. Twenty thousand (20,000) post cards per candidate for members of the House of Representatives or for members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the prefectural constituency.

2. Thirty thousand (30,000) post cards per candidate for members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the national constituency.

3. Ten thousand (10,000) post cards per candidate for heads of the Metropolis, prefectures or Hokkaido.

The free post cards provided for by each item of the preceding paragraph shall be approved and sealed by a post office which is designated by an Election Control Commission which is responsible for the control of the election, except the numbers of post cards as provided for by other laws. (As regards candidates for members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the national constituency, seals shall be set by the election Control Commission for Members to be elected from the National Constituency or by an Election Control Commission of the Metropolis, a prefecture or Hokkaido as approved according to their application.)

Article 3. It shall be regarded as the distribution mentioned in the preceding Article to circulate among many people a circular and other writings, drawings, sign-boards (including placards) which are intended for an election campaign.

Article 4. No writings or drawings for election campaigns shall be put up for public notice, except those which correspond to any of the following items:

1. Election posters authorized under this law.

2. Posters, notice-boards, lanterns, a sign-board and others to be used at the place of a campaign meeting.

3. Posters, notice-boards, lanterns, a sign-board and others to be used at the site of an election office for its indication.

The use of the posters provided for in Item 1 of the preceding paragraph shall not be permitted in the elections of members of town and village councils and others corresponding thereto, and the heads of towns and villages.

Article 5. The election posters authorized under this law shall not exceed the numbers provided for in the following items:

1. One thousand (1,000) sheets per candidate as regards the election of members of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors as well as the heads of the metropolis, prefectures, Hokkaido and those cities as are provided for in Article 6 and Article 82, paragraph 1, of the Law concerning the organization of cities.

2. Three hundred (300) sheets per candidate as regards the election of members of the assemblies of the metropolis, prefectures, Hokkaido and the cities (including the wards of Tokyo Metropolis) as well as the heads of the cities other than those provided for in Article 6 and Article 82, paragraph 1 of the Law for the Organization of Cities (including the wards of Tokyo Metropolis).

As regards candidates for members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the national constituency, the number of posters shall be limited to ten thousand (10,000) sheets per person, and the use thereof shall not exceed one thousand (1,000) sheets in the metropolis, a prefecture or Hokkaido.

The posters in the preceding two paragraphs must be approved and sealed by an Election Control Commission which is responsible for the control of the election. (As regards candidates for members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the national constituency, seals shall be set by the Election Control Commission for Members to be Elected from the National Constituency or by an Election Control Commission of the metropolis, a prefecture or Hokkaido as approved according to their application.)

Posters used by any person other than candidates on behalf of a candidate, shall be included within the number provided in each item of paragraph 1.

Article 6. The election posters authorized under this law shall not be larger than the tabloid form (41 centimetres long by 28 wide).

Article 7. Any person who wants to put up election posters authorized under this law shall write his name and address on their surface.

Article 8. Any person, when he puts up election posters authorized under this law, shall be subject to the restriction of the following items:

1. Not more than one poster shall be put up on one structure for one candidate.

2. No posters shall be put up on any objects which are owned or controlled by the Government or local public entities.

3. No posters shall be put up within polling places on the date of election.

4. Without the consent of the owner or custodian, no poster shall be put up on any structure belonging to another person.

5. No poster shall be printed in more than two colors.

Article 9. During the term of an election campaign, it shall be prohibited to distribute or put up, as an act to evade bans in Articles 2 and 4, any writing or drawing which, under the name of an advertisement for a book or performance or of any other things, exhibits chiefly the name of a candidate, a political association which recommends him or any other organization.

Any writing or drawing, which was put up before the term of an election campaign begins, shall be removed or ordered removed, when it is considered to fall within the purview of the preceding paragraph by the Election Control Commission of the metropolis, a prefecture or Hokkaido.

Article 10. A candidate or the representative for a political association may give an advertisement concerning election in any one newspaper, for once only, in the size as fixed by each Election Control Commission of the metropolis, a prefecture or Hokkaido.

The newspaper printing such advertisement may be distributed, despite the provisions of Article 2, by news-sellers in an ordinary way.

Article 11. A candidate for member of the House of Councillors to be elected from the national constituency may speak over the radio on election matters for three times at no expense to himself as provided for by the Election Control Commission for Members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the National Constituency.

The expense for the preceding paragraph shall be defrayed by the National Treasury.

Article 12. The bulletins on election, election posters, free post cards and newspaper advertisements authorized under this law shall contain such matters in connection with his candidacy that each candidate may desire.

Article 13. In case a report was not made of the candidacy or recommendation, or the candidacy was given up after making such report, a person who had obtained some paper for an election campaign through the mediation of the Home Ministry, the Metropolis, a prefecture or Hokkaido, must return all of the paper to the Home Minister or the Metropolis, prefecture or Hokkaido after the expiration of the term of report on candidacy or recommendation.

Article 14. When any person distributes or puts up a writing or drawing in violation of Article 2, 4 to 6 inclusive and 9, he shall be sentenced to a fine not exceeding five thousand (5,000) yen.

When any successful candidate has violated the preceding paragraph, he shall be sentenced to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand (50,000) yen.

Article 15. When any person puts up a writing or drawing in violation of Articles 7 and 8, he shall be sentenced to a fine not exceeding three thousand (3,000) yen.

When a successful candidate has violated the preceding paragraph, he shall be sentenced to a fine not exceeding thirty thousand (30,000) yen.

Article 16. The crimes of Article 14 and 15 shall be prescribed in six (6) months.

However, when the offender runs away, the period of prescription shall be extended to one (1) year.

Supplementary Provisions

This law shall be put into force on the date of promulgation.

Regarding the Regulations for the Control of Election Campaigns for Members of the House of Representatives, the Regulations for the Control of Election Campaigns for Members of the House of Councillors, and the Regulations for the Control of Election Campaigns for Members of Local Assemblies, and the like, those provisions which do not agree with this law shall suspend their force from the date of enforcement of this law until December 31st, 1947.

Exœerpts From Ordinance Concerning Absentee Voting

(From Enforcement Ordinance No. 707 For The House of Representatives Election Law)

Article 26. The circumstances mentioned in Article 33 of the House of Representatives Election Law are designed to be as follows:

1. When the crews of Japanese vessels (including those registered at a port outside Japan proper; so in all cases here under) excepting the vessels (of less than 20 gross tons) which navigate on lakes and rivers, or harbors and bays only, or lighters or other craft operated with oar, or principally with rudder or oar; or persons habitually employed on such vessels, are on duty on board the vessels.

2. When the crews of Japanese vessels, excepting those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, which exceed 5 gross tons, or persons habitually employed on such vessels, are on duty on board the vessels.

3. When railway employees, mail clerks and other persons, who are habitually employed on railway trains, are on duty on railway trains.

4. When persons engaged in handling election affairs, surveillance of voting places, supervising of election, or in any other occupation relating to elections, are on duty in areas outside their own voting precincts.

5. When persons who are habitually engaged in work or duties for more than ten (10) consecutive days outside the county or city to which their voting precinct belongs, are engaged in work or duties outside the country or city to which their voting precinct belongs.

6. When the persons who have removed their residence outside the county or city to which their voting precinct belongs, after the date of the compilation of the voters' list, are engaged in work or duties outside the country or city to which their voting precinct belongs.

Article 27. In case a voter by reason of the circumstances falling under Nos. 1, 5, or 6 of the preceding Article, is unable to vote by going to the voting place on the day of Election, he may apply to the ballot controller of his voting precinct after the day on which the date of Election has been promulgated or announced and before the day preceding the election day, personally or by mail, for ballot paper and envelope, by giving proof of his circumstances.

In case a person, making the above-mentioned applications in connection with the circumstances falling under 5 or 6 of the preceding Article, desires to cast his vote outside his own voting precinct, he shall simultaneously with the application state the same to ballot controller of his voting precinct.

In case a person who by reason of the circumstances falling under 2-4 of the preceding Article is unable to vote by going to the voting place on the day of election, he may apply within ten days of the election day and before the day preceding the election day, personally to the ballot controller of his voting precinct, for voting paper and envelope by giving proof of his circumstances.

A voter desiring to vote by Braille shall, simultaneously with making the application under Paragraph 1, or the preceding Paragraph, state the same to the ballot controller.

Article 28. In case a voter makes an application under the preceding Article, he shall simultaneously present a certificate concerning the matter requiring proof issued by one of the following persons:

1. In case of seaman falling under the circumstances mentioned in Article 26, 1; the government office having jurisdiction over the sea area, (or any office with similar authority), consulate, or captain (or a person performing the duties of captain; so in all cases hereunder). In case of all others: the heads of their respective government offices or their business enterprises.

2. Concerning the circumstance mentioned in Article 26, 2; the heads of respective government offices or business enterprises.

3. Concerning the circumstance mentioned in Article 26, 3; the chiefs of conductors districts, the chief of a locomotive district, and the chief of a street car district (corresponding persons in case of local railways), in case of railway employees; postmasters of respective post offices, in case of mail clerks; and the heads of respective government offices and business enterprises, in case of all the others.

4. Concerning the circumstance mentioned in Article 26, 4; heads of respective government or public offices.

5. Concerning the circumstance mentioned in Article 26, 5; heads of respective government or public offices or of the houses of the Diet, or of respective business enterprises.

6. Concerning the circumstance mentioned in Article 26, 6; heads of respective city, town or village, in case of removal of residence; heads of respective government or public offices, or heads of the houses of the Diet, or of respective business enterprises, in case of inability to vote by going to the polling station on the day of election.

A person, who is to issue certificates as provided for in the preceding paragraphs, shall upon receipt of an application for such a certificate, immediately issue the same in case he recognizes the case as falling within the purview of the law.

A voter, in case for any proper reason he is unable to present a certificate as under Paragraph 1, shall give an explanation thereof to the ballot controller.

Excerpts from Ordinance Concerning Publication
of Names of Candidates, etc.

Japanese election laws provide that the names of all candidates for public offices be posted several days prior to an election and that short biographies of candidates for major offices also be distributed among the electorate. The following excerpts from the Enforcement Ordinance for the House of Councillors Election Law provide typical illustration of this procedure:

Chapter IX. Publication of Public Bulletins

Article 42 - A document prescribed in the provisions of Article 90, Paragraph 3, of the Law Concerning the Election of the Members of the House of Councillors (it shall be referred to as a public bulletin of careers) shall, once in each case where an election (except an election which shall further be held in cases where a part of an election has become void) is held, be published.

Article 43 - A public bulletin of careers shall, for each electoral division (with respect to the members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the whole area of the country, throughout the whole area of all the prefectures) be published.

With respect to such areas as are placed under special circumstances, the publication of a public bulletin of careers shall be dispensed with.

The areas in which the publication of a public bulletin of careers shall be dispensed with in accordance with the provisions of the last preceding paragraph shall be designated by the Minister of Home Affairs.

Article 44 - In cases where he intends to have his full name, career, etc. published in a public bulletin of careers, a candidate for the office of member of the House of Councillors shall, on or before the twentieth day prior to the day of election, file with the electoral administrative committee for the members of the metropolitan assembly or the electoral administrative committee for the members of a prefectural assembly (with respect to the members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the whole area of the country, the electoral administrative committee for the members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the whole area of the country) an application in writing accompanied by the text which he intends to be published.

The number of the words which shall be contained in such text to be published as is contemplated in the preceding paragraph shall not exceed two hundred.

Article 45 - In cases where an application contemplated in Paragraph 1 of the last preceding article has been filed with respect to a member of the House of Councillors to be elected from the whole area of the country, the electoral administration committee for the members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the whole area of the country shall, on or before the tenth day prior to the day of election, send forward two copies of such text to be published (in cases where the number of the words contained in such text to be published exceeds the limit contemplated in Paragraph 2 of the same Article, such text as shall be within such limit) to the electoral administration committee for the members of the metropolitan assembly or the electoral administration committee for the members of a district, urban, or rural prefectural assembly.

Article 46 - In cases where an application contemplated in Article 44, Paragraph 1 has been filed or a copy of the text contemplated in the last preceding Article has been received, the electoral administrative committee for a prefecture, district, or metropolis shall publish in a public bulletin of careers the text to be published or a copy of the text as it stands.

In cases where the number of words contained in the text contemplated in Article 44, Paragraph 1, exceeds the limit contemplated in Paragraph 3 of the same Article, the electoral administration committee shall not publish in a public bulletin of careers such portion of the text as exceeds such limit.

Article 47 - A public bulletin of careers in respect to the members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the local division of the country and a public bulletin of careers in respect to the members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the whole area of the country shall be published by means of separate sheets of paper.

In cases where the full names, careers, etc. of two or more candidates for the office of member of the House of Councillors to be elected from the local constituency or two or more candidates for the office of member of the House of Councillors to be elected from the national constituency are published on one and the same sheet of paper, the electoral administration committee shall determine the order of publishing in such sheet of paper by the drawing of lots.

Such candidate for the office of member of the House of Councillors as has filed an application contemplated in Article 44, Paragraph 1, or his deputy, may, as an inspector, be present at the drawing of lots contemplated in the last preceding paragraph.

Article 48 - Public bulletins of careers shall, in conformity to the designation of the electoral administration committee of the area concerned, be distributed among the households to which the persons entered in the register of electors of the concerned prefecture belong.

Article 49 - If, in accordance with the provisions of Article 58, Paragraph 1, of the Law Concerning the Election of the Members of the House of Councillors and of Article 69 of the same Law in which the application with the necessary modifications of the abovementioned Article 58, Paragraph 1, is prescribed, it has come to be unnecessary to take the poll, the proceeding of the publication of a public bulletin of careers shall be suspended.

Article 50 - In cases where, on account of an Act of God, an emergency, or any other unavoidable accident, the sending-forward of a copy of the text to be published has not been effected, until after the fixed time prescribed in Article 45, Paragraph 1 or in cases where there exists any other special circumstance, the publication of such public bulletin of careers in the whole area or a part of the area of the concerned metropolis, district, or urban or rural prefecture as relates to such events mentioned above shall be suspended.

Article 51 - Subject to the provisions of the present Chapter, any matter necessary for the publication of a public bulletin of careers may be provided by the electoral administration committee for the prefecture concerned (with respect to the members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the whole area of the country, the electoral administration committee for the members of the House of Councillors to be elected from the whole area of the country.)

Chapter X. Posting of Names of Candidates

Article 52 - The posting of full names, etc., of candidates for the office of member of the House of Councillors prescribed in Article 90, Paragraph 4 of the Law Concerning the Election of the Members of the House of Councillors (it shall hereinafter be referred to as the posting) shall, upon choosing the entrance of a polling station or any other place easy for the public to see, be effected at one or more places for each polling division.

Article 53 - The matters to be entered on the posting shall be restricted to the full names and the political parties of candidates for the office of member of the House of Councillors.

Article 54 - The posting shall be effected from the tenth day prior to the day of election to the day on which an election is held.*

The order of entries on the posting shall, with respect to the candidates for the office of member of the House of Councillors in respect to whom the notices prescribed in the provisions of Article 24, Paragraph 1 or 2 have been given on or before the eleventh day prior to the day of election, be determined by the drawing of lots by the electoral administration committee for the members of a city, town, or village assembly, and shall, with respect to the candidates for the office of member of the House of Councillors in respect to whom the notices prescribed in the provisions of Article 24, Paragraph 1 or 2, have been given on or after the tenth day prior to the day of election, act upon the order of arrival of such notices and be determined by the drawing of lots in cases where such notices have arrived at the same time.

A candidate for the office of member of the House of Councillors or his deputy may, as an inspector, be present at the drawing of lots contemplated in the last preceding campaign.

Article 55 - If it has, after it has effected the position, received a notice prescribed in the provisions of Article 24, Paragraph 4, the electoral administration committee for the members of a city, town, or village assembly shall strike out such parts in the posting as relate to such candidate for the office of member of the House of Councillors as concerns that notice.

Article 56 - Subject to the provisions of the present Chapter, any matter necessary for the posting may be provided by the electoral administration committee for the members of the metropolitan assembly or the election administration committee for the members of a district, urban, or prefectural assembly.

*In other laws, of course, the stated date of posting will vary, dependent upon the final date for filing of candidacy.

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7 indicates very
thorough preparations
for the elections
by the Government
section. Too detailed
for reading, with no
summary, but useful
for reference.

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DESP. 1254 FROM SHANGHAI

FILED

JAN 26 1943

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1254

Rec'd DC/L
June 6, 1947

Shanghai, May 26, 1947

JUN 23 1947

RESTRICTED

SUBJECT: Article "Japan Purges First Families"

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THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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SIR:

I have the honor to submit the following information in response to the Department's request for more details on the use of the article, "Japan Purges First Families," carried in Chinese Newsletter No. 131.

USIS records show that this article was carried by 22 newspapers in China. This figure may not be complete, since it is difficult to make a thorough check on an article issued several months ago. There is no record of the number of readers reached by these newspapers, but since the papers ranged from publications in Shanghai with fairly large circulations to a small "bi-weekly" at Tainan in Formosa, a conservative estimate of 5,000 readers per paper would give a figure somewhat above 100,000.

The article inspired the "Forward Daily" in Mukden to carry an editorial entitled "Problem of Peace Treaty Toward Japan," strongly stressing the urgency of purging the Japanese government of all remnants of Japanese militaristic influence. There was no other direct editorial comment on the article, although the Ta Kung Pao in Hankow carried an editorial entitled "There Must be a Democratic Japan" two days after the USIS article was released. This editorial, a copy of which is attached, was not favorable to the occupation policy. USIS Formosa reports that "editorial comment on the U.S. occupation of Japan is consistently critical of U.S. policy in Japan, claiming that the U.S. is preserving Japanese conservatives under the guise of democracy. Editorials on the Japanese election follow the same line." A public opinion poll conducted by the influential Ta Kung Pao in Shanghai, results of which were published on May 20, showed that 667 of 780 persons questioned, or six-sevenths of the people, believed that Japan will invade China again. The majority of those answering believed the aggression would come within ten years.

Typical of the news reports appearing in the Chinese press is the enclosed lengthy report by the Tokyo correspondent of the official Chinese Central News Agency that the peace treaty will pave the way for Japan to resume her former dominating position as the hub of Far Eastern economy within an estimated five years.

In view of the foregoing, such articles as the one entitled "Framework for Democracy Set in Japan", sent via Signal Corps on April 25, are of extremely doubtful value, since they fail

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- 2 -

No. 1254

to meet Chinese press criticisms of proposals for an early peace treaty with Japan and for restoring that country's standard of living to the 1934 level. This article was not issued by USIS Shanghai in the belief that its naive approach to the question of democracy in Japan would tend to do more harm than good.

Statements such as the one issued by Admiral Denfield in Hawaii saying that he believed ninety percent of the Japanese people, if given a choice, would prefer to become part of the United States, fall into this same category. His statement, while not carried by USIS, was transmitted by the other press services and displayed prominently in Shanghai newspapers.

The need for solid material on the occupation of Japan continues. Hankow USIS reported recently: "Continuing dissatisfaction of the press over the occupation of Japan makes USIS items on this, especially American press opinion, such in demand."

Respectfully yours,

For the Consul General

Bradley Connors
Chief Public Affairs Officer

BC:PS

To the Department in original and ozalid

Enclosures:

1. Translation of Editorial from Hankow "Ta Kung Pao".
 2. Central News Report from Tokyo
 3. Copies of eight newspapers carrying article "Japan Purges First Families". (attached to original only).
- Copy for the Embassy

COPY

Enclosure 1 to Despatch No. 1254

Ta Kang Pao (CC Organ), Hankow, January 30, 1947.

"There must be a democratic Japan"

Of the three Axis countries, Japan today should be considered the most fortunate. The fascist control organizations in Japan may be described as entirely untouched. General MacArthur's love for Japan's reactionaries is comparable to British support of Germany after World War I. MacArthur has not confined his love for Japan to his own thinking, but has even publicly expressed his sentiments during talks with others. The British support of Germany to the detriment of France after World War I was one of the reasons why France was overrun by Germany in World War II, but Britain narrowly escaped the same fate as France.

Today, anyone wishing to resist Russia by means of aiding Japan, will surely taste the same experience as a "man who keeps a tiger is finally wounded by it."

The danger in the future is even more terrible than that illustrated above. It is due to one factor, the existence of China between Russia and Japan; we can never permit another Russo-Japanese war on China's soil. China is now a great and splendid country, and we cannot allow anyone to use our territory for their own private purposes.

Although China has little time to devote to other things as she is facing many internal difficulties, many of her educated and far-sighted people regard Japan's present situation and her future tendency as a potential danger to this country. Socially speaking, the Japanese have repeatedly disclosed their disregard and intentional neglect of this country; industrially speaking, although China is going to share in Japanese war reparations she will hardly enjoy any priority. From the point of view of international trade, many people are still talking about "Industrial Japan and agricultural China". The Chinese people, who have suffered from Japanese aggression in the past 50 years, cannot afford to be reticent.

As China has never shown any active attitude, the punishment meted out to Japanese war criminals has centered mainly on criminals who committed war crimes since Pearl Harbor. Moreover, in the Japanese war crimes trials conducted in Japan the Court did not accord proper respect to the Chinese witnesses. This situation has provided a chance for those war criminals now holding no government posts a rare opportunity to court the favor of the Americans, thus entering the political arena again. These elements are cheating the Allied countries on the one hand and concealing the crimes of their fellow criminals on the other. The so-called Yoshida Cabinet is in the same boat with them.

However, the very essence of fascism is aggression in other countries and exercise of pressure at home. The fascist practices of the Yoshida Cabinet, although cleverly camouflaged, form the sorrow of the Allied countries and do not represent the things the Japanese people like. In the past several months, voices of opposition to the Yoshida Cabinet were heard not only from every corner of Japan itself but even Yoshida felt highly perplexed. To give his show a better outlook, Yoshida has been busy including in his cabinet several politicians who thirst for higher positions and diversified interests, attempting to organize a so-called coalition cabinet which, in effect, is but a collection of fascist remnants. Therefore, the coalition cabinet sponsored by Yoshida, which appears to be rather liberal in form, has become the main target of attack by the Japanese people. The Japanese people are unwilling to be sold out again; a demonstration by 400,000 of them brought this fact to the surface.

COPY

Enclosure 1 to Despatch No. 1254

- 2 -

When the demonstration broke out, the Yoshida cabinet resigned en masse but he was immediately ordered to organize a new cabinet. Genuine democracy cannot be consummated in any country within a short period of time. Yoshida will continue his magic arts despite public criticism against him, unless General MacArthur abandons his whim of supporting Japan's reactionary forces and if the Chinese people do not insist on justice. But it is almost certain that the Japanese people's movement for winning democratic initiative will not end in the immediate future.

The Chinese people have suffered greatly from Japanese invasions. In the past 50 years, we have all tasted bitter experiences and shed too many bloody tears. Not one bit of our lands and not one tomb of our forefathers has escaped from Japanese ravages and demolitions, either directly or indirectly. How few of our families, relatives and friends have kept their properties intact! At a time when conciliation among ourselves has not yet been worked out - and even if we can patiently forget for a moment the deep hatred - we cannot help entertaining a suspicion that a new danger may approach at any time.

Only a democratic Japan can live peacefully with China. Only a democratic Japan can forestall instigation of another great war. To speak for China herself, we require permanent peace. It is true also of the whole world. The maintenance of our internal peace and the peace of the world is our duty which we cannot shun.

The practical purpose in controlling Japan is to forestall the recurrence of another war. It is simply self-cheating talk to say that we can stop war by allowing fascist remnants to hold the reins of Japanese government. If we would realize a peaceful world, there must be a democratic Japan.

COPY

Enclosure 2 to Despatch No. 1254CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY
ENGLISH SERVICESHANGHAI,
MAY 22, 1947JAPAN SEEN RESUMING HER PLACE AS HUB OF
ASIA'S ECONOMY AFTER SIGNING OF PEACE PACT

Tokyo, May 22 (Central): The peace treaty for Japan will pave the way for Japan to resume her former dominating position as the hub of Far Eastern economy. Within an estimated five years, Japan's economic situation among the Asiatic nations will be little different from her prior situation.

In the eyes of SCAP economic officials, Japan is envisioned as an industrial heart of the Orient. As before, Chinese coal and salt, Indian and Burmese cotton, Philippine hemp, Malayan and Indonesian rubber and Siamese tin will feed the Japanese mills, which will process these raw materials into cheap textiles and other manufactured articles to be sold back to these countries.

The United States has already been furnishing Japan with raw cotton on credit for this year. American oil has been shipped into Japan to keep the Japanese industry going while the coal shortage exists. An ironic situation has arisen, in which Japan, who waged a war to seize raw material sources and market outlets in Asia, will be legally and materially assisted in being reinstated as a leading industrial power in the Far East by the Allies, mainly the United States, who fought to frustrate the original Japanese aims.

The SCAP economic policy, in the most briefest form, is to reorientate Japanese industrial capacity and "know how" for rebuilding the Far Eastern economy. In plainer words, Japan is being reconstructed, according to the plans and conceptions, which visualize this country as the cornerstone of Asia's economy again. This is exactly what the Japanese have been hoping for.

Individuals and groups of Japanese in private and official capacities have been conducting quiet but widespread propaganda toward this objective since the occupation began.

All Japanese realize that their country will have practically nothing to say about the peace terms. However, they have all felt that it is their patriotic duty to do their bit in making these terms less harsh.

To begin with, they have emulated the German tactics, used after the First World War, in trying to paint a picture of postwar Japan as one of utter dejection in defeat against a background of misery and poverty.

This early effort did not impress President Harry Truman's Reparations Ambassador Edwin Pauley, who wrote a letter to the White House accompanying his interim report on the reparations that the "situation in Japan is not as bad as our papers have pictured it. People are not starving".

Studies have been made to date on the food situation in Japan to indicate that the Japanese propaganda that "the Japanese are starving" is without foundation. The Japanese people are better fed at present than the people of any nation, against which Japan has committed aggression. Official studies by General MacArthur's

COPY

Enclosure 2 to Despatch No. 1254

- 2 -

Division of Health and Wealth present positive evidence that there is not serious or unusual malnutrition in Japan. "It is interesting that not less than four percent of rice crop and possibly as much as eight percent are still permitted to go into the manufacture of alcoholic beverages". Pauley wrote this in December 1945, in which year Japan's rice crop was the worst in 30 years, according to Japanese statistics.

Equally persistent and probably more effective has been the propoganda that Japan's decreased territory cannot produce sufficient food to feed her increased population, and that considerable industrial revival will be necessary to produce exports with which to pay for the necessary food imports. This substantially has been accepted by SCAP as a fact and the SCAP economic policy is based on this premise. The voice of a small number of Japanese agricultural authorities and industrialists, who insist that Japan is practically and, in future, can be self-sufficient in food, has been drowned in the strong roar of the same propoganda which was used in the prewar days to justify Japanese expansion.

Although Japan temporarily is unable to maintain her representative abroad, who formerly communicated this line of official propoganda to other nations, the present arrangement is even more convenient, because the representatives of many foreign powers are here in Tokyo. The advantage of this position was demonstrated clearly by the fact that the Japanese have been largely successful in presenting her case to the authorities who have the power to decide on her economic future. The peace terms drawn up in Washington are based on the figures and facts taken principally from Japanese sources. It is natural, therefore, that the economic peace terms will be close to what the Japanese themselves hope. From this viewpoint, Japan is, in effect, dictating her own terms for peace.

The success of the Japanese statistical propoganda is due principally to the fact that the SCAP organization is insufficiently staff. Furthermore, there is obviously more emphasis on industry than on agriculture. The SCAP Industrial Division has about 100 American personnel, while the Agricultural Division has only 22. It is clearly impossible to check more than a few from the mountains of figures turned over to SCAP by the Japanese Government constantly. American officials frankly admit that they feel that the Japanese figures are unreliable, but not enough workers are available to verify the Japanese statistics.

Figures on the agricultural situation on the basis of which SCAP must make the fundamental decisions regarding plans for Japan's economic future are especially untrustworthy. SCAP Agricultural Division Chief R. H. Davis told Central News that nobody knows actually how much land has been cultivated even in any give village.

He said he believed that Japanese farmers are reporting such less yield than actually comes from the land so that they can sell food on the black-market.

The SCAP Agricultural Division accepts "gently" the figures from the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry to the effect that Japan can produce a maximum of 85 percent of food requirements and therefore must import the balance.

A well-known Japanese agricultural expert, who maintains that Japan can easily be self-sufficient in food, discovered that the Agricultural and Forestry Ministry has been discrediting his methods

COPY

Enclosure 2 to Despatch No. 1254

- 3 -

and facts for several years.

In a recently-circulated report by the Society for Economic Reconstruction of Japan which is associated with a group of progressive young industrialists and businessmen under the name of Keizai Fuko Kyokai, the concluding paragraphs warn that "there is a considerable number of cases where it is rather inadvisable to use the hitherto available figures, because of lack of reliability. One of such examples was found in a volume on agricultural crops".

The use of statistics from the last prewar year of 1929 and 1930 as the basis of calculating the Japanese people's peacetime needs has given the statistical propagandists ample room for manipulating the figures. The requirements of the Japanese people and consumption of raw materials by the Japanese industry during these years included such that went into the maintenance if not expansion of the Japanese armed forces.

Under the new constitution and as long as Allied control remains in Japan, it will not have the military force or martial industries to supply and support. This advantage cannot be underestimated in discussing the economic possibilities of this country.

June 22

Substance of Times
editorial well summarized
in Drumright's covering
despatch.



EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy London, June 3, 1947 DEPT OF STATE NORTH EAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

AIR MAIL DC/M LITIES BRANCH UNCLASSIFIED No. 1310

RECEIVED JUL 31 1947 DIVISION OF DISSEMINATION INTELLIGENCE

JUL 1 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Subject: Transmitting Clipping from The Times on Japan

OIC EUROPEAN AREA DIVISION (ADE) JUL 1 1947 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1947 JUN 12 PM 3 37

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable Secretary of State, Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit a clipping of an editorial article from the May 27, 1947, issue of The Times on the subject "Japan New and Old."

The essence of the article is that the changes introduced into Japan by the United States have scarcely done "more than touch the surface of Japanese life", and that it necessarily follows that "it will be essential for the allies to retain effective control over many aspects of Japanese national life for some time to come."

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Everett F. Drumright First Secretary of Embassy

DEPARTMENT OF STATE INTELLIGENCE REFERENCE DIVISION RECEIVED JUL 7 - 1947

Enclosure: Clipping, as stated

(Original and four copies to Department) Copy to U.S. Political Adviser, SCAP, Tokyo

EFDrumright/wg

DCR NE Unit

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Handwritten signature at bottom left.

Handwritten notes: "copy detached for office of..."

RECEIVED AUG 18 1947

Reference No. 1 to despatch No 1310 June 3, 1947
from the Embassy at London, England.

PAPER: THE TIMES

NUMBER:

CITY: LONDON

DATE:

27 MAY 1947

Japan New and Old

The Japanese Diet has made its first use of the power secured to it under the new constitution by selecting MR. TETSU KATAYAMA as Prime Minister. On Sunday he was formally invested with his office by the EMPEROR and is now trying to form a Government. This will not be easy. The Social Democratic Party, of which MR. KATAYAMA is the leader, gained forty-five seats in the last elections, and with a total strength of 143 ranks as the largest group in the House of Representatives. But its programme of moderate Fabianism in economic as well as in political matters is opposed by the Liberals, who hold 135 seats, and by the Democrats, who hold 126—both these parties, in spite of their titles, being staunchly right-wing in their views. The Democrats are apparently ready to support a coalition Government on certain conditions, but the Liberals are not; and unless MR. KATAYAMA conciliates the Democrats by abandoning some of the more advanced ideas advocated by his party he may have to be content to form a minority administration which could be thrown out at any time by a motion of no confidence. Thus, by selecting the leader of the largest party as Prime Minister, and at the same time ensuring that the reformist ideas he holds be kept under control, the politicians of Japan have again illustrated the national genius for holding on a chosen course while trimming all sails to the prevailing breeze.

There can be little doubt that the present balance of parties in the Diet reflects with reasonable accuracy the mood of the Japanese people. The result of the elections plainly shows that the general dissatisfaction manifested against the Yoshida Cabinet was due rather to its failure to deal firmly with the economic crisis than to its predominantly conservative character. The mass of the population, long accustomed to totalitarian rule, still seeks, and indeed desires, clear instructions from the governing classes, and though these classes are adopting the terminology and experimenting with the institutions of Western democracy, which the victory of the allies and the policy of GENERAL MACARTHUR have made fashionable, there is little indication that they have modified any of their traditional ideas. It would be rash to assume that the political changes introduced so recently by the Americans have done more than touch the surface of Japanese life. Beneath that surface the old habits of mind remain virtually unaltered. At the moment the desire of most Japanese, rulers and ruled alike, is to be left alone to reconstruct their national life in their own way—which means in accordance with their traditional ideas. Their main purpose, therefore, is to give the minimum trouble to the American occupation forces, to convince the allies that the peace treaty

can safely be signed, and to regain for Japan something at least of the political and economic initiative she enjoyed before the war.

The Japanese sentiment in favour of the early conclusion of a peace treaty is increasingly endorsed by the allies. The policy directives dealing with reparations recently sent to GENERAL MACARTHUR by the Far Eastern Commission, and the suggestion of the Australian Government reported by our Canberra Correspondent for a Commonwealth conference to consider the peace terms, indicate that the consideration of the details of a settlement is un-

failure to deal firmly with the economic crisis than to its predominantly conservative character. The mass of the population, long accustomed to totalitarian rule, still seeks, and indeed desires, clear instructions from the governing classes, and though these classes are adopting the terminology and experimenting with the institutions of Western democracy, which the victory of the allies and the policy of GENERAL MACARTHUR have made fashionable, there is little indication that they have modified any of their traditional ideas. It would be rash to assume that the political changes introduced so recently by the Americans have done more than touch the surface of Japanese life. Beneath that surface the old habits of mind remain virtually unaltered. At the moment the desire of most Japanese, rulers and ruled alike, is to be left alone to reconstruct their national life in their own way—which means in accordance with their traditional ideas. Their main purpose, therefore, is to give the minimum trouble to the American occupation forces, to convince the allies that the peace treaty

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FILE NO.

894.00/6-547

DESP. 1093 FROM TOKYO

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MAR 17 1948

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

JUL 1 - 1947

Tokyo, June 5, 1947

UNCLASSIFIED

No. 1093

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June 19, 1947ACTION:
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SUBJECT: Transmitting Summary Translation of Memorandum Submitted
by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the "Shiunso".

The United States Political Adviser has the honor to enclose a copy of a summary translation of a memorandum prepared and submitted to this Mission by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the "Shiunso" (Purple Cloud Society), together with a copy of Mr. Hashimoto's covering letter dated March 4, 1947 explaining that he is presenting his views on the present situation in Japan, with a view to advancing democracy in Japan and establishing Japanese-American amity on an enduring basis. There is also enclosed a copy of a report on Mr. Hashimoto dated April 25, 1947, obtained from the Metropolitan Police Bureau of Tokyo.

It is felt that the enclosed summary translation is of interest as it contains the opinions of a well-known Japanese publicist concerning problems raised by the implementation of Allied and American policies in Japan.

Enclosures:

1. Copy of Summary Translation.
2. Copy of letter from Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, March 4, 1947.
3. Copy of report from Metropolitan Police Bureau of Tokyo.

Original and ozalid to Department

800

LHarrison:lh:dph

894.00/6-547

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 1093, dated June 5, 1947 from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Transmitting Summary Translation of Memorandum Submitted by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the 'Shiunso'".

A Summary
(Translation)

"Memorandum respectfully presented to
Honorable George Atcheson, Jr."

By Tetsuma HASHIMOTO

PART I.

Preface

For one and half years before the war I made efforts to avert a Japanese-American clash under constant intimidation by the Gendarmerie. My activities are related in my book entitled "Untold Story of Japan-American Negotiations".

I fully realize what an unreasonable war Japan was plunged into and the enormous crimes she committed against human society. I, therefore, appreciate the merciful attitude with which the Occupation Army is treating a defeated nation. The trouble of going into an elaborate trial of the war criminals is also appreciated. Though my words may be impolite coming from a defeated people, it is hoped that you will excuse me, as I am writing this statement with the firm conviction that we must not fail this time in establishing permanent peace in the world.

1. About America's responsibility for war

I admit Japan's responsibility for the war, but I decline to conclude that the United States is completely innocent of the war. Americans accuse Japan because of her attack on Pearl Harbor. This attack, however, was caused by a severe note which the U. S. handed to Japan on Nov. 26, 1941. This note, of course, was based upon the Japanese advance into Manchuria, China and Indo-China. The Japanese invasion was not exercised without relationship to past events.

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A neutral observer has said that war trials can be made fair only when the trials are conducted by a third party.

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The causes and effects of the human tragedy will not be terminated merely by punishing Hitler, Tojo, and their parties. The important point which the peace makers should keep in mind is that an historical survey should be made, with a view to locating the reasons for and results of human struggle in an effort to exterminate this evil.

After the Renaissance, the attention of the people was directed to material gains through the development of science. They discovered laws of the visible world, but forgot to discover laws of invisible reality. They learned parts, but not the whole. There were sectional conflicts, but not global harmony. The material conception of life as fostered by the progress of science is the cause of human tragedy.

4. Science does not teach the way to peace

Modern science gave birth to the population theory by Malthus, survival of the fittest by Darwin, and the theory of Communism by Marx. These scientists observed the universe from the material point of view alone, and forgot the existence of God, harmony, and the reality of the universe. Thus, the Europeans, who believe in Christianity, and the Japanese were driven to external aggression and internal class struggle. Science teaches what the world is, and not what the world should be. All efforts to establish peace on a material basis and not on a moral and religious foundation will fail. The Bible and the old Chinese teachings are full of lessons in this vein.

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I believe that the universe, including our earth, is an orderly living existence, as the late Dr. Alexis Carol (Nobel prize winner) of the Rockefeller Foundation said. Thus all countries of the world must cooperate with each other, as the human organs function harmoniously, to maintain human life. Postwar problems must be solved on this principle.

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Retaliation will never bring true peace. Peace comes only when both the victors and the defeated render self-reflection. Mutual tolerance and understanding is the basis of peace.

7. Policy for eternal peace

Please be generous and listen to my words which may sound intolerable to the ears of a victorious people. If a defeated nation alone is considered responsible for the war, as traditionally interpreted, real peace will never be realized. To try to put the full responsibility of war upon the defeated will be to place the same burden upon the victors.

In short, permanent peace will be established only when both the victors and the vanquished feel a common responsibility for war, and demonstrate this feeling in the Occupation Policy.

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PART II

1. Remove the idea of punishment

The Occupation Army is ruling Japan for the purpose of punishing the persons responsible for the war, by making the defeated feel inferior, destroying important industries, earmarking many factories for reparations, destroying Japanese traditions, and placing Japan in a position below fourth grade nations. This makes the Japanese people feel gloomy, no matter how generously they are treated.

If, however, the victor nations change their conception of war as already stated, their attitude towards the Japanese will be truly friendly, and the Japanese will reciprocate with friendship.

2. Correction of the dilemma of the occupation policy

The Occupation authorities are working for the economic rehabilitation of Japan, as this will alleviate their burden and is a humanitarian factor. On the other hand, they are thinking of punishing the people and keeping Japan small, inferior to any victor nation. The Occupation policy, therefore, faces a dilemma, often resulting in the execution of conflicting policies. This is especially felt in the economic field.

Few persons in GHQ are reported to be competent on economic matters, and those persons appear to be pursuing economic policies contradictory to each other. Certain informed quarters opine that economic policies adopted by GHQ seem to have brought about results contrary to what General MacArthur expected to achieve.

If the victor nations stand on a new conception of war, as stated above, they will no longer fall into a dilemma. They will help Japan to achieve rehabilitation to such an extent that she will prove herself a peaceful and democratic nation and contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world.

It is suggested that the United States send to Japan a competent economist, such as Young or Dawes, who were sent to Germany after World War I. Such a person would save Japan from economic destruction, and correct the contradictory economic policies followed by GHQ. The economic collapse of Japan not only means an extra burden upon the U. S., but also may develop anti-American feeling among the people.

3. Control over Japanese war potentialities

Armaments in Japan have been thoroughly destroyed. Moreover, Japan has adopted a Constitution renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. As Japan is an island country with extremely poor natural resources, control over the production and importation of iron and oil will be sufficient to restrict her war potentialities.

Yet salt, which is extremely short in Japan, now is under strict control, for fear that it may be used in the production of poison gas. Production of hemp in Tochiigi Ken is restricted as it may serve for the manufacture of narcotics. We do not understand why the textile industry in Japan is restricted, while keen shortage of cotton goods is felt not only in Japan, but also in all Far Eastern countries.

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5. Remove restrictions on foreign trade and foreign investment

Restrictions on foreign trade and foreign investment should be imposed in so far as they are a cause of international war. The democratic American government knows well that such restrictions serve no useful purposes and are harmful to human society. Such restrictions have been imposed on Japan as a means of punishment. Should such restrictions be removed by a new conception of war, as I have said before, it will facilitate the economic recovery of Japan and hence the rehabilitation of the world, causing hardships to no country of the world.

6. Evils accompanying the purge directive

Instead of applying purge directives to such an extensive degree and in such a mechanical manner, the purge directives should have been issued in an outline form, with details to be worked out by the Japanese themselves.

(1) The purge directives are worded so mechanically that many undesirable persons have escaped from purges, and many desirable persons have been ousted from public office and business life. For instance, certain persons who were opposed to the militarists before and during the war are barred from public offices, as their names appear as directors of certain national policy corporations. Others, who were deprived of their positions during the war because they were opposed to the Tripartite Pact, were ousted from public positions after the war, as they happened to be in responsible positions. Still others who were placed in certain positions for the purpose of resisting the pro-German-Italian group were removed from public office as they were in the same positions after the war. These persons resent the purge policy as being mechanically applied.

On the other hand, many who actively supported the war remain unaffected because they are not in positions coming within the purge directives.

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(2) The purge of businessmen is so sweeping that inexperienced men are placed in responsible positions, a factor which will delay the economic recovery of Japan.

(3) Many sound middle-of-the-road persons are being displaced as a result of the purges.

(4) The process of purging, with no prospect of ending, gives a strong weapon to the leftists, who use this weapon to discredit persons objectionable in their eyes. Attention is invited to the fact that the purge directives, together with the approaching economic crisis and the removal of industrial equipment as reparations, may cause anti-American feeling to rise among the people.

7. Due regard for Japanese traditions and national heritage

A hasty introduction of American democracy to Japan, without due regard to national traditions, cultural level of the people and their environment, together with the encouragement of Communism, are likely to lead the people to confused thinking which will stir up labor disputes, and thus hamper economic recovery of the country. So long as the ultimate purpose of the Occupation is the promotion of peace, the Japanese heritage should be tolerated and economic confusion averted.

As long as Occupation policy continues unchanged, the despotic left labor leaders will take the place of the former pro-German-Italian elements who led the country to ruin. The present situation in Japan reminds me of the growth of Fascism and Nazism after World War I. If the Occupation Forces are withdrawn leaving Japan as it is, it is evident that Japan will be turned into a battleground between two opposing forces, viz., Fascists and Communists.

I am of the opinion that a more effective control over the destructive leftists, and aid and guidance to the patriotic democrats under the leadership of strong pacifists, will be the best means for checking the recurrence of Fascism and a militaristic tendency in the future. I am afraid, however, that the Occupation officials who support the left labor movement in the past will not grasp this situation.

8. Let the Japanese have faith in God

I believe that American democracy is sound, being synonymous with humanism, as it is based upon faith in God. The Occupation policy, however, deprives the Japanese of their faith in the Emperor, rejects mysticism, without teaching true universalism and a real understanding of life. Instead, a hasty introduction of American democracy and Soviet Communism is being sought. Continuance of this course will lead the Japanese away from faith in God and turn the people to materialism, hedonism, and demoralization.

9. Return the glory of victory to God

We believe that Japan lost the war through lack of Divine protection because of the unreasonable nature of the war. In like manner,

the United

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the United States won the war under Divine favor, her cause being more justifiable than Japan's. Then is it not just to say that the glory of victory be returned to God? Such a humble way of thinking will change the victors' attitude toward the defeated.

The victors are in a position to impose anything on the defeated, who must accept everything under the circumstances. Permanent peace, however, will not be established without capturing the minds of the people, defeated as they might be.

10. Do not impose a peace treaty unilaterally

If the victors entered World War II with just motives, and if they wish to establish permanent peace, why do they not allow the defeated to express their views to the world? Why do they not try to find conditions for peace acceptable to the victors, the defeated, and to the world as a whole? The views of the defeated will in any event be discarded if they are not worthy of attention.

Italy signed a peace treaty saying that "this is the saddest day, never to be forgotten by the Italian people". The existence of such resentment will not mean success on the part of the victors. It is hoped that such resentment will not be repeated when Japan and Germany sign peace treaties.

11. Should the defeated alone renounce war?

Japan's renunciation of war is welcomed by the victors. If the victors are pleased with this decision because they are relieved of Japanese vengeance, they will invite vengeance from countries other than Japan. I believe that the victors are pleased with Japan's renunciation of war from the standpoint of bringing about permanent peace in the world. If so, why is the same principle not discussed by all countries under the leadership of the United States?

As I stated at the outset, I am paying full respect to the generous attitude of the Allied Powers toward Japan. Japan is infinitely grateful to be ruled by the United States whose moral standard is the highest in the world.

The victors, however, committed three major mistakes originating from their attitude of punishment and discrimination against the defeated. Firstly, they pursued a contradictory policy of preventing economic recovery by the defeated nations, contrary to their desire for speedy economic rehabilitation of these countries. Secondly, they punished the German war criminals without making them repent for their crimes. Thirdly, an unilateral peace treaty was imposed on Italy. The fourth and fifth mistakes may follow.

Such a way of handling the postwar problems will not only fail to end the causes and effects of human tragedy, but also will sow seeds for World War III. Even if Japan and Germany are completely deprived of their war potentialities other nations may cause trouble.

Former Secretary

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June 5, 1947

Former Secretary of State Cordell Hull is reported to have related reminiscently that the Allies made mistakes in their economic policy after the World War I, in that they had too little understanding of the "have-not" countries. It is hoped that such mistakes will not be repeated this time. Personally, I have confidence that the United States will handle postwar problems with lofty aims for the ultimate purpose of establishing permanent peace in the world. I am equally confident that Japan will become a thoroughly peaceful country so that she may contribute to this peace.

The foregoing statement contains the ideas of a person writing with a fervent desire to lay a foundation for permanent universal peace, which is the only hope of a country, defeated by war, yet determined to walk the path of peace with the renunciation of war provided for in its Constitution.

I apologize for my blunt manner of expression, and urgently appeal to the American people through The Honorable George Acheson, Jr.

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 1093, dated June 5, 1947 from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Transmitting Summary Translation of Memorandum Submitted by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the 'Shiunso'".

Copy

Tokyo, March 4, 1947

Honorable Ambassador George Atcheson, Jr.,
Office of the United States Political
Adviser, Tokyo.

Honorable Sir:

I am one of the Japanese citizens who exerted a great effort to find means whereby a Pacific war might be averted. Before the war, I had the privilege of exchanging views with former Ambassador Grew and his staff on this question, and went to Washington in January-February, 1941. I published a book last September entitled "A secret story on Japanese American diplomacy", a copy of which was forwarded to you.

I have now written down my view on the present situation in Japan, with a view to advancing democracy in Japan and firmly establishing Japan-American amity on the enduring basis for the purpose of promoting world peace. I shall be most happy and feel honored if you will take a glance at it.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ (Japanese characters)

/t/ Tetsuma Hashimoto
President of Shiunso Society.

318 Kitashinakawa 3-chome,
Shinakawa Ku, Tokyo.
Telephone 49-40-40

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Enclosure No. 3 to despatch No. 1093, dated June 5, 1947 from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Transmitting Summary Translation of Memorandum Submitted by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the 'Shiunso'".

Copy

April 24, 1947.

Tetsuma HASHIMOTO of "Shiunso"

Information received from Mr. Tsuneichi Katagiri, Chief of the Second Section, Criminal Investigation Department, Metropolitan Police Bureau, Tokyo, indicated that the official record on Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto contains the following:

Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, head of the Shiunso Society, was born in Saijo City, Ehime Prefecture, in 1889. After graduating from Waseda College, where he majored in political economics, Mr. Hashimoto became interested in political movement. Through his efforts and those of Kanju Kato, the Young Men's Constitutional Party was organized; also, during this period, his book "Japan of the World" was published. Later, he organized with the aid of Takejiro Nishio, the Young Men's Reconstruction Party, and devoted his efforts to universal suffrage. Following these activities, Mr. Hashimoto made a tour of the world.

The Shiunso (Purple Cloud Society) of which Mr. Hashimoto is presently the principal figure, was organized by him in 1923. Through this Society strong support of the emperor system was advocated along with the national polity. Communism and class struggle were opposed. These doctrines were advertised, both in newspapers and in the society's organ entitled "Shiun". The Society was dissolved during the war but is now active again advocating the following three principles:

1. Support of the emperor system and protection of the national polity.
2. Establishment of a pacific Japan.
3. Complete pro-Americanism.

Financial backing for this Society seems to come from economic organizations.

Immediately before the outbreak of war, Mr. Hashimoto worked tirelessly for amicable Japanese-American relations, keeping in touch with the Japanese Government and the American Embassy in Tokyo. Early in 1941, he went to Washington to continue his efforts for peace between the two countries.

Mr. Hashimoto has published a number of books, among them "Leisurely Talks of Shiunso"; "Hundred Talks of Shiunso"; "American Sentiment Towards Japan"; "Untold Story of Japan-American Negotiations".

Mr. Tsuneichi

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Mr. Tsuneishi Katagiri, Criminal Investigation Department, revealed further that when extremist organizations were being dissolved after the war by orders from General Headquarters, the Shiunso Society was thoroughly examined and no fault could be found with its organization or doctrines. All of the advertising done by this organization before the war was based on moral teachings and demanded reflection by the national leaders who were selfishly clamoring for power at the expense of the Japanese people. Advertisements appeared in the Tokyo Nichi Nichi on December 17, 1939, in the Asahi on March 30, 1940, in the Mainichi on May 12, 1940, and in Hochi on May 28, 1941, all of which dealt with moral principles and indicated an effort to improve Japanese-American relations. Mr. Hashimoto's books also reveal that he worked tirelessly for Japanese-American friendship. He seems inclined toward the right, being an idealist, patriotic, a pacifist and a man of action. He stands firm in his support of the emperor system, anti-Communism and anti-materialism, and showed himself to be definitely pro-American when the United States was attacked by Japan.



UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

LR Jett
NAFE

Tokyo, June 5, 1947

UNCLASSIFIED

No. 1093

DCA

SUBJECT: Transmitting Summary Translation of Memorandum Submitted by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the "Shiunso".

894.00/6-547

- 1/ The United States Political Adviser has the honor to enclose a copy of a summary translation of a memorandum prepared and submitted to this Mission by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the "Shiunso" (Purple Cloud Society), together with a copy of Mr. Hashimoto's covering letter dated March 4, 1947 explaining that he is presenting his views on the present situation in Japan, with a view to advancing democracy in Japan and establishing Japanese-American amity on an enduring basis. There is also enclosed a copy of a report on Mr. Hashimoto dated April 25, 1947, obtained from the Metropolitan Police Bureau of Tokyo.
- 2/
- 3/

It is felt that the enclosed summary translation is of interest as it contains the opinions of a well-known Japanese publicist concerning problems raised by the implementation of Allied and American policies in Japan.

Enclosures: *att*

- 1. Copy of Summary Translation.
- 2. Copy of letter from Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, March 4, 1947.
- 3. Copy of report from Metropolitan Police Bureau of Tokyo.

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER FOR JAPAN

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A Summary
(Translation)

"Memorandum respectfully presented to
Honorable George Atcheson, Jr."

By Tetsuma HASHIMOTO

PART I.

Preface

For one and half years before the war I made efforts to avert a Japanese-American clash under constant intimidation by the Gendarmerie. My activities are related in my book entitled "Untold Story of Japan-American Negotiations".

I fully realize what an unreasonable war Japan was plunged into and the enormous crimes she committed against human society. I, therefore, appreciate the merciful attitude with which the Occupation Army is treating a defeated nation. The trouble of going into an elaborate trial of the war criminals is also appreciated. Though my words may be impolite coming from a defeated people, it is hoped that you will excuse me, as I am writing this statement with the firm conviction that we must not fail this time in establishing permanent peace in the world.

1. About America's responsibility for war

I admit Japan's responsibility for the war, but I decline to conclude that the United States is completely innocent of the war. Americans accuse Japan because of her attack on Pearl Harbor. This attack, however, was caused by a severe note which the U. S. handed to Japan on Nov. 26, 1941. This note, of course, was based upon the Japanese advance into Manchuria, China and Indo-China. The Japanese invasion was not exercised without relationship to past events.

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(2) The purge of businessmen is so sweeping that inexperienced men are placed in responsible positions, a factor which will delay the economic recovery of Japan.

(3) Many sound middle-of-the-road persons are being displaced as a result of the purges.

(4) The process of purging, with no prospect of ending, gives a strong weapon to the leftists, who use this weapon to discredit persons objectionable in their eyes. Attention is invited to the fact that the purge directives, together with the approaching economic crisis and the removal of industrial equipment as reparations, may cause anti-American feeling to rise among the people.

7. Due regard for Japanese traditions and national heritage

A hasty introduction of American democracy to Japan, without due regard to national traditions, cultural level of the people and their environment, together with the encouragement of Communism, are likely to lead the people to confused thinking which will stir up labor disputes, and thus hamper economic recovery of the country. So long as the ultimate purpose of the Occupation is the promotion of peace, the Japanese heritage should be tolerated and economic confusion averted.

As long as Occupation policy continues unchanged, the despotic left labor leaders will take the place of the former pro-German-Italian elements who led the country to ruin. The present situation in Japan reminds me of the growth of Fascism and Naziism after World War I. If the Occupation Forces are withdrawn leaving Japan as it is, it is evident that Japan will be turned into a battleground between two opposing forces, viz., Fascists and Communists.

I am of the opinion that a more effective control over the destructive leftists, and aid and guidance to the patriotic democrats under the leadership of strong pacifists, will be the best means for checking the recurrence of Fascism and a militaristic tendency in the future. I am afraid, however, that the Occupation officials who support the left labor movement in the past will not grasp this situation.

8. Let the Japanese have faith in God

I believe that American democracy is sound, being synonymous with humanism, as it is based upon faith in God. The Occupation policy, however, deprives the Japanese of their faith in the Emperor, rejects mysticism, without teaching true universalism and a real understanding of life. Instead, a hasty introduction of American democracy and Soviet Communism is being sought. Continuance of this course will lead the Japanese away from faith in God and turn the people to materialism, hedonism, and demoralization.

9. Return the glory of victory to God

We believe that Japan lost the war through lack of Divine protection because of the unreasonable nature of the war. In like manner,

the United

Page No. 6
Enclosure No. 1 of Tokyo's Despatch No. 1093
June 5, 1947

the United States won the war under Divine favor, her cause being more justifiable than Japan's. Then is it not just to say that the glory of victory be returned to God? Such a humble way of thinking will change the victors' attitude toward the defeated.

The victors are in a position to impose anything on the defeated, who must accept everything under the circumstances. Permanent peace, however, will not be established without capturing the minds of the people, defeated as they might be.

10. Do not impose a peace treaty unilaterally

If the victors entered World War II with just motives, and if they wish to establish permanent peace, why do they not allow the defeated to express their views to the world? Why do they not try to find conditions for peace acceptable to the victors, the defeated, and to the world as a whole? The views of the defeated will in any event be discarded if they are not worthy of attention.

Italy signed a peace treaty saying that "this is the saddest day, never to be forgotten by the Italian people". The existence of such resentment will not mean success on the part of the victors. It is hoped that such resentment will not be repeated when Japan and Germany sign peace treaties.

11. Should the defeated alone renounce war?

Japan's renunciation of war is welcomed by the victors. If the victors are pleased with this decision because they are relieved of Japanese vengeance, they will invite vengeance from countries other than Japan. I believe that the victors are pleased with Japan's renunciation of war from the standpoint of bringing about permanent peace in the world. If so, why is the same principle not discussed by all countries under the leadership of the United States?

As I stated at the outset, I am paying full respect to the generous attitude of the Allied Powers toward Japan. Japan is infinitely grateful to be ruled by the United States whose moral standard is the highest in the world.

The victors, however, committed three major mistakes originating from their attitude of punishment and discrimination against the defeated. Firstly, they pursued a contradictory policy of preventing economic recovery by the defeated nations, contrary to their desire for speedy economic rehabilitation of these countries. Secondly, they punished the German war criminals without making them repent for their crimes. Thirdly, an unilateral peace treaty was imposed on Italy. The fourth and fifth mistakes may follow.

Such a way of handling the postwar problems will not only fail to end the causes and effects of human tragedy, but also will sow seeds for World War III. Even if Japan and Germany are completely deprived of their war potentialities other nations may cause trouble.

Former Secretary

Page No. 7
Enclosure No. 1 of Tokyo's Despatch No. 1093
June 5, 1947

Former Secretary of State Cordell Hull is reported to have related reminiscently that the Allies made mistakes in their economic policy after the World War I, in that they had too little understanding of the "have-not" countries. It is hoped that such mistakes will not be repeated this time. Personally, I have confidence that the United States will handle postwar problems with lofty aims for the ultimate purpose of establishing permanent peace in the world. I am equally confident that Japan will become a thoroughly peaceful country so that she may contribute to this peace.

The foregoing statement contains the ideas of a person writing with a fervent desire to lay a foundation for permanent universal peace, which is the only hope of a country, defeated by war, yet determined to walk the path of peace with the renunciation of war provided for in its Constitution.

I apologize for my blunt manner of expression, and urgently appeal to the American people through The Honorable George Acheson, Jr.

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 1093, dated June 5, 1947 from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Transmitting Summary Translation of Memorandum Submitted by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the 'Shiunso'".

Copy

Tokyo, March 4, 1947

Honorable Ambassador George Acheson, Jr.,
Office of the United States Political
Adviser, Tokyo.

Honorable Sir:

I am one of the Japanese citizens who exerted a great effort to find means whereby a Pacific war might be averted. Before the war, I had the privilege of exchanging views with former Ambassador Grew and his staff on this question, and went to Washington in January-February, 1941. I published a book last September entitled "A secret story on Japanese American diplomacy", a copy of which was forwarded to you.

I have now written down my view on the present situation in Japan, with a view to advancing democracy in Japan and firmly establishing Japan-American amity on the enduring basis for the purpose of promoting world peace. I shall be most happy and feel honored if you will take a glance at it.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ (Japanese characters)

/t/ Tetsuma Hashimoto
President of Shiunso Society.

318 Kitashinakawa 3-chome,
Shinakawa Ku, Tokyo.
Telephone 49-40-40

Enclosure No. 3 to despatch No. 1093, dated June 5, 1947 from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Transmitting Summary Translation of Memorandum Submitted by Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, President of the 'Shiunso'".

Copy

April 24, 1947.

Tetsuma HASHIMOTO of "Shiunso"

Information received from Mr. Tsuneichi Katagiri, Chief of the Second Section, Criminal Investigation Department, Metropolitan Police Bureau, Tokyo, indicated that the official record on Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto contains the following:

Mr. Tetsuma Hashimoto, head of the Shiunso Society, was born in Saijo City, Ehime Prefecture, in 1889. After graduating from Waseda College, where he majored in political economics, Mr. Hashimoto became interested in political movement. Through his efforts and those of Kanju Kato, the Young Men's Constitutional Party was organized; also, during this period, his book "Japan of the World" was published. Later, he organized with the aid of Takejiro Nishio, the Young Men's Reconstruction Party, and devoted his efforts to universal suffrage. Following these activities, Mr. Hashimoto made a tour of the world.

The Shiunso (Purple Cloud Society) of which Mr. Hashimoto is presently the principal figure, was organized by him in 1923. Through this Society strong support of the emperor system was advocated along with the national polity. Communism and class struggle were opposed. These doctrines were advertised, both in newspapers and in the society's organ entitled "Shiun". The Society was dissolved during the war but is now active again advocating the following three principles:

1. Support of the emperor system and protection of the national polity.
2. Establishment of a pacific Japan.
3. Complete pro-Americanism.

Financial backing for this Society seems to come from economic organizations.

Immediately before the outbreak of war, Mr. Hashimoto worked tirelessly for amicable Japanese-American relations, keeping in touch with the Japanese Government and the American Embassy in Tokyo. Early in 1941, he went to Washington to continue his efforts for peace between the two countries.

Mr. Hashimoto has published a number of books, among them "Leisure Talks of Shiunso"; "Hundred Talks of Shiunso"; "American Sentiment Towards Japan"; "Untold Story of Japan-American Negotiations".

Mr. Tsuneichi

Page # 2
Enclosure No. 3 of Tokyo's Despatch No. 1093
June 5, 1947

Mr. Tsuneichi Katagiri, Criminal Investigation Department, revealed further that when extremist organizations were being dissolved after the war by orders from General Headquarters, the Shiunso Society was thoroughly examined and no fault could be found with its organization or doctrines. All of the advertising done by this organization before the war was based on moral teachings and demanded reflection by the national leaders who were selfishly clamoring for power at the expense of the Japanese people. Advertisements appeared in the Tokyo Nichi Nichi on December 17, 1939, in the Asahi on March 30, 1940, in the Mainichi on May 12, 1940, and in Hochi on May 28, 1941, all of which dealt with moral principles and indicated an effort to improve Japanese-American relations. Mr. Hashimoto's books also reveal that he worked tirelessly for Japanese-American friendship. He seems inclined toward the right, being an idealist, patriotic, a pacifist and a man of action. He stands firm in his support of the emperor system, anti-Communism and anti-materialism, and showed himself to be definitely pro-American when the United States was attacked by Japan.

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FILE NO.

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DESP. 1100 FROM TOKYO

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JAN 26 1948

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISOR
FOR JAPAN

Tokyo, June 9, 1947.

CO DCL
no 23, 1947
23 p.m.RESTRICTED

No. 1100

JUN 30 1947

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SUBJECT: Transmitting Memorandum of Conversation with Former Ambassador Saburo KURUSU Regarding Current Political Situation and Personalities.

The United States Political Adviser has the honor to enclose copy of a memorandum of conversation between Mr. Saburo KURUSU, former Japanese diplomat, and a member of the staff of this Mission, which took place on June 6 in Tokyo.

Summary. Mr. KURUSU outlined the position of former Prime Minister YOSHIDA in regard to the refusal of the Liberal Party to join the present 3-party coalition government. Mr. KURUSU believes, following the realization that purged former president Ichiro MATOYAMA cannot be reinstated, that Mr. YOSHIDA will stage a comeback as actual rather than as nominal head of the Liberal Party and later reenter public office his position greatly enhanced by the political education he will receive in the meantime. Mr. KURUSU described the position of Liberals toward Foreign Minister Hitoshi YOSHIDA and predicted a number of changes in the personnel of the Central Liaison Office of the Japanese Government. End of Summary.

While his abilities as a diplomat are well known, the political acumen of Mr. KURUSU, who is not a member of any party, is difficult to evaluate accurately. Although he lives in semi-retirement in Karuizawa, he is in close touch with the more important politicians and makes frequent trips to Tokyo to see them as well as industrial figures. He is a very close personal friend of Mr. YOSHIDA and probably reflects Mr. YOSHIDA's thinking to a considerable degree. A graduate of a commercial university, Mr. KURUSU has a wide acquaintance among industrial leaders and is in close touch with their economic as well as political viewpoints. While he would like to serve in some governmental capacity, Mr. KURUSU has stated that he will not do so, at least until the end of the current war crimes trials. He does not wish to risk an adverse decision at this time which would eliminate him permanently from public life because of his activities at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack. He is constantly visited by high-ranking S.C.P. and Eighth Army officials who seek his opinions on a number of subjects concerning the Occupation.

Enclosure:

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RESTRICTEDToigo's LLC,
June 9, 1947.

- 2 -

Enclosure:

Copy of memorandum of
conversation dated
June 7, 1947.

Original and photograph to Department.

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J. Burnett/blc**RESTRICTED**

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 1100, dated June 9, 1947, from the United States Political Adviser for Japan, Tokyo, on the subject "Transmitting Memorandum of Conversation with Former Ambassador Saburo KURUSU Regarding Current Political Situation and Personalities".

COPY

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Tokyo, June 7, 1947.

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Saburo KURUSU, former Japanese Ambassador;
Mr. Burnett.

SUBJECT: Recent Liberal Party activities; Future of
Mr. Shigeru YOSHIDA; Foreign Minister YOSHIDA.

During the course of a conversation lasting an hour and a half at luncheon on June 6, 1947, Mr. KURUSU made the following remarks concerning the current political situation and certain personalities concerned therewith:

Liberal Party's Recent Tactics. In commenting on the delay (in public announcement) of the decision of the Liberal Party not to join the Social Democrats and Democrats in forming a coalition government, Mr. KURUSU said that immediately following the election which established the Social Democratic Party as the major party, Mr. Shigeru YOSHIDA, the then Prime Minister and President of the Liberal Party, informed him that he had no intention of allowing the Liberals to join with the other two major parties in forming a coalition cabinet; that it was out of the question for the Liberals to cooperate with the Socialists as long as the latter allowed certain left-wingers to remain within the party. Mr. YOSHIDA said that he had been mildly opposed in the formulation of this decision by certain members of his own party who wished to join any government, regardless of its make-up, in order to receive cabinet posts for themselves. Mr. YOSHIDA's decision had prevailed, however, and the party was solidly behind him. Two factors had led Mr. YOSHIDA to delay announcement of the decision of the Liberals to place the party in opposition: (1) the feeling that public opinion would not support, so soon after the election, a decision to oppose the party which had come into power as a result of the elections; and (2) Mr. YOSHIDA's personal feelings toward Mr. Kijuro SHIBEMURA, former Prime Minister and President of the Democratic Party. Mr. SHIBEMURA had been brought out of retirement from politics principally through the efforts of Mr. YOSHIDA, who had promised his full cooperation in any of Mr. SHIBEMURA's undertakings; Mr. YOSHIDA had served as Vice-Minister in the SHIBEMURA Cabinet and Mr. SHIBEMURA had served as Minister without Portfolio in the recently dissolved YOSHIDA Cabinet. Mr. SHIBEMURA was strongly in favor of a 3- or 4-party coalition following the election and sought desperately to enlist Mr. YOSHIDA's support, which the latter could not give.

Future of Mr. YOSHIDA. Mr. YOSHIDA, according to Mr. KURUSU, has been biding his time as President of the Liberal Party until purged Ichiro H. TOYAMA, former President, could be reinstated. Now that H. TOYAMA's chances of clearing himself have all but vanished, Mr. YOSHIDA is taking great interest in political affairs and in the development of the Liberal Party. His forthcoming tour of the provinces is supposedly for the purpose of uniting all factions of the party. He is extremely popular in the rural areas. Mr. YOSHIDA is said to be "fed

up"

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Encl. to
Tokyo's L100,
June 9, 1947.

- 2 -

up" with Socialist and left-wing charges of "reactionary" and intends to fight back. As actual rather than nominal leader of Liberal Party, he is in a better position to do this outside the government. Mr. KURUSU believes that Mr. YOSHIDA will stage a strong comeback, that his popularity will increase, and that the political education he will receive as an active party head will be valuable to him when he reenters public office.

Foreign Minister Hitoshi ASHIDA. Mr. KURUSU rates the new Foreign Minister very high personally but has little use for him politically. ASHIDA is not popular with the YOSHIDA group or other members of the Liberal Party. Mr. ASHIDA was very unhappy in the Liberal Party, deserted it just prior to the elections, and teamed up with the Democrats. A group of younger Liberals was expected to follow him out of the party but failed to do so. When he left the Liberal Party he did so with a flourish, stating that he was "burning his bridge behind him". Liberals told him he would "have to swim back" as they do not seem to doubt that he will eventually return to the Party. His unpopularity among the Liberals, even while he was in the party, is explained by two factors: (1) They resent his attitude toward the purged HATOYAMA. The latter is said to have brought him up and to have been of considerable help to him in his diplomatic and political careers; and yet, when HATOYAMA was purged, ASHIDA was the first to desert the former's camp. (2) Liberals are bitter toward ASHIDA for his having allowed the passage, while serving in the SHIGEMURA Cabinet as Welfare Minister, of a bill which legalized unions of government officials. Liberals consider unions of government employees worthwhile but deery the development of such organizations among officials, at least for the present.

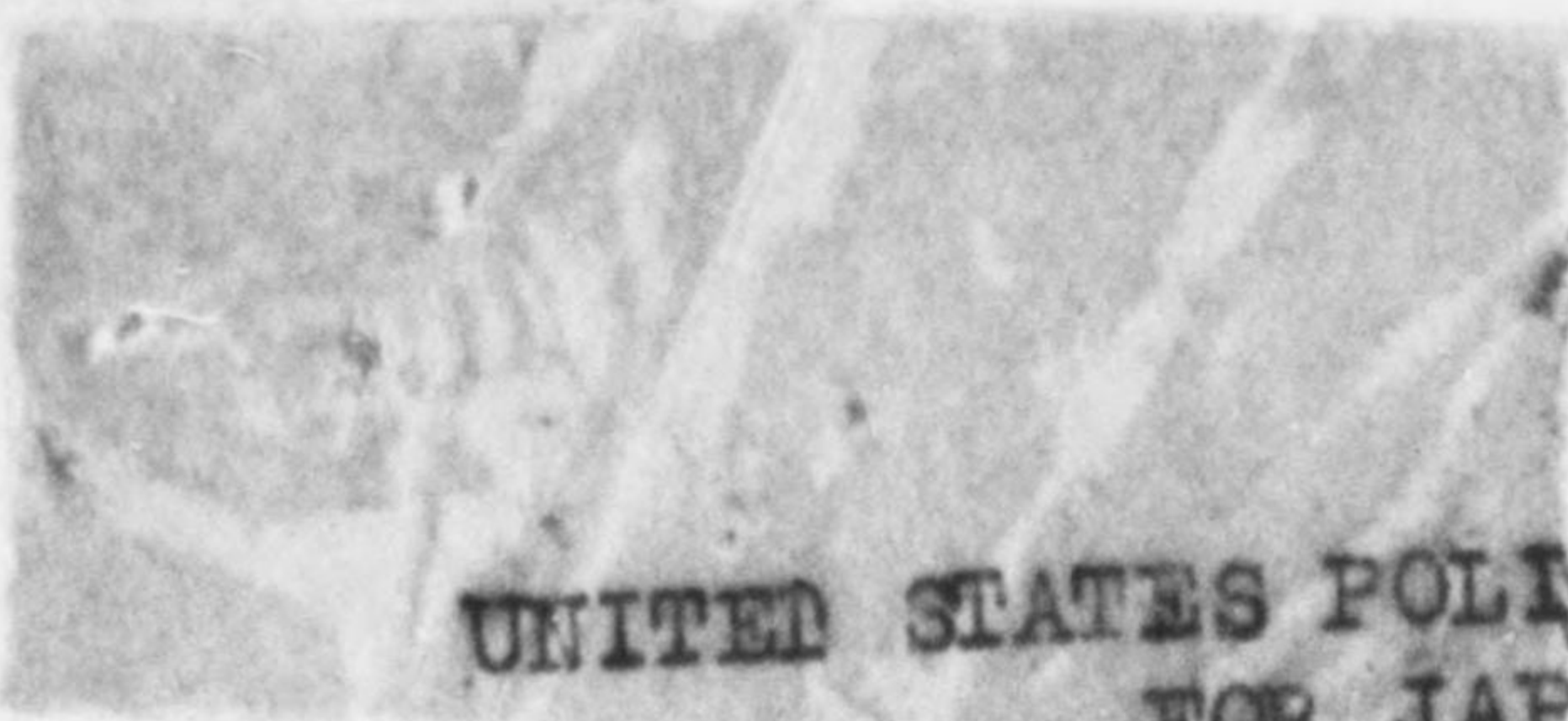
Mr. ASHIDA is expected to make a number of changes in the Central Liaison Office, of which he is concurrently President. His changes will affect less the career diplomats who occupy key positions than Mr. YOSHIDA's friends. Mr. Jiro SHIBASU, Vice President of the Central Liaison Office and principal liaison figure between Japanese Government and this Headquarters, seems certain to be replaced.

J.M.B.

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J.Barnett/blc

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2-17-57
Encloses a
fairly interesting
account by a Foot
Section officer of
a three-weeks'
field trip through
Kyushu. I have
worked some of the
more interesting
passages.



UN. OF FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION
SEP 1 1947
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
FOR JAPAN

Tokyo, June 10, 1947

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No. 1101

SUBJECT: Memorandum Regarding Local Politics in Japan

DIVISION OF
PROTECTIVE SERVICES

AUG 29 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The United States Political Adviser is pleased to transmit a memorandum prepared by Mr. John K. McLean of the Government Section of General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, regarding his observations during a field trip of three weeks' duration undertaken during March and April, 1947, on the island of Kyushu. The study contrasts current conditions in predominately agricultural and fishing communities with those in communities more highly developed industrially, with resultant differences in political views. The agricultural and fishing communities were found to be more prosperous and, possibly as a result, more conservative politically.

The author also notes the influence of communications and transportation facilities, or the lack of them, on the political views of the inhabitants, conservatism being more strongly entrenched in communities lacking such facilities.

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Memorandum to Chief, Government Section, GHQ, SCAP, dated April 14, 1947. (Five copies)

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DIVISION OF INVESTIGATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section
Political Affairs Division

14 April 1947

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF, GOVERNMENT SECTION

SUBJECT: LOCAL POLITICS IN KYUSHU

I. INTRODUCTION

A three weeks' field trip was undertaken in March and April, 1947, to SUYEMURA in KUMAMOTO Prefecture (17 to 24 March), HIRADO-MACHI on HIRADO Island, NAGASAKI Prefecture (25 March to 30 March), and to IIZUKA-SHI in FUKUOKA Prefecture (31 March to 3 April) for the purpose of investigating and analyzing the basic political structure of representative agricultural, fishing, and mining areas respectively. At the same time, it was possible to study the differences in basic character between a Japanese village (SUYE-MURA, pop. 2,156), town (HIRADO-MACHI, pop. 14,842), and city (IIZUKA-SHI, pop. 42,113).

These three areas were chosen for various reasons: 1) because of the relative economic, social, and political backwardness of the areas involved. KYUSHU has clung more tenaciously to remnants of feudalism than any other area in Japan and has been in the past a stronghold of militarism, owing to the inadequacy of transportation facilities and means of communication which has retarded the introduction of new ideas. Only IIZUKA is served directly by railroad, a spur line connecting with the main line from MOJI to HAKATA and NAGASAKI, while HIRADO must be reached by means of a rail spur running northward from SASEBO to the coast, and thence by ferry boat to the island of HIRADO. Roads there are narrow and in poor condition. SUYE is reached by means of a spur line from YATSUSHIRO (on the main line between KUMAMOTO and KAGOSHIMA) to HITOXOSHI, requiring an additional hour's ride by bus over rough roads from there to SUYE. 2) The inaccessibility of these areas has operated to restrict direct contact between the inhabitants and the occupation forces to occasional inspection trips, and SUYE has never seen occupation troops. Thus, all political changes in the direction of democracy must depend on the good faith of the Japanese authorities in transmitting orders through government channels to these local areas, plus such information as reaches the inhabitants by newspaper and radio. 3) As far as direct contact with the war is concerned, the areas were completely untouched, the only incidents being an occasional formation of planes flying overhead on the way to attack some distant target. 4) In the case of SUYE-MURA, this village was the subject of a book by John F. Embree, entitled "SUYE MURA," (University of Chicago Press, 1943), a study of a "typical" Japanese village written some ten years ago. It was considered a valuable text both for the purpose of providing background material on village society in general, and also as a basis of comparison with conditions as they exist today.

II. BACKGROUND OF LOCAL POLITICS

1. Local Government Structure

Political activity in preparation for the coming general elections, the local public elections being the first in Japanese history, was just beginning to get underway, and the people were becoming aware of the new changes permitting democratic elections from the village level up. Local elections are of greatest interest in rural areas, because of the close daily contact between the local governmental bodies and the ordinary citizen. During wartime, controls were established to organize and regiment all phases of life to an even greater degree than previously. Even in peacetime there existed the closest of relations between the people and their government, orders being handed down via the prefectural government (with its branches in every town), the town or village office, the BURAKU Council, and finally to the TONARI-GUMI or Neighborhood Associations for transmittal to the family heads. The traditional family system has vested complete authority in the head of the family over its members. Heads of families have all been members not only of the TONARI-GUMI, but also of the BURAKU Council, and although they have been allowed a certain degree of latitude in selecting democratically their representatives to the town or village councils, the bureaucracy in the town and village offices has always possessed the right to reject "unqualified" BURAKU representatives. In the same manner, the town or village council, or the city assembly has generally exercised its prerogatives of selecting the mayor, but subject always to the approval of the Prefectural governor.

2. Co-operatives and Quasi-governmental organs

For the purpose of coordinating the Japanese economy with the war effort, a number of consolidations of existing cooperative associations were effected during the war. Agricultural organizations were all amalgamated in March, 1944, to form Agricultural Associations (NOGYOKAI) in each city, town, and village, and hierarchical organizations paralleling the governmental structure provided a medium for transmitting orders from the national Agricultural Association under the direction of the Ministry of Agriculture down to the BURAKU and TONARI-GUMI levels. In small predominantly agricultural communities the local Agricultural Association is fully as important as its governmental counterpart, perhaps more so. It receives orders from above concerning the type and amount of farm products required of each community and then proceeds to plan with the aid of the subordinate organizations concerned the quotas to be required of each individual farmer. Only after these initial requirements have been met is the farmer permitted to decide how the remainder of his crop will be planted.

The Agricultural Association sells tools, fertilizer, and farming equipment to farmers, sales being determined on the basis of necessity by a council similar to the city, town, and village assemblies. It also acts as a cooperative in buying and selling agricultural products,

hiring office employees, collecting dues, and the like. In addition, it performs important fiscal functions, acting as a banking institution in handling deposits and making loans at interest. Decisions on financial policy are determined by the Council in smaller organizations, and by special Agricultural Credit Committees in larger ones; all financial activities being supervised by a Board of Auditors. Town and village finance is carried on largely by these institutions, since bank branches are non-existent at the village level, and even in the towns the people utilize these facilities much more than they do the banks.

In fishing villages the Fishing Association (GYOGYOKAI) takes the place of the Agricultural Association and performs identical functions.

Thus, the tremendous importance of these organizations which control completely the economic pulse of the community can be readily surmised. Membership is compulsory and the officials have all been subject to the approval of higher authorities to insure that they are "qualified" men. Since wealthy men are felt to be more resistant to the temptation of financial manipulation and prominent citizens to be more qualified, no one would dream of proposing a man for such a post who did not measure up to these specifications.

There is close liaison between these associations and the local administrative unit, in some cases the mayor or headman of a community holding concurrently the post of head of the Agricultural or Fishing Association.

3. Special Co-operatives

In addition to these organizations, there are also cooperatives for specific purposes, such as silk-raising, livestock-raising, health insurance, teachers' associations, consumers' unions, mutual benefit associations, and the like, to which only interested parties belong. It is interesting to note, however, that no villager would even think of not participating in a health insurance cooperative, or, if he were engaged in sericulture, in the silk-raisers' cooperative, etc. Here again the officials are often prominent officials in the town or village offices and Agricultural or Fishing Associations, and they are able to dominate the economic life of every citizen, which gives them a position of prestige and power in local politics as well.

Since the war, the food collection system has operated in such a way as to continue regimentation of the people's lives. Arbitrary quotas are decided upon from above and carried out by inspection teams consisting of the officials of the Agricultural Association, the head of the BURAKU Council, and agricultural experts from the branch office of the prefectural government. They survey the fields in October, and after mutual consultation, decide upon quotas to be required of every farmer. In case of disagreement the decision of the prefectural officials is final, and in no case is there any means

of appeal once a decision has been reached.

As if this formidable array of associations and cooperatives were not enough to satisfy the Japanese appetite for organizations in every phase of life, still another war-born institution called the NOJI JIKKO KUMIAI, or Agricultural Practises Cooperative, was set up to provide closer liaison between the farmers and the city, town, or village government. Just exactly how its functions differ from those of the Agricultural Association remains somewhat of a mystery. It is apparently a vehicle for direct popular expression and criticism regarding quota allotments, and a move to work out more harmoniously the agricultural quotas required of each individual farmer, subject always of course to supervision from above.

4. Local Economic Conditions

Pre-war text books on economic conditions in Japan have always emphasized the deplorable state of the farmer, his grim struggle for existence under a heavy burden of taxes and high rents, while, on the other hand, the city afforded a higher standard of living. Wartime and post-war food shortages together with the complete absence of physical property damage have, however, placed the farmers in a very favorable financial position relative to that of the city dweller. It is an interesting fact that while debts to individuals in SUYE have increased less than three-fold in the last ten years, savings and bank deposits have increased over a hundred-fold. In HIRADO, a fishing town which also includes a large farming area within the town limits, total assets have increased three hundred times, while total liabilities are estimated to have increased less than fifty times in the last eight years. The larger number of shop-keepers probably accounts for the relatively large increase in liabilities as compared to SUYE, but it is obvious that, on the whole, HIRADO is likewise enjoying an inflationary paper prosperity which is enabling the farmers in both places to pay off in a few years heavy debts contracted over a period of many decades.

It is only natural, therefore, that the farmers and fishermen of SUYE-MURA and HIRADO-MACHI should continue to support a conservative regime which believes in free enterprise and which allows them to profit by sales of agricultural produce at high prices, not only official prices which represent moderate enough increases, but unofficial ones, which yield enormous profits in black market sales. It is readily admitted that they sell in the black market, but their position is explained as follows: In levying taxes in the old days the proverb ran, "the farmer is like a sesame seed--the more you squeeze, the more you get." It is felt that hard times will come again in a few years, so why not squeeze the city dwellers now for all they are worth? The less materialistic farmers and fishermen argue that they produce food for the city but get no goods in return, except at black market prices. Since they are forced to patronize the black market for fertilizer and manufactured goods, they feel impelled by necessity also to sell in the black market. Hence, for economic reasons, they support the

Liberal and Democratic Parties, and to a certain extent, the People's Co-operatives, while they look with jaundiced eye on the Social Democrats, the Communists, and other left-wing elements which they feel represent only the urban point of view.

By contrast with SUYE and HIRANO, much of IIZUKA's population, with the notable exception of the New Yen classes, is struggling with a rising cost of living which has outstripped rising wages and salaries. Total savings and deposits have risen only four-fold, while liabilities have increased more than five-fold in the last five years.

Thus, it is apparent that agricultural and fishing communities have an economic stake in the present YOSHIDA government, while IIZUKA, though better off financially than perhaps the big cities, looks to the Social Democrats to improve their lot by controlling inflation, eradicating the black market, and laying the burden of taxation on the New Yen classes. On the other hand they are not yet so desperate economically as to turn to Communism for a solution, which seems to be one explanation for the apparent failure of the Communists to make any real headway in the IIZUKA area.

III. NATURE OF LOCAL POLITICS

A. Influence of Democratic Changes in the Old Political Structure.

1. Transportation and communication as democratizing influences.

Democratic influences seeped down to the people of SUYE, HIRADO and IIZUKA chiefly through legislative changes and through the medium of the radio and newspaper; the latter two influences being severely limited, not only because of the relatively small number of radios and newspapers available but because of the shortage of newsprint, which necessarily curtails news of political interest. For example, only one out of every ten families possess a radio, and total newspaper subscriptions are in the ratio of one to every four families in SUYE-MURA. HIRADO-MACHI and IIZUKA-SHI have proportionately about twice as many radios and four times as many newspapers as SUYE; so that although the radio would appear to be less effective in reaching the people in these areas, newspaper influence should compare rather favorably with our own, were it not for their reduced size.

The inaccessibility of SUYE and HIRADO means that political tempests of national interest in Tokyo, and even prefectural political campaigns that rage in the larger cities throughout Japan would cause scarcely a ripple were it not for radios and newspapers, since candidates to the Diet and prefectural assemblies and for the prefectural governorship seldom put in an appearance there. None of these candidates will speak in SUYE this year, and only a limited number of people will be willing to take the two crowded buses to HITOYOSHI, an hour's ride away, to hear speakers for Diet and prefectural posts. One candidate for governor of NAGASAKI Prefecture,

a Social Democrat, will make the trip to HIRADO, and perhaps also three or four candidates for the Prefectural Assembly from KITA-MATSUURA-GUN in which HIRADO is located. Two possible Diet candidates who reside in HIRADO would of course campaign there also; but in general the period of political campaigning is too short to allow for campaign speeches in such backward areas.

IIZUKA is large enough to be politically important, and as it is both the largest city in KAHO-GUN and part of the Second Electoral District of FUKUOKA Prefecture, candidates will probably make an attempt to campaign there. However, three or four prospective Diet candidates and some candidates to prefectural assemblies will probably provide the major campaign activity in IIZUKA. Again, the shortness of the period for campaigning precludes any but the briefest appearances from outside KAHO-GUN.

2. Democratization through Legislative Change.

Democratic influences through legislative changes in the governmental structure are making a definite impression on the inhabitants, and there seems to be every indication that the local authorities are carrying them out, regardless of their feelings in the matter. The fact that local offices are to become elective from now on, the Land Reform Bill, and the anticipated dissolution of such organizations as the BURAKU-KAI (CHONAI-KAI in the city) and the TONARI-GUMI, have at least shocked the local inhabitants into a realization that politics is striking close to home. Since it is apparent that this thing called democracy will have to be lived with from now on, there seems to be a very sincere desire on the part of the people to find out what it is.

3. Influences brought about by the war.

The belief that democracy is a system that had something to do with our winning of the war has also impressed the Japanese with a desire to see what it can do for them, and this feeling, together with the hard times brought on by defeat in war, the domineering attitude of the bureaucracy, fear of post-war radical movements, dissatisfaction with the quota system, etc., have all combined to jolt the people out of their past indifference towards politics. In fact, all the Japanese in these areas seem to be so preoccupied with the specter of Communism that the first question asked an American invariably concerns itself with our attitude toward Communism and the Communist Party.

4. Democratization of Post-War Co-operative Organizations.

An example of the dissatisfaction with the system of orders from above and the desire for self-government is the formation in most communities in late 1946 of the Farmers' Union (NOMIN KUMIAI). Its announced purpose is to set up a farmers' organization excluding all bureaucrats and people not actually engaged themselves in farming. Its structure is similar to that of the Agricultural Association, with branches also in the various BURAKU, and its duties are practically identical with those of the latter organization, the main

fundamental difference lying in the fact that not only property owners but all men and women members participate in direct elections of the officers. Accordingly, the NOMIN KUMIAI has been aiding the Agricultural Association and local government bodies in the allotment of agricultural quotas to individual farmers on a more democratic basis, its functions here resembling those of its autocratic counterpart, the Agricultural Practices Association (NOJI JIKKO KUMIAI). In addition, it possesses in SUYE-MURA a truck to help the marketing of produce in neighboring towns on a cooperative basis.

Apparently, the Farmers' Union was first organized by tenant farmers as a means of effectively presenting their grievances, and in certain localities it is said to be radical in character, the national organization being definitely under left-wing influence. Though the intention at first was to exclude all landlords, the latter group, together with the conservative elements among the yeomanry, wielded their power and prestige to demand membership in the organization, with the assertion that it was unfair and undemocratic to make it a class organization. As a result, in many communities they entered the organization, captured the principal offices, and were soon in a position to control any possible radical tendencies. In other areas as in SUYE and HIRADO, the conservative elements, getting wind of what was afoot, beat the tenant farmers to the punch by organizing their own NOMIN KUMIAI and then inviting the tenant farmers to participate. For example, the president of the HIRADO branch is a member of the People's Co-operative Party and a candidate for mayor. In many instances the local branches have refused to join the national or prefectural organizations either because of their determination to exclude all outside influences, or because they feel them to be too radical in character. As a result, conservative elements hold a firm grip on the activities of the Farmers' Union in KYUSHU, and although they are often included as members of the national organization, in reality they are completely independent.

Resentment over bureaucratic dictation, plus knowledge of the impending dissolution of the Agricultural Association, mingled with fears of radical movements in the future have prompted the conservative groups to contemplate a revision of the setup of the Agricultural Association. The name is to be changed to Agricultural Co-operative Union (NOGYO KYODO KUMIAI), but the old structure will be preserved intact. It is said that the one fundamental change will be to democratize the system by abolishing the system of orders from above. If this projected revision takes place, the "raison d'etre" of the NOMIN KUMIAI will cease to exist, and many local branches may be dissolved. In any case, though there may be relief from bureaucratic dictation from the national and prefectural levels, at the town and village level direction of the affairs of the organization will probably remain in the hands of the upper class farmers (or fishermen in the event of a similar reorganization of the CYOGYOKAI).

5. Land Reform

A definite factor limiting the economic power, and thus the

political power of the landlords, is the Land Reform Bill of last year under which large land holdings were dissolved and offered to the tenant farmers. At the same time, Agricultural Land Committees (NOCHI IINKAI) were established to settle disputes between tenant and landlord. In SUYE the members consist of a fixed ratio of three landlords, two yeomen (farmers who cultivate all of their own land), and five tenant farmers; and the landlords complain that the yeomen invariably side with the tenants. In fact, the landlords say bitterly that they are unable to secure the return of land which they lent out to tenants during wartime when they did not have sufficient labor from their own household to cultivate it themselves. Hence, because of the unfavorable decisions of the Agricultural Land Committees, they are unable to recover even up to the legal limit of three CHO (about 7.5 acres). Thus, the power of the landlords is further diminished.

6. Labor Unions

Democratic influences appear to be strongest in the industrial areas of KYUSHU, if IIZUKA can be said to be a representative city. Out of a total population of 42,000 in IIZUKA 16,000 are coal miners, and most of these belong to labor unions. They appear to be organized democratically and are well informed as to their rights and duties as citizens as well. Some miners' unions are affiliated with the Japanese Federation of Labor or the Japan Congress of Industrial Unions, but the largest, consisting of more than 70,000 out of a total of 170,000 in the CHIKUHO area, is an independent union which split off last year from a Communist-dominated organization. It is determined to remain a regional union independent of all direction from national organizations and confining itself to economic objectives. It supports no candidates and engages in no political activity whatsoever, though it does take measures to exclude all Communist influence from the leadership throughout its local branches. The second largest union in the CHIKUHO area consisting of some 30,000 members, is affiliated with the JP of L and has a "Political Division" which maintains liaison with the Social Democratic Party. It is allowed actually to recommend a certain percentage of the party's candidates. Frequent inspections of the local branches are made to keep out Communist influence, which is admitted by the chief of the IIZUKA branch of the Communist Party to be less than one percent. There is only one other major coal miners' union said to contain Communist influence, and here the Communist branch representative claims no more than five percent Communist sympathizers out of a total of 20,000 members.

In addition to miners' unions there is an IIZUKA City Hall Employees Union which engages in no political activity, and a local branch of the Educators' Democratic Alliance, a national organization registered as a political party which plans to put candidates.

In general, all these democratic influences are making perceptible headway in KYUSHU and represent a real dent in the traditionally autocratic pattern of local government.

B. Vestiges of Traditional Autocratic Influences.

In spite of political, social, and economic changes designed to undermine the power and influence of local administrative and police officials and the large landowners, prestige, relative wealth, and the traditional respect for authority still exist in sufficient degree to allow these groups to control and in some cases take over completely the new, more democratic organizations. While the mayor may at times deplore the growing laxity in courtesy and respect due a man of his position, still the people as a whole bow and scrape whenever they greet government officials and the policeman is still a man to be treated with kid gloves. Criticism of continued bureaucratic arrogance here is often voiced.

In addition, ignorance, lack of adequate means for the communication of democratic ideas, food shortages, other postwar problems which preoccupy the average Japanese to the virtual exclusion of political interest, and downright indifference are still widespread. Much of this indifference is explained by the historical corruption and cynicism of political parties before the war and their lack of real political power, which made the people skeptical of their professed principles and aims. This feeling persists today with respect to the new post-war political parties.

A typically oriental feature of local politics in KYUSHU demonstrating immaturity in the people's political thinking is the tendency to vote for "JIMBUTSU" - personalities as such - rather than for the principles they represent. The average voter will cross party lines repeatedly to vote for a familiar name or a man long in the public eye. Except for glaring instances, it matters little whether a reputation has been gained through wealth, hereditary political influence, position as a member of the bureaucracy, or through other means scrupulous or unscrupulous; the voter will generally vote for the familiar personality. It is this political psychology which allows the influential candidate considerable leeway in allying himself with the party that bids highest for his services, or even to run as an independent, secure in the knowledge that he will win in any case. Consequently, pre-election activity in selecting candidates consists of behind-the-scenes maneuvers, the successful party in the election being that one which has made the smartest political deals. Once the party line-up has been decided and an innocuous platform drawn up, campaign speeches are utilized to show a candidate's face and inform the public what office he is running for. It is true that the Social Democrats and the Communists have concrete platforms which they elaborate upon in their speeches; but even they realize that their chances of success depend necessarily on these additional political stratagems, and they too often fail to contest seats when there are no "big names" available as candidates. The purging of a large number of influential personalities has, however, forced the parties somewhat to modify their tactics and put up a much larger proportion of "SHINJIN" or "new men" in this election as compared with past elections.

C. The SODAN in Politics.

Foreign observers have long noted the tendency of the Japanese to substitute rule by political cliques for one-man boss rule. Even the mayor or the head of a co-operative rarely makes any decision without first consulting his colleagues whose collective advice he always follows. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the SODAN, or discussion, is necessarily in conformance with democratic methods. Usually, it represents control of local affairs by the bureaucracy and a few influential citizens. In each BURAKU of a Japanese town or village, they pick the "suitable" candidates for headman, for the local assemblies, and for posts in the various associations and co-operatives. To be "suitable" a man should be wealthy, so as to be above corruption and financial temptation, and he should also be "qualified" for the position. No, it is argued, is more qualified than those who have held those posts in the past -- i.e. the bureaucrats and the influential citizens! In a city the size of IIZUKA and at the prefectural and national levels party cliques take the place of the town and village cliques, but the system of selecting candidates by means of the party SODAN remains the same.

D. Face and Japanese Politics.

Although candidates are selected by means of the SODAN method, consideration of face determines to a major degree the number of seats to be contested amongst those to be filled and whether or not a candidate, once he is selected, will accept the party nomination. This is often the underlying reason why many men who have intended to run for office have suddenly cancelled their plans for announcing their candidacy. Frequently a man who is already a declared candidate will suddenly withdraw for the same reason. Apparently, the appearance of a popular candidate as an opponent or the drift of public sentiment convinces a party or an individual that they are apt to lose face by making a poor showing in the election. In KYUSIU even the Social Democrats and the Communists, who more than any other political groups seem to realize the desirability of at least putting up a fight, usually bowed to the necessity of saving the candidate's face when it appeared he would fare badly.

As an example of the importance of face in politics, the mayoralty race in IIZUKA is interesting, in that out of five candidates figured to run for mayor three dropped out suddenly "for family reasons." Two others (one a former mayor) dropped out less than ten days before election with the explanation that they "felt their law practices would suffer" and "for family reasons." The last to drop out gave as an additional reason for refusing to run against the present incumbent the desirability of "preserving peace in the city." According to friends, the real reason for his withdrawal was the virtual certainty of re-election of his opponent, who is very popular with the people.

E. Group Consciousness and Political Importance of Extra-Governmental Organizations.

The importance of the Agricultural and Fishing Associations and the various co-operatives, where the membership often includes the whole community, has been discussed previously. Their political influence is therefore tremendous, and though candidates are seldom backed openly, an official of such an organization when running for public office receives the tacit support of the extremely group-conscious Japanese who regard him as their representative. In MIRADO the head of the local branch of the NOMIN KUMIAI, who is also running for mayor, said he would receive the backing of the whole membership. Labor unions are, of course, lined up solidly behind candidates endorsed by the union leadership.

Group-consciousness is often stronger than party ties and extends down as far as the BURAKU where inhabitants will band together to vote for candidates from their own BURAKU rather than for men from the whole town or village community who seem most qualified or who might better represent their particular political or economic interests. Party lines are also often crossed in the prefectural elections. According to the Progressive Party branch head in MIRADO, he would support his People's Co-operative Party opponent for the prefectural assembly, since he is the only representative from MIRADO. Yet party interests would cause him to support the district Progressive Party candidate in the Diet elections, whether or not he resided in MIRADO.

F. Local Importance of Political Parties.

There is apparently a total absence of party activity in the elections of the town and village levels. Most of the voters are entirely unaware of the party affiliations of these local candidates as expressed in prefectural and national elections, and although interested local cliques are bound to know their political convictions, it is questionable whether even they regard it as important at this level. However, for prefectural and national elections parties function within the scope already described. There is usually a party branch headquarters in the larger towns and cities but in the smaller towns and villages there is no formal organization. Here the most prominent, politically-minded member customarily acts as the party's representative and maintains liaison with the nearest branch headquarters for the purpose of arranging speeches and carrying on campaign activity. At times, though, party activity seems to be rather haphazard and disorganized even in some larger areas such as IIZUKA where neither the Progressive nor Liberal Parties have branches as yet. The importance of personalities is clearly brought out by the fact that the Liberals had a formal branch organization in IIZUKA until last year when the branch head died, whereupon the branch dissolved completely. Nothing will be done to re-establish another until after the elections.

The Social Democrats are an exception to the rule, however, in that they are attempting to set up formal branches in every populated

area of town size in KYUSHU, regardless of the numerical weakness of the party in the country. Their aim is to break down rural conservatism gradually, and then build up their party strength.

The Communists are also active in establishing branch headquarters, though they confine their efforts to the industrial areas, such as IIZUKA, with party cells in smaller mining communities.

In many conservative rural areas, such as SUYE-MURA, the Liberal and Democratic Parties are strong, while in others, as HIRADO, the People's Co-operatives are the major party. The former two derive their strength from the fact that it is commonly supposed the Liberals represent the old SEIYUKAI while the Progressives are mostly former members of the JINSHITO.

The strength of the People's Co-operatives in certain small but locally powerful parties seems to vary according to the number of influential personalities that form the leadership. The latter are constantly switching party affiliations, dissolving minor parties, or forming new ones, according to personality conflicts and even mere whim or caprice, so that it is extremely difficult to gauge local party strength from one day to the next. An example is the KUMBIN KYOCHI TO, or Limited Monarchy Party, which was a very strong third in HIRADO-MACHI in the Diet elections of 1946, but which was recently dissolved. Its most influential member is a good friend of the Democratic Party Representative in HIRADO, and a deal was made by which the former would enter and swing his support to the Democratic Party. Thus, overnight the political picture changed, and the Democratic party's local position is now said to be greatly improved.

In an industrial area such as IIZUKA the Social Democrats are the strongest party, the sole candidate for mayor being an independent who is a Social Democratic sympathizer. In spite of the fact that the Liberals and Democrats are individually far weaker, together they are probably superior numerically, and although personal antagonisms more than any real differences in political philosophy keep them divided into separate camps, they have stated plainly that if they are able to gain a majority in the city assembly, they expect to work together when necessary to block any possible "radical" moves by the mayor.

Communist influence is practically non-existent in such rural areas as SUYE and HIRADO, and was only about three to four per cent in IIZUKA in the 1946 Diet elections. The Communist Party branch chief in IIZUKA admits the party is still weak in the city proper, though mining communities within the city limits are said to be more receptive to Marxism. He predicts in the IIZUKA area a four fold increase in votes cast for Communist candidates in the April elections this year.

CONCLUSION:

In general, the Japanese in backward areas of KYUSHU rate local elections as the most important. Village and town elections are arousing considerable interest, with less attention paid to the prefectural elections, and least interest shown in the Diet elections, the reason being that local elections affect them more directly. However, abstentions in last year's Diet elections numbered twenty-three per cent in IIZUKA-SHI, nineteen per cent in MIRADO-MACHI, and only sixteen per cent in SUYE-MURA -- the larger the community, the greater the number of abstentions -- indicating greater over-all interest in politics in the smaller rural communities.

With regard to political parties, many a person ignorant of the differences in party principles and platforms votes as he and his forbears did in the past, with the Liberals representing to him the SEIYUKAI and the Democrats the MINSEITO. Others vote for minor parties set up to represent a particular local professional or political interest, the local importance of the party depending primarily on the number of influential personalities in the party. There is, however, a definite cleavage between parties of the left and parties of the right, the Social Democrats and Communists being considered the principal left-wing elements and the Liberals, Democrats, and People's Co-operatives the principal parties of the right. Hence although party activity is negligible at the town and village levels and though voters frequently cross party lines in prefectural and national campaigns to vote for well-known personalities, the conservative voter will rarely go so far as to vote for a leftist (with the possible exception of a right-wing social Democrat). The gap in political ideologies between left and right is too wide to be bridged by mere personalities, regardless of their power and prestige. A similar cleavage exists between the Social Democrats and the Communists in most areas of KYUSHU, with the former refusing to co-operate in any way with the latter. On the other hand, in the larger cities in FUKUOKA Prefecture, it is charged that the two parties are actually co-operating in the present elections.

Emphasis on personalities rather than platforms and principles, the SODAN or consultation method of selecting candidates, experience in carrying on the daily business of government etc., the importance of face, and the strategic position of associations and co-operatives -- all these factors mold the character of local politics in most of KYUSHU; while the relatively favorable economic position of the farmer and fisherman helps to preserve its traditional conservative coloring. In an industrial area such as IIZUKA, however, the cost of living, while not generally so high as to render the numerically large white-collar and laboring classes susceptible to Communism, nevertheless is high enough to make the Social Democrats the most popular political party in the area.

A combination of circumstances -- the psychological shock brought

about by defeat in war which destroyed old political ideas and values, legislative changes in the structure of government, and fear of left-wing movements (Communism in particular) -- have acted to stimulate political thinking everywhere, so that in KYUSHU democratic changes do exist in reality as well as on paper. There seems to be a very real desire on the part of the people to become democratic, but so long as radios, newspapers and other mediums for the communication of democratic ideas remain inadequate, real progress along these lines will continue to be a relatively slow process.

JOHN K. McLEAN
Political Affairs Division

Approved: PKR
Passed : CLK

Form DS-302
(7-2-46)

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

ACTION

Office of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
JUN 13 1947
8:45 AM
Department of State

Action	<i>NAB</i>
FE	<i>/</i>
Info	<i>/</i>
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PLAIN

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- Action: FE
- Info:
- S/S
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- CCD
- CIG
- DC/L
- FC
- OIC
- PA
- DC/R

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

Control 4448

Rec'd June 13, 1947
10:46 a.m.

FROM: Moscow
TO : Secretary of State
NO : 2134, Thirteenth

IZVESTIA June 12 on international themes by observer
"audacious Gally Jap militarists" attacks Japanese
FORMIN Ashida for suggesting Kuriles be returned to
Japan and that Japan should maintain own armed forces.
Summary follows.

There is nothing surprising in fact Ashida, for long
mouthpiece Japanese militarism, should have remained
true to his opinions. Only people who wish deceive
world public opinion can call militarists, who have
not been disarmed, "democrats".

Audacious Gally Ashida is logical consequence violation
of Potsdam Declaration, logical consequence policy
which is being pursued by occupation authorities in
Japan and which makes it possible for Ashida and his
like to make declarations which are hostile to Allies.

Dept repeat Tokyo.

KOHLER

Passed by Dept to Tokyo 6-13-47, 1 p.m. EMB

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INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DIVISION OF
NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS
AUG 11 1947
File
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE
OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MESSAGE CENTER

1947 AUG 8 AM 8 56

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CONFIDENTIAL

FROM 830

LONDON

DATED July 28, 1947

RECD. Aug. 7, 1947
1:44 PM

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Secretary of State

Washington

A-1655, July 28, 1947

1. Tomlinson, who has been acting Head, Japanese and Pacific Department, the Foreign Office for the past two weeks, has informed us that steps are in preparation for the despatch of a further Parliamentary Mission to Japan during the Parliamentary recess which is scheduled to begin August 9th. Present plans envisage the despatch of a five-man mission composed of members of the House of Commons to investigate conditions in Japan. The mission, it appears, is to leave Britain in the latter part of August. Names of prospective members of the mission mentioned by Tomlinson were those of the Reverend G. Lang, Labor M.P. for Stalybridge and Hyde; and John Paton, Labor M.P. for Norwich.

2. According to Tomlinson, the decision to despatch the mission stems in large part from a suggestion made by General MacArthur to Gascoigne, the chief British diplomatic representative in Japan.

3. Tomlinson stated to us that a statement may be made in Parliament on the subject prior to adjournment.

4. In view of the woeful lack of information usually displayed by M.P.s in Parliamentary debates on Japan, and in view of the numerous unfounded attacks

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Page 2.

A-1655
July 28, 1947
From London

made on American policy in Japan (usually stemming from an uninformed or a doctrinaire Socialist approach) in recent months, we are strongly of the view that the United States Government would be well advised to welcome the visit of the proposed British Parliamentary Mission to Japan. For, if it does nothing else, the visit of the M.P.s to Japan is likely to contribute to more enlightened discussion of Japanese problems in the Commons, and in that way contribute to the enlightenment of the British press and public.

CLARK

Copy to U.S. Political Adviser, SCAP, Tokyo

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