APPENDIX

Composition of the Sample

A. By marital status:

	Number	Percentage
Single	1,369	80.3%
Married	153	9.0
Widowed or divorced	183	10.7
	1,705	100.0%

B. By age group:

	Number	Percentage
Under 20	424	24.9%
20 - 29	967	56.7
30 - 39	189	11.1
40 and over	125	7.3
	1,705	100.0%

C. By category of workers:

	Number	Percentage
Clerks and technicians	738	43.3%
Manual and factory workers	636	37.3
Sales personnel	53	3.1
Service trades workers	161	9.4
Professionals	117	6.9
	1,705	100.0%

D. By educational level:

	Number	Percentage
Lower*	805	47.2%
Middle**	788	46.2
Higher***	112	6.6
	1,705	100.0%

* Includes graduates and nongraduates of the former upper primary schools and the present new lower secondary schools.
** Includes graduates and nongraduates of the former middle schools and the new upper secondary schools.
*** Includes graduates and nongraduates of all schools higher than the former middle schools and the new upper secondary schools.

E. By type of enterprise:

		Number		Percentage
Industrial:		865		50.7%
Construction	39		2.3	
Metal	106		6.2	
Machinery and machine tools	241		14.1	
Chemical	170		10.0	
Spinning	133		7.8	
Book binding and printing	49		2.9	
Others	127		7.4	
TOTAL industrial	865		50.7	
Commercial		223		13.1
Financial		147		8.6
Transportation and communication		67		3.9
Service trades		199		11.7
Professional		147		8.6
Government and public		57		3.4
		1,705		100.0%

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Surveys conducted to date by this Division or by this Division in cooperation with other organizations

Some Aspects of the Fishery Right System in Selected Japanese Fishing Communities	November 1948
Reactions To a Traffic Safety Week Leaflet	22 January 1949
Attitudes Toward the Labor Movement	31 January 1949
Problems of Working Women in Tokyo	26 March 1949

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Takamatsu, Shikoku

27 August 1948

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Democratic Organization

民主的團體の作り方と運營の仕方

（團體の民主化とは）

Released by the
CIE, GHQ, SCAP

聯合軍總司令部
民間情報教育部篇纂

序言

このパンフレットはアメリカの各種の團體が發行した民主的團體の組織に關する數種のパンフレットを元として編纂したものである。本書は團體を結成し運營する場合に必要な民主的手續や慣習に關する模範を一般に提示するにある。

このやうなパンフレットの中であらゆる問題に亙つてのべる事が出來ないのはいふまでもない。先づ團體には婦人團體、青年會、勞働組合その他數へ切れぬ程多種多樣のものがある。そして各團體は夫々異つたプログラムや問題を持つてゐる。どの團體にも適用出來るやうな手引をつくることは不可能であり、また假に可能でも必ずしも望ましいことではない。このパンフレットは各國の民主的諸團體が採用してゐるいくつかの一般的な民主的な法則を示すだけの目的でつくられた。これが日本の民主的な諸團體に何らかの役に立つならば幸である。

或團體が民主的であるかどうかを明確に決定出來るやうな簡單な既成の方式はなく。會員の精神とその團體の運營方法とによつて定まる點が多い。通常民主的團體の特性を表すものとして次のやうな基本的原則を擧げることが出來る。

一、役員は會員によつて選擧される。

二、役員は會員に對し責任を負ふ。

三、會員は團體の行事に積極的に參加する。

四、團體の當面する一切の問題を會員の間で十分にかつ自由に討議する。

五、多數決の方式を採用すると同時に少數の者も十分に見解を表明出來る規定を設ける

以上の諸原則は、各團體員の一人々々がこれを完全に理解し、その團體の日常の活動に當つてこれに從ふことを決意して始めて意義を持つものである。この注意を念頭に置いて、本書の提案を讀んでいただきたい。

聯合軍總司令部民間情報教育部

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第一章　團體結成の目的

一團體を結成する通常の目的は、共通の利害と目的とを持つた一團の人々が、單獨では達成出來ない目的を協力して達成するにある。

第二章　團體結成の準備工作

一つの倶樂部或は協會等を結成したい場合には先づ有志だけで準備會を開き、組織會議を招集する前に次の諸點に關し周到な計畫を作成せねばならない。

一、第一回會議開催の日時、場所
二、加入招請狀發送先の氏名
三、組織會議開催通告の方法
四、組織會議の開會を宣する者
五、臨時議長に指名されるべき者
六、會の目的を說明する者
七、會の結成を決定する決議案

組織會議開催の日時と場所が決定したならば會員候補者にその旨を通告する。招請狀を受取り、同會結成に興味を持つ人々は組織會議に出席する。豫定の時間が來た時、準備會で指名した人が開會を宣し、出席者中から一名の臨時議長と臨時書記とが選出される。

臨時書記が決定し、議長の傍らに座を占めた時、議長は出席者の一人に會議の目的を說明することを要求する。團體結成の趣旨を徹底させる目的で議長はさらに他の者にも說明を求めることが出來る。

この說明に十分な時間が費されたならば、團體を組織するに必要な具體的措置を執ることが出來るやうに、豫め用意した決議案を會議に提出する。

一例を擧げれば、この動議は次のやうそ形で行ふことが出來る。

「議長、私は當村における兒童保護問題を研究するためにクラブを組織することを動議します」

と一會員が動議すれば、他の會員がこれに贊成の意を表し、その後、その旨議長が陳述すれば、各出席者はこれを審議し、これに修正を加へ、その上で表決に附すことが出來る。過半數がこの團體の結成に贊成投票をしたならば、次の段階は會則および附則を起草する手筈を決めることである。この方法は實例を示せば一番良く分る、即ち次のやうな動議

を提出すればよい。

「議長が五名の委員を任命し、これに當クラブの會則、附則を起草せしめ、その草案を後日の會議に報告させるべきことを動議致します」

この動議に贊成するものがあればこれを直ちに表決に附すのである。

會則、附則起草委員會は第二回目の會議またはその後の出來得る限りの早い機會に、作成した會則と附則とを併せ備へた方が好都合である。これらは簡單明瞭で、絕對に必要な限度よりも長くあつてはならない。

第三章　會則、附則の一例

會則は團體名、目的、會員資格その他を規定したものである。附則は會則を補足し、會員に事前の通告なしには變更することの出來ないやうな一切の重要な細目を規定したものである。

次に各種の民主的團體がその大小に拘らず採用してゐる會則と附則との形式の一例を掲げる。

會　則

第一條　名　稱

本會ハ……會ト稱スル

第二條　目　的

本會ハ……ヲ目的トスル

第三條　會　員

本會ノ目的ニ贊成スル者ハ全テ會員トナル資格ヲ有スル

第四條　役　員

第一項　本會ノ役員ハ會長、副會長、書記會計各一名トスル

第二項　本會ノ役員ハ總會ニオイテ多數決ニヨル投票制ヲ以テ選出シ、ソノ任期ハ……年トスル

第三項　役員ハ……年以上重任シテハナラナイ

第五條　年　會

總會ハ……月……日ニ開催シ、役員ヲ改選ジソノ他必要ナ議事ヲ審議スル

年會ヲ開催シ得ル定數ハ全會員數ノ……%以上トスル

第六條　會則ノ改正

會則ヲ改正スルニハ先ヅ前回ノ例會ニ改正案ノ草稿ヲ提出シテコレヲ朗讀シ、更ニツノ寫シト採否ヲ決定スベキ會議ノ開催通知書トヲ、全會員ニ送附シタ後デナケレバナラナイ、改正案ノ採擇ニハ三分ノ二以上ノ贊成投票ヲ要スル

附　則

第一條　會　費

第一項　本會ノ會費ハ……圓トスル

第二項　會費ハ毎年……月……日マタハソレ以前ニ前納ノコト

第二條　役員ノ任務

第一項　會長ハ全テノ會議ノ議長ヲ務メ、總務トシテノ一切ノ任務ヲ遂行スル

第二項　副會長ハ會長ノ缺席シタ時、ソノ代理トシテ會長ノ任務ヲ遂行スル

第三項　書記ハ全會議ノ議事錄ヲ作成シ、一切ノ事務記錄ヲ保管シ、凡テノ會議通知ヲ發送スル

第四項　會計ハ一切ノ基金ノ收入、支出ヲ正確ニ記帳シ、ソノ會計簿ハ常時會員ノ監査ニ開放サレネバナラナイ

第三條　理事會

第一項　理事會ハ全役員オヨビ會員中ヨリ多數決ニヨリ選出サレタ……名ヨリナル

第二項　定例理事會ハ毎月……日オヨビ……日ニ開催シ、理事會最低定員數ハ全理事ノ三分ノ二トスル、會長ノ指示マタハ全理事ノ四分ノ一以上ノ連署請願ニヨッテ特別理事會ヲ開催出來ル

第三項　理事會ハ年會ト年會、或ハ理事總會ト理事總會トノ中間ノ期間ニオケル會務ヲ決定シ、コレニ對スル責任ヲ負フモノトスル、理事會ノ決定ハ定例總會ニオイテ再審議ニ附サレル

第四條　一般投票

理事會ガ行ッタコトニ對シテ會員ノ十%以上ガ不贊成ノ場合ハ連署デ請願書ヲ提出スルコトガ出來ル、コレニ對シテ理事會ハ該問題ヲ會員ノ討議ニ附シ一般投票デ決定シナクテハナラナイ

第五條　會　議

第一項　定例會議ハ毎月……日ニ開ク

第二項　臨時會議ハ會長ニヨリ、マタハ全會員ノ……%以上ノ要求ニヨリ招集スルコト

ガ出來ル

第三項　本會ノ如何ナル會議モ全會員數ノ……％ヲ最低定員數トスル

第六條　附則ノ改正

本附則ハ前回ノ會議デ豫告サヘスレバ、隨意ノ定例會議ニオイテ三分ノ二以上ノ賛成投票ニヨリ改正スルコトガ出來ル

第四章　會則、附則の採擇

會則および附則を起草するために任命された委員會は、その作成した會則、附則草案の全文を出來る限り早い機會に會員の前で朗讀する。續いてこの草案の採擇が動議される。この動議に賛成する者があれば草案の討議が開始され、一ケ條毎に朗讀しては檢討と修正を加へて行く。各條項別に出席者の過半數が滿足するやうに修正されたならば、今度は會則全體、續いて附則全體に對する修正を要求する機會が與へられる。若し會則、附則ともに滿足すべきものと決定したならば、これをその團體の會則および附則として採擇すべきであるとの動議に依り、投票が行はれる。

これを採擇するには過半數の賛成投票が必要であるが一度び採擇した後は三分の二以上

の賛成投票が無ければ改正し得ないことに規定することが出來る。會則と附則とが採擇されたならば直ちにその寫しを各會員に頒布せねばならない。

第五章　役員の任務と責任

一、會長又は議長

會長或は議長は最高の名譽ある許りでなく最大の責任をも伴ふ地位にある。會長は自分が會員全體を代表すべく會員により選ばれたものであり、會の目的は會長を通じて達成されるのであるといふことを常に忘れてはならない。會長は會の運營を成功させる責任を會員に對して負つてゐる。會長は常に會則に準據して行動せねばならない。會合が成功するか否かは會長の態度と手腕にかかつてゐる點が多い。從つて會長は常に公正で禮儀正しく、人扱が巧で、威嚴を備へ、確固として自制力を持つてゐなければならない、優れた會長と成るには幾つかの條件が揃つてゐなければならない。優秀な會長としての手腕、立派な行政能力、會務に對する識見を持つてゐたとしても、公平を缺く人物であつたならば絶對に會長として成功し得ない、人は不公平な指導者を尊敬しない。そして尊敬なくしては建設的事業を完成することは不可能である。

二、議長の任務

1、特別な理由のない限り必ず會議に出席して時間を嚴守すること。

2、豫定の時刻に開會を宣すること。

3、會の秩序を保つこと。

4、議事進行を指圖すること。

5、發言を求める會員にその機會を與へること。

6、全ての動議を會員に正確に傳へること。

7、動議が提出されたならば賛成者が出るのを待ち、賛成があつたならばその問題を明確に說明しその後討議の開始を許可すること。

8、提出された問題以外の討議は抑制すること。

9、適當と認める時機に問題を表決に附し、その結果を明確な言葉で發表すること。

10、全ての議事はそれが完全に解決されるまでは議事日程から除かぬやう注意すること。

11、議長の任務遂行中は討議に參加しないこと。

12、議事進行に當つては絶對公平、中立たるべきこと。

13、速慮勝ちな會員の發言を手際よく奬勵し、多辯に過ぎる者を巧みに抑制すること。
14、動議は提出者が提出したまゝの言葉で繰返し、字句を訂正する場合は提出者の同意を求めて行ふこと。
15、議事規則の適用、會議の秩序維持等に當つては論議を許さず遲滯なくその勵行を要求すべきこと。
16、左の場合には起立すること。
A、議案を表決するとき
B、表決の結果を發表するとき
C、會議の秩序維持につき發言するとき
17、議事に傾聽し、自分以外の者の發言中、演說中またはその他の議事の途中で書記その他と私語せぬこと。

三、議長の特權

1、無記名投票により採決する場合は投票することが出來る。但し開票を開始してから投票してはならない。
2、議長の一票により表決の結果が左右される場合には必ず投票すること。

3、議長が討議に參加する場合は、會員の一人に議長の役の代行を委任すること。

4、議長に關する動議が提出された場合は、副會長、書記またはその動議の提出者に採決させること。

四、未經驗議長に對する注意

1、會則、附則、議事規則等は、これを熟知するまで研究し議長席につくときに携行すること。

2、議席より議事手續につき質問があつたならば即座に答辯出來るやうにすること。

3、動議が提出されたならば誰かがこれに贊成して議長がその動議を復誦するまでは該問題の討議を許してはならない。またもしその動議に贊成する者がなく、議長からの贊成者の發言を求めても誰もこれに答へなかつた場合にはこの事實を議長が公表する。

4、萬一誤つて發言させるべきでない人に發言權を與へ注意を受けた場合には直ちにこれを訂正すること。

5、會員が誤つて不適當な動議を起した場合はこれをいきなり無效とせず。適當な動議とするため懇切に助言を與へるべきである。

六、五

6、會員の發言中に、假に自分がその問題につき更に詳しい知識を持つてをると信じても、その中途に言葉をさしはさんでも不可ない。

7、如何なる場合にも興奮せぬやう愼むこと。

8、一時の利益があると認められる場合でも、いかに厄介な會員に對しても不公平な扱をなし、また會員の議事規則に對する無智を利用するやうなことがあつてはならない。

9、議事進行に絶對必要と認める程度以上に格式ばり、嚴格であつてはならない。

10、議長は動議を提出することが出來ない。

11、會長（議長）は會の頭であり、書記はその右手であるから、兩者は一致融和し、會の發展のために全力を盡さねばならない。

五、副會長

會長不在の時は議長の役を務める。會長を輔佐して會の附則に定められた任務を遂行する。

六、書記

1、必要ある時會員の點呼をとる。

2、會長、副會長共に不在の時は開會を宣し、臨時議長の選出されるまで司會する。

3、會議における一切の議事を正確に記錄する。前回の會議の議事記錄を朗讀し、その儘あるひは訂正の申入れがわれば訂正を加へて會員の承認を求める。承認されたならばその期日と「承認濟み」とを記入して該記錄を完了する。

4、會の活動を記錄するが、會員の討議の內容を記錄する必要はない。記錄に自己の見解を加へてはならない。

5、各動議の正確なる全文、提出者の氏名およびその採否を記錄する。動議が長きに亙り、または複雜なる場合は、提出者自らこれを書き書記に渡すべきである。

6、動議提出者の氏名を記錄するが、贊成者の氏名は必ずしも記錄する必要がない。

7、演說の要旨を記錄するが、自己の意見を加へてはならない。

8、會議の記錄を必ず會議場に持參すること。

9、議長の指示により過去の會議の記錄を朗讀する。

10、起立採決に際しては議長の命により起立者の數を算へる。

11、議長のために前回會議の未決事項の一覽表を作製する。

12、會の業務に關する一切の通信ならびに記錄を保管し、これを後繼者に引繼ぐこと。

13、會長の指示の下に會の一切の通信を處理する。
14、會に關する通信には必ず眼を通すこと。
15、記錄帳簿には必ず會則、附則の正文をとぢ込んでをくこと。
16、會議において朗讀するに當つては起立すること。

七、會　計

會計は會の金錢を保管し、理事會、財務或は豫算委員會の指示により金錢を領收、支出する。會計は會の一切の基金に關し會員に責任を負ふものである。
會の豫算案の承認は會員によつてなされる場合と理事會に委任される場合がある。
各委員長または役員が金錢を支出せんとするには會長の承認を得なければならない。從つて支拂請求書は先づ會長に提示して承認を求め、その後豫算委員長に提示する。豫算委員長は右請求書を會の豫算と照合した上で、會長の認印の横に捺印して、支拂のため會計に廻す。
會計は各委員長から郵稅、旅費等の支拂を要求された場合、請求書に領收書が添付されてゐなかつたならば支拂つてはならない。會計は公金保管の責任者であるから、自己および全會員の利益を保護するため萬全の注意を拂はねばならない。

會計は年に一度、また要求があれば年間にも會計報告を行ふ義務がある。年度會計報告は會計監事の檢査を受けねばならない。會計監事はその結果につき檢査報告書を提出し、それが總會により承認されゝば年度會計報告に記入される。

第六章　委員會

團體は出來得る限り速かに各種委員會の委員長を任命し、または會長その他の役目にこれら委員長を選出する權限を委任すべきである。各委員は役員に對し、そして役員を通じて會員に對し責を負ふべきである。

委員會は團體の種類と大きさとに隨ひ、その數を異にする。一般には次のやうな委員會を必要とするものである。

一、財務委員會　會計を輔佐し、會の財政方針決定に協力する。

二、會員募集委員會

三、企劃委員會　會の目的達成を圖るため、會員の興味を增すやうな各種計畫を立案する。このためにはさらに次のやうな補助的な小委員會を設けることも出來る。「時事問題委員會」、「娛樂委員會」、「公民教育委員會」、「勞働法令研究委員會」

「農村問題委員會」等々。

四、會館委員會　會館を管理し、會合の會場を計畫する等の任務を有する。

第七章　會員の權限ならびに義務

すべての會員が、會の目的を決定し、會則、附則を起草し、役員を選出し、企劃立案に、あづかり、會費を定期的に支拂つて會の財政を維持し、會の目的達成に積極的關心を持つてゐる故に民主的團體は堅固なる基礎を持つと云はれるのである。從つて團體の民主的、能率的程度はそれを構成してゐる會員に依存することは明瞭となつて來る。かくて、全會員が均等な責任を持たされてゐる以上、各人は秩序を維持するため一定の規準に從つて行動し、一人殘らず會の業務に參加する機會を與へねばならぬ譯である。

即ち會員は次のやうな簡單明瞭な規準に從ふ責任を有するのである。

一、凡ての問題に必ず投票權を行使すること。これがいかに重大であるかは、會員の一人が投票を棄權することが該問題の可決、否決に對し、同會員が一票を投じた場合と同樣に決定的な影響を及ぼすものであるといふことから明瞭である。

二、發言は與へられた時間を超過せず、議題を離れず、また他の會員の權限を侵害しな

いやうに注意する。他の者に發言權が與へられた時は、先に發言した者は直ちに席につくのが通例である。（發言の順序につき疑問が生じた場合は、當面の議題に關しまだ發言してゐない會員に對し、既に發言してゐる者よりも優先權を與へるのが普通である）

三、選出された役員に對しては、自分が投票した人であると無しに拘らず、會員の過半數の選擇である以上、誠意をもつて協力すべきである。しかし同時に會員は選擧後も役員を批判し、役員に對し反對意見を述べる權利を保有する。

四、會長が開會を宣してからは整然たる態度をとり、最後まで議事に注意を集中して、會議の秩序維持に協力する。議事を妨げる一切の行動、例へば私語し、會場を歩き廻り、他の會員の發言中で「質問」と叫ぶやうなことは愼まねばならない。

五、役員に對し、また會員相互に禮儀を正しくすることがいかに重要であるかを忘れてはならない。議長に呼びかけるには起立し、議長から合圖があるまでは發言せず、また動議を起すには常に起立する。個人的な話に時間をとつては不可ない。また眞に止むを得ない理由の無い限り他人の發言中に言葉をさしはさまぬやう愼むのが禮儀である。

第八章　議事規則

議事規則は、各會員の權限を保護すると同時に、會の安寧增進を目的とした原則を基礎として作られたものであり、これらの基本的原則とは左のやうなものである。

一、會員各自の平等と公平を旨とする事。

二、凡ゆる問題の自由討議。

三、多數の意に從ひ、同時に少數の權利を無視しないこと。

四、同時に二つの問題を討議せぬ事。

五、議論は議題の本質に限定し、人身攻撃に亘らぬこと。

第九章　議事進行法

議事進行法とは會議の進行に議事規則を適用することである、議事規則とは、會則、附則に含まれた具體的な議事規程及び事務處理の順序を綜合したものである。

第十章　會議進行順序

一、書記の報告書朗讀とその承認
二、各種報告
　イ、副會長
　ロ、會計
　ハ、會計監事（年會において）
　ニ、會長
　ホ、常任委員
　ヘ、委員會
　ト、前回よりの未決事項
　チ、特別委員會
　リ、新議事

第十一章　總　會

總會とは全國的な團體が年一回またはそれ以上の間隔を置いて全國の會員を招集して開く會合のことをいふ。總會に出席するのは各支部會員中より選出された代表會員である。總會で決議された諸規定および事業計畫は各支部に適用され、各支部はこれに基いて活動を行ふ。

第十二章　動議および表決

以上說明した民主的團體の會則、附則の實例、會員、役員の任務等はいづれも世界各地の民主的體團が現に實施してゐる規本的形式である。

全ての重要な決議事項が會員によつて多數決で決定されるといふことはこれまでの說明で理解された筈である。この章は、動議を起し、表決し、また役員の指名および選擧を民主的に行ふにはどうすれば良いかをまだ知らぬ人のために、これらの點を詳細說明する目的で本書に附加へた。

一、發言權の獲得

これは會議において發言し或は演說する權利を與へられることをいふのであつて、これを得るには起立して議長に呼びかける。議長はその會員に發言權を與へて然るべきであると認めたならば、同會員を指名することによつて發言權を與へる。他の會員の發言中に起立し、或は他の會員に發言權が與へられたにも拘らずその儘起立を續けることは規則違反であり、議長はかかる會員には發言權を與へない。

二、動議の提出

これは會が一定の行動をとり、或はある問題に對し會としての見解を表明すべき旨提案することで、正しい形式で動議を提出するには、

「私は……することを動議致します」

と云へば良い。

一度び動議を提出したならば、提出者はこれに對する一切の權利を保有し、その字句を修正し、またはこれを全く撤回することも自由である。

三、動議に對する贊成

動議に贊成するといふことは、その討議に同意するといふことは動議提出者と共に、少くも二名の會員が該問題を討議することに贊成してゐ

るといふことである。

即ち、動議提出者以外にその問題の討議を希望する権利を獲得する譯で、提出者は最早賛成者の同意なしにはこれを撤回出来ない譯である。

「只今の動議に賛成します」

と言明する。これによつて賛成者もその動議に對する

若し動議に直ちに賛成者が現れなかつたならば議長は動議を繰返へし、

「賛成者はありませんか」

と尋ねる。それでも賛成者の無い時は、議長は、

「この動議には賛成がありませんから、成立致しません」

と宣言して打切る。

四、動議の復誦

動議に賛成者があつた場合、議長はその動議を復誦する。動議に議論または修正の餘地がある場合は議長は、

「御意見がありますか」

と尋ねる。

討議あるひは修正の必要がない時は、議長はこれを直ちに採決に附す。

五、討　　議

動議が復誦されたならばこれは正式に議題となり、會議における討議の對象となる。

六、委員附託

議題は往々委員に附託されることがある。それには次のやうな目的がある。

1、議題に對する詳細な知識を得るため。

2、議題を討議し易い形式に整理するため。

3、重大な意見の對立を解決するため。

七、採　　決

これは問題を表決に附すことである。議長は問題が十分討議されたのち動議を復誦し、「表決に附してはいかゞ」と尋ねる。これに對し誰も發言するものがなければ直ちに表決に移る。表決は必ず贊成の數を先にする。

八、採決の發表

議長は表決の結果を發表する。贊否同數の場合は動議は否決されたものと看做される。

これは可決には必ず過半數を得ねばならぬからである。但し賛否同數の場合は議長が最後に賛成投票を行つて可決することは可能である。

第十三章　役員候補者の指名ならびに選擧

指名には次の方法がある。

一、會議において會員が指名

二、指名委員會が指名

三、投票指名

選擧については夫々の團體に一番適當した方法を附則で規定しておくべきである。なほ指名は動議ではないので、これに對しては賛成者を必要としない。

一通り指名が終り、議長がそれ以上指名する者が無いかを尋ねて返事が無ければ指名はこれをもつて打切られる。但し多數決によつて指名を再開することは可能である。

第十四章　各種表決法

一、發聲表決
二、擧手表決
　右手を擧げる。
三、起立表決
四、點呼表決
五、全會一致
六、投　票

第十五章　開票方法

一、投票者の意圖が明白な投票はすべて無效としてはならない。
二、投票計算係は起立して議長に向ひ、開票の結果を讀上げる。
三、議長は計算係の報告を再び讀上げ、當選者を發表する。
四、當選者がない時は、候補者の一名が當選に必要な票數を得るまで、何回でも投票を

繰返す。

五、書記は、會議が投票の再計算を要求しないことが確實となるまで投票紙を保管せねばならない。何故なら會員の多數決によつて投票の再計算を要求されることがあるからである。

（完）

公民教育叢書

4. 政治と倫理……二四三十錢 〒一四二十錢
5. 近代社會の成立と資本主義……三四 〒一四二十錢
6. 新憲法の精神……六月下旬發行

公民館シリーズ 第二輯……三四五十錢 〒一四二十錢

月刊 社會と教育……一ヶ月 三四五十錢 〒五十錢

申込先 新潟縣社會教育協會
新潟縣廳社會教育課内

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聯合軍總司令部
民間情報部編纂

民主的團体とは

德島縣社會教育協會發行

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序言

本小冊子は米國の各種團体が發行した民主的團体の組織に關する數種の小冊子を元として編纂したものである。本書の目的は團体を結成し運營するに際しての民主的手續や慣習に關する模範を一般に提示するにある。

この樣な企畫に種々の困難が伴ふことは云ふまでもない。先づ團体には多種多樣のものがある。婦人團体、青年會、勞働組合その他枚擧出來ない程である。そして各團体は夫々異つた趣旨や問題を持つてゐる。凡ゆる團体に等しく適用出來る案內書を起草する事は不可能でありまた假に可能でも必ずしも望ましいことではない。この小冊子は各國の民主的諸團体が規準としてゐる全般的な民主的諸原則を說明するだけのことを目的としてゐる。これが日本の民主的諸團体に何らかの役に立てば幸である。

或團体が民主的であるか否かを明確に決定出來るやうな簡單な既成の方式はない。寧ろ團体加盟者の精神及びその團体の運營方法によつて定まる点が多い。通常民主的團体の特性を表すものとして次のやうな基本原則を擧げる事が出來る。

一、役員は會員によつて選擧される。

二、役員は會員に對し責任を負ふ。

三、會員は團体の行事に積極的に參加する。

四、團体の當面する一切の問題を會員の間で十分にかつ自由に討議する。

五、多數決の方式を採用すると同時に少數の者も十分に見解を表明出來る規定を設る。

以上の諸原則は、各團体員の一人々々がこれを完全に理解し、その團体の日常の活動に當つてこれに從ふことを決意して始めて意義を持つものである。この注意を念頭に置いて、本書の提案を讀んでいたゞきたい。

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第一章　團体結成の目的

一團体を結成する通常の目的は、共通の利害と目的とを持つた一團の人々が、單獨では達成出來ない目的を協力して達成するにある。

第二章　團体結成の準備工作

一つのクラブ或は協會等を結成したい場合は先づ有志だけで準備會を開き、組織會議を招集する前に次の諸点に關し周到な計畫を作製せねばならない。

一、第一回會議開催の日時、場所
二、加入招請狀發送先の氏名
三、組織會議開催通告の方法
四、組織會議の開會を宣する者
五、臨時議長に指名されるべき者
六、會の目的を說明する者
七、會の結成を決定する決議案

組織會議開催の日時と場所が決定したならば會員候補者にその旨を通告する。招請狀を受取り同會結成に興味を持つ人々は組織會議に出席する。豫定の時間が來た時、準備會で指名した人が開會を宣し、出席者中から一名の臨時議長と臨時書記とが選出される。

臨時書記が決定し、議長の傍らに座を占めた時、議長は出席者の一人に會議の目的を說明することを要求

する。

團体結成の趣旨を徹底させる目的で議長はさらに他の者にも説明を求めることが出來る。この説明に十分な時間が費されたならば團体を組織するに必要な具体的措置を執ることが出來るやうに豫め用意した決議案を會議に提出する。

一例を擧げれば、この動議は次のやうな形で行ふことが出來る。

「議長、私は當村における兒童保護問題を研究するためにクラブを組織することを動議致します。」と一會員が動議すれば他の會員がこれに賛成の意を表し、その後その旨議長が陳述すればよい。

れを審議し、これに修正を加へ、その上で表決に附す事が出來る。

過半數がこの團体の結成に賛成投票をしたならば、次の段階は會則および附則を起草する手筈をきめることである。この方法は實例を示せば一番よく分る。即ち次の様な動議を提出すればよい。

「議長が五名の委員を任命し、これに當クラブの會則、附則を起草せしめ、その草案を後日の會議に報告させるべきことを動議致します。」

この動議に賛成するものがあればこれを直ちに表決に附するのである。

會則、附則起草委員會第二回目の會議またはその後の出來得る限りの早い機會に、作製した會則、附則草案を提出する。大抵の團体は會則と附則とを併せ備へた方が好都合である。これらは簡單明瞭で、絶對に必要な限度よりも長くあつてはならない。

第三章　會則、附則の一例

會則は團体名、目的、會員資格その他を規定したものである。附則は會則を補足し、會員に事前の通告な

しには變更することの出來ないやうな一切の重要な細目を規定したものである。
次に各種の民主的團体がその大小に拘らず採用してゐる會則と附則との型式の一例を掲げる。

會　則

第一條　名　稱
　本會は……會ト稱スル
第二條　目　的
　本會ハ……ヲ目的トスル
第三條　會　員
　本會ノ目的ニ賛成スル者ハ全テ會員トナル資格ヲ有スル
第四條　役　員
第一項　本會ノ役員ハ會長、副會長、書記、會計各一名トスル
第二項　本會ノ役員ハ毎次年會ニオイテ多數決ニヨル投票制ヲ以テ選出シ、ソノ任期ハ……年トスル
第三項　役員ハ……年以上重任シテハナラナイ
第五條　年　會
　年會ハ……月……日ニ開催シ、役員ヲ改選シソノ他必要ナ議事ヲ審議スル
　年會ヲ開催シ得ル定數ハ全會員數ノ……%以上トスル
第六條　會則ノ改正
　會則ヲ改正スルニハ先ヅ前回ノ例會ニ改正案ノ草稿ヲ提出シテコレヲ朗讀シ、更ニソノ寫シト採否ヲ決

定スベキ会議ノ開催通知書トヲ、全会員ニ発附シタ後デナケレバナラナイ。改正案ノ採擇ニハ三分ノ二以上ノ賛成投票ヲ要スル

附　則

第一條　會　費

第一項　本會ノ會費ハ……圓トスル

第二項　會費ハ毎年……月……日マタハソレ以前ニ前納ノコト

第二條　役員ノ任務

第一項　會長ハ全テノ會議ノ議長ヲ務メ、總務トシテ一切ノ任務ヲ遂行スル

第二項　副會長ハ會長ノ缺席シタ時、ソノ代理トシテ會長ノ任務ヲ遂行スル

第三項　書記ハ全會議ノ議事錄ヲ作成シ、一切ノ事務記錄ヲ保管シ、凡テノ會議通知ヲ發送スル

第四項　會計ハ一切ノ基金ノ收入、支出ヲ正確ニ記帳シソノ會計簿ハ常時會員ノ監査ニ開放サレネバナラナイ

第三條　理事會

第一項　理事會ハ全役員オヨヒ會員中ヨリ多數決ニヨリ選擧サレタ……名ヨリ成ル

第二項　定例理事會ハ毎月……日オヨビ、……日ニ開催シ、理事會最低定員數ハ全理事ノ三分ノ二トス

、會長ノ指示マタハ全理事ノ四分ノ一以上ノ連署請願ニヨツテ特別理事會ヲ開催出來ル

項　理事會ハ年會ト年會或ハ理事總會ト理事總會トノ中間ノ期間ニオケル業務ヲ決定シ、コレニ對ル責任ヲ負フモノトスル、理事會ノ決定ハ定例總會ニオイテ再審議ニ附サレル

第四條　一般投票
全會員ノ十%以上ガ會務ニ關係ノアル事項ヲ全會員ノ一般投票ニ附スルコトヲ理事會ニ要請シタ場合ハ役員ハ該問題ヲ會員ノ討議ニ附サネバナラナイ

第五條　會議
第一項　定例會議ハ毎月……日ニ開ク
第二項　臨時會議ハ會長ニヨリ、マタハ全會員ノ……%以上ノ要求ニヨリ招集スルコトガ出來ル
第三項　本會ノ如何ナル會議モ全會員數ノ……%ヲ最低定員數トスル

第六條　附則ノ改正
本附則ハ前回ノ會議デ豫告サヘスレバ、隨意ノ定例會議ニオイテ三分ノ二以上ノ贊成投票ニヨリ改正スルコトガ出來ル

第四章　會則、附則の採擇

會則及び附則を起草するために任命された委員會は、その作製した會則、附則草案の全文を出來る限り早い機會に會員の前で朗讀する。續いてこの草案の採擇が動議される。この動議に贊成する者があれば草案の討議が開始され、一ケ條毎に朗讀しては檢討と修正を加へて行く。各條項別に出席者の過半數が滿足するやうに修正されたならば、今度は會則全体、續いて附則全体に對する修正を要求する機會が與へられる。若し會則、附則ともに滿足すべきものと決定したならば、これをその團体の會則及び附則として採擇すべきであるとの動議により、投票が行はれる。これを採擇するには過半數の贊成投票が必要であるが一度び採擇した後は三分の二以上の贊成投票がなけ

れば改正し得ないことに規定することが出來る。會則と附則とが採擇されたならば直ちにその寫しを各會員に頒布せねばならない。

第五章　役員の任務と責任

一、會長又は議長

會長或は議長は最高の名譽ある許りでなく最大の責任をも伴ふ地位を占め、會長は自分が會員全体を代表すべく會員により選ばれたものであり、會の目的は會長を通じて達成されるのであるといふことを常に忘れてはならない。

會長は會の運營を成功させる責任を會員に對して負つてゐる。會長は常に會則に準據して行動せねばならない。會合が成功するか否かは議長の態度と手腕に掛つてゐる點が多い。從つて會長は常に公正で禮儀正しく人扱が巧で威嚴を備へ、確固として自制力を持つてゐなければならない。優れた會長となるには幾つかの條件が揃つてゐなければならない。優秀な會長としての手腕、立派な行政能力會務に對する完全な識見を持つてゐたとしても、公平を缺く人物であつたならば絶對に會長としては成功し得ない。人は不公平な指導者を尊敬しない。そして尊敬なくして建設的事業を完成することは不可能である。

二、議長の任務

1、特別な理由のない限り必ず會議に出席し、時間を嚴守すること。

2、豫定の時刻に開會を宣すること。

3、會の秩序を保つこと。

4、議事進行を指圖すること。

5、發言を求める會員にその機會をあたへること。
6、全ての動議を會員に正確に傳へること。
7、動議が提出されたならば贊成者が出るのを待ち、贊成があつたならばその問題を明確に說明しその後の討議の開始を許可すること。
8、提出された問題以外の討議は抑制すること。
9、適當と認める時機に問題を表決に附し、その結果を明確な言葉で發表すること。
10、全ての議事はそれが完全に解決されるまでは議事日程から除かぬやう注意すること。
11、議長の任務遂行中は討議に參加しないこと。
12、議事進行に當つては絕對公平、中立たるべきこと。
13、遠慮がちな會員の發言を手際よく奬勵し、多辯に過ぎる者を巧みに抑制すること。
14、動議は提出者が提出したまゝの言葉で繰返し、字句を訂正する場合は提出者の同意を求めて行ふこと。
15、議事規則の適用、會議の秩序維持等に當つては論議を許さず遲滯なくその勵行を要求すべきこと。
16、左の場合には起立すること。
A、議案を表決するとき。
B、表決の結果を發表するとき。
C、會議の秩序維持につき發言するとき。
17、議事に傾聽し、自分以外の者の發言中、演說中またはその他の議事の途中で書記その他と私語せぬこと。

三、議長の特權

1、無記名投票により採決する場合は投票することが出來る。但し開票を開始してから投票してはならない。

2、議長の一票により表決の結果が左右される場合は必ず投票すること。

3、議長が討議に參加する場合は、會員の一人に議長の役の代行を委任すること。

4、議長に關する動議が提出された場合は、副會長、書記またはその動議の提出者に採決させること。

四、未經驗議長に對する注意

1、會則、附則、議事規則等は、これを熟知するまで研究し議長席につくときに携行すること。

2、議席より議事手續につき質問があつたならば即座に答辯出來るやうにすること。

3、動議が提出されたならば誰かがこれに贊成して議長がその動議を復誦するまでは該問題の討議を許してはならない。またもしその動議に贊成する者がなく、議長からも贊成者の發言を求めても誰もこれに答へなかつた場合にはこの事實を議長が公表する。

4、萬一誤つて發言權を與へ注意を受けた場合には直ちにこれを訂正すること。

5、會員が誤つて不適當な動議を起した場合はこれをいきなり無効とせず、適當な動議とするため懇切に助言を與へるべきである。

6、會員の發言中に假に自分がその問題につき更に詳しい知識を持つてをると信じても、その中途で言葉をさしはさんではいけない。

7、如何なる場合にも興奮せぬやう愼むこと。

8、一時の利益があると認められる場合でも、いかに厄介な會員に對しても不公平な扱をなし、また會

員の議事規則に對する無智を利用するやうなことがあつてはならない。

9、議事進行に絶對必要と認める程度以上に格式ばり、嚴格であつてはならない。

10、議長は動議を提出することが出來ない。

11、會長(議長)は會の頭であり、書記はその右手であるから、兩者を一致融和し、會の發展のために全力を盡さねばならない。

五、副會長

會長不在の時は議長の役を務める。會長を補佐して會の附則に定められた任務を遂行する。

六、書記

1、必要ある時會員の點呼をとる。

2、會長、副會長共に不在の時は開會を宣し、臨時議長の選出されるまで司會する。

3、會議における一切の議事を正確に記錄する。前回の會議の議事記錄を朗讀し、その儘あるひは訂正の申入れがあれば訂正を加へて會員の承認を求める。承認されたならばその期日と「承認濟み」とを記入して該記錄を完了する。

4、會の活動を記錄するが、會議の討議の內容を記錄する必要はない。記錄に自己の見解を加へてはならない。

5、各動議の正確なる全文、提出者の氏名、およびその採否を記錄する。動議が長きに亙り、又は復雜なる場合は提出者自らこれを書き書記に渡すべきである。

6、動議提出者の氏名を記錄するが、贊成者の氏名は必ずしも記錄する必要がない。

7、演說の要旨を記錄するが自己の意見を加へてはならない。

8、會議の記錄を必ず會議場に持參すること。
9、議長の指示により過去の會議の記錄を朗讀する。
10、起立採決に際しては議長の命により起立者の數を算へる。
11、議長のために前回會議の未決事項の一覽表を作製する。
12、會の業務に關する一切の通信ならびに記錄を保管し之を後繼者に引繼ぐこと。
13、會長の指示の下に會の一切の通信を處理する。
14、會に對する通信には必ず眼を通すこと。
15、記錄帳簿には必ず會則附則の正文をとぢ込んで置くこと。
16、會議に於いて朗讀するに當つては起立すること。

七、會　計

會計は會の金錢を保管し、理事會、財務或は豫算委員會の指示により金錢を領收、支出する。會計は會の一切の基金に關し會員に責任を負ふものである。

會の豫算案の承認は會員によつてなされる場合と、理事會に委任される場合とある。

各委員長または役員が金錢を支出せんとするには會長の承認を得なければならない。從つて支拂請求書は先づ會長に提示して承認を求め、その後豫算委員長に提示する。豫算委員長は右請求書を會の豫算と照合した上で、會長の認印の横に捺印して、支拂のため會計に廻す。

會計は各委員長から郵稅、旅費等の支拂を要求された場合、請求書に領收書が添付されてゐなかつたならば支拂つてはならない、會計は公金保管の責任者であるから、自己および全會員の利益を保護するため万全の注意を拂はねばならない。

會計は年に一度、また要求があれば年間にも會計報告を行ふ義務がある。年度會計報告は會計監事の檢査を受けなければならない。會計報告に續いて會計監事はその結果につき檢査報告書を提出し、それが總會により承認されゝば年度會計に報告される。

第六章　委員會

團体は出來得る限り速かに各種委員會の委員長その他の役員にこれら委員長を選出一する權限を委任すべきである。各委員は役員に對し、そして役員を通じて會員に對し責を負ふべきである委員會は團体の種類と大きさとに隨ひ、その數を異にする。一般には次のやうな委員會を必要とするものである。

一、財務委員會　會計を輔佐し會の財政方針決定に協力する。
二、會員募集委員會
三、企畫委員會　會の目的達成を圖るため、會員の興味を增すやうな各種計畫を立案する。このためにはさらに次のやうな補助的な小委員會を設けることも出來る。「時事問題委員會」「娛樂委員會」「公民教育委員會」「勞働法令研究委員會」「農村問題委員會」等々。
四、會館委員會　會館を管理し、會合の會場を計畫する等の任務を有する。

第七章　會員の權限ならびに義務

民主的團体の基礎が鞏固なる所以は、會の目的の決定、會則、附則の起草、役員の選出、企畫立案等に全會員が等しく參加し、會費の定期的支拂により會の財政を維持し、且つ會の目的が達成されることに全會

員が積極的な關心を示すと云ふ点にある。從つて團体の民主的、能率的程度はそれを構成してゐる會員に依存することは明瞭である。かくて、全會員が均等の責任を持たされてゐる以上各人は秩序を維持するため一定の規準に從つて行動し、一人殘らず會の業務に參加する機會を與へねばならぬ譯である。

一、即ち會員は次の様な簡單明瞭な規準に從ふ責任を有するのである。

二、凡ての問題に必ず投票權を行使すること。これが如何に重大であるかは會員一人が投票を棄權することが該問題の可決、否決に對し同會員が一票を投じた場合と同様に決定的な影響を及ぼすものであるといふことから明瞭である。

三、發言は與へられた時間を超過せず、議題を離れずまた他の會員の權限を侵害しないやう注意する。他の者に發言權が與へられた時は、先に發言した者は直ちに席につくのが通例である。(發言の順序につき疑問が生じた場合は、當面の議題に關しまだ發言してゐない會員に對し、既に發言してゐる者よりも優先權を與へるのが普通である。)

四、會長が開會を宣してからは整然たる態度をとり、最後まで議事に注意を注中して會議の秩序維持に協力する。議事を妨げる一切の行動、例へば私語し、會場を歩き廻り他の會員の發言の途中で「質問」と叫ぶやうなことは愼まねばならない。

五、役員に對し、また會員相互に禮儀を正しくすることが如何に重要であるかを忘れてはならない。議長に呼びかけるには起立し、議長から合圖があるまでは發言せず、また動議を起すには常に起立する。個

人的な話に時間をとつてはいけない。また眞に止むを得ない理由のない限り他人の發言中に言葉をさしはさまぬやうに愼むのが禮儀である。

第八章　議事規則

議事規則は各會員の權限を保護すると同時に、會の安寧增進を目的とした原則を基礎として作られたものであり、これらの基本的原則とは左のやうなものである。

一、會員各自の平等と公平を旨とする事。
二、凡ゆる問題の自由討議。
三、多數の意に從ひ、同時に少數の權利を無視しないこと。
四、同時に二つの問題を討議せぬこと。
五、議論は議題の本質に限定し、人身攻擊に亙らむこと。

第九章　議事進行法

議事進行法とは會議の進行に議事規則を適用することである、議事規則とは會則、附則に含まれた具体的な議事規定及び事務處理の順序を綜合したものである。

第十章　會議進行順序

一、書記の報告書朗讀とその承認
二、各種報告

イ、副會長
ロ、會　計
ハ、會計監事(年會において)
ニ、會　長
ホ、常任委員
ヘ、委員會
ト、前回よりの未決事項
チ、特別委員會ノ
リ、新議事

第十一章　總　會

總會とは全國的な團体が年一回またはそれ以上の間隔を置いて全國會員を招集して開く會合のことを云ふ
總會に出席するのは各支部會員中より選出された代表會員である。總會で決議された諸規定及び事業計畫
は各支部に適用され各支部はこれに基いて活動を行ふ。

第十二章　動議及び表決

以上說明した民主的團体の會則、附則の實例、會員、役員の任務等はいづれも世界各地の民主的團体が現
に實施してゐる規本的形式である。
全ての重要な決議事項が會員によつて多數決で決定されるといふことはこれまでの說明で理解された筈で

三、動議に賛成する賛成
動議に賛成するということは、その討議に同意するという意味であって、賛成者が出たということは動議提出者と共にあと二名の会員が討議を希望するなら、その人は、即ち、動議提出者以外にその問題の討議を許すことです。
「只今の動議に賛成します。」

四、動議の撤回
これを全く撤回することも自由である。
一度動議を提出したら、提出者はこれを撤回することも自由である。

五、動議の修正
「私はこれこれの動議を提出しようと思いましたが、これこれの点を修正してこれこれの動議にしようと思います。」
しかし形式で動議を提出するには、「私はこれこれの動議を提出しようと思いましたが、これこれの点を修正してこれこれの動議にしようと思います。」

六、動議の採用
これは会が一定の行動をとるべきことを問題に附し会員の賛否を問うことである。
動議提出者以外に賛成者がなければ、その動議は採用されない。
動議が採用されると、議長はこれを会に附して討議に附す。
討議に附されると、提出者はこれを撤回することも修正することもできない。
討議は、まず動議提出者から始まり、賛否相半ばして発言する。
討議は、まず動議提出者から始まり、賛否相半ばして発言する。
討議は、まず動議提出者から始まり、賛否相半ばして発言する

と言明する。これによつて賛成者もその動議に對する權利を獲得するわけで提出者は最早賛成者の同意なしにはこれを撤回出來ないわけである。

若し動議に直ちに賛成者が現れなかつたならば議長は動議を繰返し、

「賛成者はありませんか」

と尋ねる。それでも賛成者のない時は、議長は、

「この動議には賛成がありませんから、成立致しません」

と宣言して打切る。

四、動議の受理

動議に賛成者があつた場合、議長はその動議を復誦し、これが受理されたことを宣言する。動議に議論または修正の餘地がある場合は議長は、

「御意見がありますか」

と尋ねる。

討論或は修正の必要がない時は、議長は直ちに採決に附す。

五、討　議

動議が受理されたならばこれは正式に「議題」となり、會議に於ける討議の對象となる。

六、委員附託

議題は往々委員に附託されることがある。それには次の様な目的がある。

1、議題に對する詳細な知識を得るため。

2、議題を討議し易い形式に整理するため。

3、重大な意見の對立を解決するため。

七、採　決

これは問題を表決することである。議長は問題が十分討議されたのち動議を復誦し、「表決に附してはいかが」と諮ねる。これに對し誰も發言するものがなければただちに表決に移る。表決は必ず賛成の數を先に採る。

八、採決の發表

議長は表決の結果を發表する。賛否同數の場合は動議は否決されたものと看做される。これは可決には必ず過半數を得ねばならないからである。但し賛否同數の場合は、議長が最後に賛成投票を行つて可決することは可能である。

第十三章　役員候補者の指名ならびに選舉

指名には次の方法がある。

一、會議において會員が指名

二、指名委員會が指名

三、投票指名

選舉については夫々の團体に一番適した方法を附則で規定して置くべきである。なほ指名は動議ではないので、これに對しては賛成者を必要としない。

一通り指名が終り、議長がそれ以上指名する者が無いかを諮ねて返事が無ければ指名はこれをもつて打切

られる。但し多數決により指名を再開することは可能である。

第十四章　各種表決法

一、發聲表決
二、擧手表決
　右手を擧げる。
三、起立表決
四、点呼表決
五、全會一致
六、投　票

第十五章　開票方法

一、投票者の意圖が明白な投票はすべて無效としてはならない。
二、投票計算係は起立して議長に向ひ、開票の結果を讀上げる。
三、議長は計算係の報告を再び讀上げ、當選者を發表する。
四、當選者がない時は、候補者の一名が當選に必要な票數を得るまで、何回でも投票を繰返す。
五、書記は、會議が投票の再計算を要求しないことが確實となるまで投票紙を保管せねばならない。何故ならば會員の多數決によつて投票の再計算を要求されることがあるからである。（完）

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FREEDOM TRAIN ADDRESS
by
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT
AT
DENVER CITY AUDITORIUM
May 20, 1948

Preface to Asahi edition by Maj, Daniel C. Imboden, Officer in Charge, Press and Publications Branch, Civil Information and Education Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

The speech of JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS of the Supreme Court of the United States, in Denver, Colorado, that is put out in booklet form by the Asahi Shimbun, should be read and studied by all thoughtful Japanese. Intellectual sterility results from lack of intellectual and social exchange. Here is a speech by a modern, progressive, and liberal student--one of the outstanding citizens of the World. Here are the thoughts of a great student and thinker.

Much that is good, wise, and progressive in the World is ours because there have been, since the time of CHRIST and even before HIS time, profound thinkers who have consistently warned that the cynical ideology--"The Ends Justify The Means"--is an obsession that is repugnant to the best interests of Society; and that the moral fiber of Society as a whole is improved and advanced only through recognition of the fact that "ALL MEN ARE BORN EQUAL." Such leaders of modern thought as Paine, Thoreau, Jefferson, Bolivar, Juaroz, Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt, in the Western World, and Sun Yat-Sen, Gandhi, Ando Shoeki, and Ninomiya, in the Eastern World, pointed out time and again that a Society may attain material living standards and high production indices yet be an abomination. No matter how splendid the railroads, the highways, the factories, and the other improvements may be, if these things are secured by the employment of forced labor, it is a regression from enlightened self-interest to the cynical and brutal standards of a feudal, slaveholding Society. Improvements in material things in a police state are always accompanied by a deafening barrage of propaganda calculated to divert the attention of people from the forced labor camps utilized to secure these improvements.

A democratic state is fundamentally one of morals and spiritual values.

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ADDRESS

This fateful year of 1948 is a most appropriate time for Americans throughout the land to visit the Freedom Train. We see there our nation's most valued documents. We honor there the men whose hearts and minds conceived the staggering plans and stirring ideas which these papers reveal. We honor their vision and integrity. We honor above all else their political competence in conceiving and designing this Republic and in guiding it through the many crises it has endured.

This year, this age, makes a more severe demand on our political genius than perhaps any in our history. It is well therefore, as we review the political achievements of our fathers, to take stock of our own responsibilities at this point in history and to examine and appraise our own political techniques.

This year is a fateful one because of the breakdown of order throughout the world. Two world wars left a social vacuum. In the Soviet Union the small select group of rulers proclaimed that their philosophy alone was destined to fill that void. They proclaimed this so loudly that many became convinced.

Meanwhile we, the democrats of the world, had begun to drift. Only now are we beginning to recover balance and direction.

Our present danger is that we may see the issue too narrowly, as a choice merely between appeasement and war. But the choice is not so limited. There is still another way. It is for the democrats of the world to fill the social void and dispel the chaos throughout the world. Against a living democracy, the assaults of the Communists will be unavailing.

Before we consider how this may be done, let us first be certain that we understand the nature of the Communist philosophy, that we perceive the falsity of their programs, that we are under no illusions as to their real purpose and objectives.

Dictators have a way of setting down their programs and purposes for all to read, Democracies, for some reason, have a way of ignoring or disbeliving the dictators. We recently had our lesson from the totalitarian right. We waited almost too long before reading Hitler's "Mein Kampf". We must not make that mistake today. Like Hitler, the Communists have given us their plans. Before it is too late, we must read and understand the works of Joseph Stalin -- such books as "The October Revolution". "The Problems of Leninism". "Foundations of Leninism".

Many people who have not read these books profess to find great idealism in Communism. There is always appeal in slogans of equality and freedom. Liberation of the oppressed and exploited strikes a deep chord. The summons to cast off the yoke of those who suffer is a call to strong humanitarian instincts.

The Communist Manifesto takes these subjects as its theme. It was published in 1848 by Marx and Engels who saw the factory system at its worst. Men, women and children were crushed in its wheels, broken by long hours, enslaved by low wages. A caste system held grandfather, father and son in the same social and economic group, unable to escape. The power of kings, the power of economic monopoly and the power of finance united to crush and explcit the common men.

The Manifesto undertook to answer these problems. "The proletarians", it stated, "have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite" -- those were ringing words. The Manifesto was indeed, one of the most powerful political documents of all time. Some professed to find in it the flavor of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson. Exploitation of men was to cease. The people were at last to become their own masters.

These expressions of idealism attracted men of good will. Others saw in the Communist program of nationalization a cure for the evils of monopoly. Others saw in the Soviet scheme work for all, starvation for none. Seeing these aims, they thought they were good. But they overlooked the terrible price in life and moral values which the Communists exacted.

It is time that we were no longer misled by those high-sounding slogans, by the Communist mirage of freedom, equality, and opportunity. As realists, we must look at Communism as it is practiced by Communists today. For Communism in actual operation on the world scene is as destructive of democratic values as the Tsarism that preceded it or the Fascism whose mad march we stopped only recently.

We can put to one side the problems of Communism in Russia. We the democrats will be the first to defend the right of any people to live under the government of their choice. When they confine their totalitarian regime within their borders, they are entitled to tolerance in working out their own experiments. But the Russian borders do not mark the orbit of Communism. Stalin announced in his book, "The October Revolution", that the Russian Revolution constituted "The beginning and promise of the world revolution." We have seen much of that prophecy come true. The plan is to undermine all the democracies. The aim is to win by default, if possible, but to win under any and all circumstances and at any price. That is what the current Communist propaganda means when it says, "There is no power in the world that can prevent the death of capitalism, the growth of the indignation and struggle of the working people against the reactionary bourgeoisie *** This is what Leninism, the Marxism of our epoch, teachers us."

The techniques whereby the Communists plan their doomination of the world reveal at least three basic and irreconcilable differences between their philosophy and ours.

First. Marx and Engels wrote that "the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation." That has often been taken to mean that the political power of the state was at last to be transferred to the people. The common man was to come into his own. All the people were to have/new charter of liberty. Indeed the current Communist propaganda in this country is that Communism is "a society in which the people themselves are the master and determine the fate of their country."

Lenin made clear that "the proletariat" and "the people" were not synonymous. He announced that the dictatorship of the proletariat "has meaning only when one class knows that it alone takes political power into its own hands, and does not deceive itself or others by talk about popular, elected government, sanctified by the whole people." By Lenin's dictum the political power of the state was to go into the hands of one class and one class only. Everyone else would be disenfranchised.

Today's Communists have gone Lenin one better. They have not placed the political power in the hands of even one class. They have given it all to a central bureau -- one select political clique. It is that small group that declares war, makes peace, and establishes the party line that dictates the conduct of their agents in all the countries of the world.

Here we have the first deep and fundamental difference between Communists and democrats. It is the very antithesis of democracy to have the political power of a nation vested in one group -- whether it be a man, a corporation, or a class. The struggle of the democracies of western Europe through the years has been to get rid of that kind of dictatorship. We followed that course in this country. We experienced life under a monarchy; and mild as it was compared with Communist totalitarianism, our fathers expended lives and treasure to be rid of it.

Those who designed our charter of government knew that other oppressions would come -- perhaps even the old ones in new garb -- if the dictatorship of a king were to be replaced by the dictatorship of one group. Tyranny is the same whatever mask it wears. The men who composed the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 knew that. They worked from the premises that Madison advanced: (1) that the function of government was to keep the various groups of society in balance by preventing one from exploiting or over-riding another, and (2) that government itself might become adverse to the society over which it presided and hence must be kept in bounds. And so we, like the other democracies, designed a system of government to keep any one group -- whether it be social, economic, religious, or political -- from being the repository of political power.

We disperse political power among all groups. By doing so we have some guarantee that no one group will permanently acquire the upper hand over others, that no one group will use the sanctions of the law and the power of government for the exploitation of others. When one group acquires all the powers of government, freedom can be had only through revolution. That is, I think, the head and font of all the revolutions the world has seen.

But when political power is dispersed among all the people, the tyranny of any one group need be temporary only. For the people can have their revolution at the polls without the sacrifice of life or the destruction of property. They can be rid in peaceful ways of the hold which any group has on their national life. That is a great virtue of the democratic way.

That has happened again and again in the history of this country. Political power has not long been concentrated in the hands of a few. One example will illustrate my point.

The last century saw us develop a huge industrial plant, callous in its attitude towards the rights both of the men who operated it and the public that it was designed to serve. An industrial oligarchy grew up around it and controlled governors, legislatures and even courts. The men and women whose blood and sweat went into the plants were the expendables. Long hours, unsanitary and unsafe conditions of work; low wages were the rule not the exception. Property rights were supreme, human rights were forgotten.

This is the chapter in American history that the Communist propaganda has exploited to this day. Their propaganda would have the world believe that these conditions persist. It purposely overlooks the great exertions of democratic government that were used to rectify these conditions. Though we are far from perfect, we have in this country evolved an advanced form of industrial democracy. Human rights are in the ascendency. Men are no longer owned by machines.

It took time to do these things. But the important fact is that they were done. Moreover, they were achieved not by revolution but by the peaceful route. Bryan pleaded with the nation's conscience. From Altgeld of Illinois to Al Smith of New York came a militant band of public figures to proclaim against the evils of our industrial system. Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt headed the national reforms that gradually restored the balance of power. Labor unions emerged, acquired strength of character, and grew in power equal to the might of the industrial giants with whom they had to deal.

Society by definition is the aggregation of many, diverse pressure groups. The secret of wise government is to leave room for each group to live and express itself. The democratic way, by wide dispersion of ultimate political power among all the people, makes it impossible for any one interest to get and keep, at least for long, the authority to exploit the others.

The Communists defy this principle and by putting all political power in the hands of a few repudiate the basis of free government as we know it.

The premise on which the Communists build this theory is also hostile to our traditions. The Communists assume that the basic problem in society is class warfare. But the idea of class or caste has not taken hold here. The only real aristocracy we know is the aristocracy of individual initiative and achievement. Men who work in overalls today can become corporation executives tomorrow. There is no station in pri-

vate or public life closed to any man or woman, no matter how lowly his start. The lists are open to all; and the ribbons go to the fleet.

We would not be true to our genius if we embraced the class warfare theory. Class warfare and the American character are foreign to each other.

Morecver, the Communists miss the mark by concluding that the basic conflict in modern industrial society is between labor and management. There is conflict between labor and management. There is conflict between those groups. But that is not significant, for life is full of conflict and tension. The process of living is indeed adjustment between competing forces. The conflict between labor and management continues but it has evolved into manageable form both in this country and in the democracies of Western Europe. Collective bargaining has been the foundation on which industrial relations can be stabilized. Strikes will continue. But labor's right to a fair wage, to a just share of the earnings of industry is recognized more and more. The right to work is a part of our economic bill of rights. Guaranteed annual wages are increasing. Labor is becoming a working partner with management in factories that were hostile to the idea only a decade ago. In these and in a myriad of other ways mediation, negotiation, peaceful adjustment and law are taking the place of strife and warfare in industry. The Communists, who preach the other doctrine, choose not to know the truth of American industry.

While the most important single problem of our economy lies in the industrial field, it is not the conflict between labor and management. It is the conflict between the industrial plant (composed of both labor and management) on the one hand and society on the other. Our standard of living turns in large measure on the productivity of both the men and machines that comprise industry. Our industrial plant is a great source of our national income. Property depends on an economy of abundance. An expanding economy demands increased productivity. Decreased production means depression. These are joint problems of labor and management.

That is the central problem of the complex industrial society in which we live. The Communists offer no answer to it and indeed Communism was not conceived as an answer to it. Communism was launched in a land of poverty where industrialization was still distant. It has yet to master the problems of an industrial society. The Communists do not come to us with any scientific blueprint for a machine age. They therefore do not offer us the key to the problem that both here and in the other democracies is most pregnant with potential conflict.

yet even if we could be sure that they offered us an economy of abundance, we could not accept the offer. As we have seen, they substitute rule by one select political clique for Lincoln's concept of government of the people, by the people, and for the people. They trade our political heritage -- our right to franchiese -- for a police state.

This is a matter on which we the democrats can never compromise. The difference between us and the Communists at this point is fundamental and irreconcilable.

Second. We come to the second basic difference between the two philosophies. The Communists need a police state because they try to pour man into one mould. It's been tried before -- by all the Tsars, and Kings and Hitlers that have tramped the earth. It has never succeeded for long. And it never will. For man was born for freedom not for slavery. Man cannot be standardized like automobiles, or screws, or nails. God gave man the same amazing diversity that He gave the flowers in the mountain meadows.

The Communists with their police state defy that fact. News is a standardized product issued by a central government bureau. There is no room for a crusading journalist to expose the failings of those in office. Art, music, and literature are weapons of political warfare. They are called subversive if they depict the sad side of the Communist society or raise doubt concerning the wisdom, or virtue, either of the system or the officials who manage it. Like the press they must follow the party line. Defections from it entail severe penalties. There is no "free trade in ideas" such as Holmes talked about. The solution to every social and economic problem, theanswer to every question must meet the approval of the ruling clique. No other answers are tolerated. There is only one road to salvation. All other roads lead to concentration camps.

The matter was rather humorously summarized the other day by Winston Churchill when he compared the totalitarianism of the Left and the Right to the North and South Poles. He said, "If you woke up tomorrow morning at one or the other you would not know which it was. There might be more penguins at one end of the world and more polar bears at the other, but all around you would be ice and snow and the blast of freezing winds over dreary spaces."

There are few dreary spaces in the democracies, imperfect ar they are. We have great diversity -- from art to politics. Some democrats are socialists, some are capitalists. We are committed to no single panacea for all our problems. We can

have a PTA in Tennessee or on the Columbia without nationalizing all the enterprises along Main Street. We can proceed by trial and error and undo four years from now what we do today. We can let man express himself in art and the letters. He is restrained only by the laws of libel and obscenity. We can let man give vent to his views, however noxious they may seem to those in power. We can experiment with new techniques unrestrained by commitments to any one political faith.

The Communists have no such freedom or flexibility. Their religion is dialetical materialism which permits of no compromise. All must conform or perish.

We the democrats of the world cannot compromise with that philosophy. To do so would be to discard our Bill of Rights and to place ourselves again in the chains that we struggled for centuries to remove.

Third. A third basic and irreconcilable difference between the Communists and the democrats is in their political techniques. Our is a civic genius described by William James as the tolerance of one political party for the other. The party in power is on probation only. It has its innings; and it stands or falls on the record of its performance. No police or army suppresses an opposition or keeps the winner of the last election in office.

The Communists have no such tolerance for the opposition. Up to the time the Communists win an election, they talk and even act like democrats. They adopt the tactics of parliamentary government. The words and slogans they use are familiar and appealing to democrats. They believe in "free elections". They plead the cause of justice. They are against the exploiters of human beings. They pose as champions of every oppressed person or group. But once they take office, it is for keeps. Once that happens, the liquidation of all opposition parties commences.

Surely the Communists must be on the side of the angels, it is said. For they are identified with every cause that seems to championhuman rights. But the Communists plead the liberal causes for quite a different purpose than do the liberals. Their purpose is to seduce the liberals, mislead the conservatives, and confuse everyone. A truly liberal government is an anathema to them and their aim is to destroy it. They do not want reform for others. They want power for themselves. That is why they speak in favor of socialism but against the socialist regime in England. Their chance of getting power disappears if democratic government is strong and dependable. Their real hope lies in fostering conditions that breed discontent.

It is important that this technique be understood. Stalin makes it clear in his Foundations of Leninism and The Problems of Leninism. The Communists plan two revolutions. First the bourgeois revolution and second the proletarian revolution. With the bourgeois revolution the Communists take over existing democratic institutions. That's what happened recently in Czecho-Slovakia. That's what they have been trying to do in Italy and France. To gain control of existing democratic governments they use democratic tactics. They talk and behave like democrats and proclaim the democratic virtues perhaps even more loudly than the democrats themselves. But they take control of a democratic government for only one purpose -- to destroy it. Its destruction and the appropriation of its powers by the central body in Moscow constitute the second, the proletarian revolution. Both revolutions take place without moving an army or dropping a bomb. They have indeed the outward appearance of constitutional government in the democratic sense.

Between these revolutions the Communists bring into play two ancient political techniques designed to eliminate all political opposition -- techniques borrowed from the Tsars -- techniques that have been the political tools of tyrants from time immemorial: Murder and terror.

The use of murder and terror make fear the dominant, overriding influence in public affairs. Once fear grips the hearts of the people the Communist ranks become swollen.

The political techniques of the Communists stand condemned by the standards of the democrats. We refuse to accept fraud and deceit as standards of public conduct. We reject murder and terror as political weapons.

Those then are three of the basic and irreconcilable differences between the philosophy of the Communists and that of the democrats.

In the area of ideological conflict, foreign policy and domestic policy must necessarily be integrated into a total national policy -- a policy which practices at home what we preach abroad.

We can best urge the democratic way on the peoples of the world if our conduct at home sets an inspiring example of democracy in action.

If we are truly to be an arsenal of democratic faith, we must first inspire and justify that faith by our own performance. We must manage our own affairs in such a fashion that our domestic achievements will kindle in the hearts of people

throughout the world an unshakeable faith in the validity of the democratic system.

On the domestic front the course is easy if we have the faith and honesty to take it.

(1) We must not make bogy-men of the Communists in this country. It is not the Communists themselves that we in this country should fear, for they are no more than 100,000 in number. All we need fear is our susceptibility to their propaganda. Our first duty then is to understand their purposes and methods. If we do that, their influence will be no greater than their numbers. It is only when we do not understand, that the Communists exert an influence far out of proportion to their strength. It is important to remember that the Communist influence in the democratic state is essentially divisive. Their aim is to pit one liberal against another, conservative against liberal, race against race, labor against management. We the democrats must not fall victim of that strategy.

(2) We must restore integrity to our own political tactics by putting an end to the shameful practice of branding as a Communist everyone who espouses a liberal reform or promotes a program for the underprivileged. If the late George Norris were alive today, promoting his beloved TVA, some would label him a Communist by showing that in Russia power projects are nationalized. By that reasoning the great Labor Party in England would also be Communistic. Yet we know that a socialist democratic regime is an anathema to the Communists.

When liberals are pilloried as Communists, the Communist influence grews and spreads. For then the liberals and Communists are driven closer and closer together. Thus do conservatives play the Communist game of breaking the ranks of the democrats, dividing a nation into camps that become more and more hostile.

We must keep our country a place where men are not afraid to think and read and speak freely and without restraint.

(3) We must become politically more conscious. The Communists through the use of their principle of democratic centralism confine their differences within their ranks. Once the party line is fixed, they present a united front to the world. In that way they make the most effective use possible of their minority position. They also are the most active political agents of all time. While the rest of us relax, the Communist workers are busy ringing doorbells, writing literature, and spreading their faith. We cannot throw away our political independence and intellectual integrity by fixing our own party line and compelling allegiance to it. But we must take our politics more seriously. If we throw our full

energies into political organization and activity, the Communists will be impotent in our affairs. They could not then win by default; and it is only by default that they can gain a strategic hold on important groups in this country. Labor unions have taken the lead in showing how that result can be avoided.

(4) Effective democratic government is the political antidote to Communism. Reactionary governments nurture the conditions on which Communism feeds. The kind of democratic government that will submerge the Communist influence is a liberal, progressive government that recognizes the human rights of all citizens, raises the standard of living at all levels of society, eliminates the insecurity of this industrial age, and wipes out the poverty that has plagued man from the dawn of history. Nothing short of this kind of political program will defeat the aims of the Communists.

On the foreign front the problem is more difficult but the choice is not between war and appeasement. Neither will solve the problem which confronts us. A war would produce a world in ruins with poverty and illness on every hand and suffering and dislocations of life unequalled in history. That is the environment in which virulent ideas flourish. That is when the Communists come into ascendency. On the other hand appeasement means that the Communists are encouraged by our default to undermine flourishing democracies. Both of these alternatives we reject as unnecessary and improvident.

(1) The answer to the Communists on the foreign front, as on the domestic front, is a political program. We must be equipped and prepared to meet the political program of the Communists at whatever point in the world they may select for action. We must ourselves regain the initiative by promoting in our own areas of influence tried-and-true political antidotes to Communism.

Our greatest error would be to fashion our foreign policy in terms of anti-Communism. We will fail miserably if we do no more than that. For then we will end by railing at the Communists, taking no steps to eliminate the conditions on which Communists thrive. If we follow that course, war will soon appear as the only alternative.

(2) We must design a foreign policy which will espouse and promote liberal, humanitarian programs for the masses of people of the world. It must strengthen the democratic forces in other nations and not entrench reactionary interests that thirst for power.

Most of the areas of the world are bleak and desolate when measured by the living conditions of the people. At times the people live under a serfdom of poverty and disease. At other times it is an industrial or political serfdom. The Communists are artists in exploiting these conditions. They can promise pie-in-the-sky -- in fact the whole world -- to those who will enlist in their political army. Revolution may indeed seem a welcome relief to those who have been exploited. It may to desperate men have the appeal of a swift and cleansing purgative that sweeps before it all the rot and filth of the old tyranny that has oppressed them.

Those impulses cannot be controlled by talk and promise of vague and remote democratic ideals. America's voice, if it is to be powerful among the masses of people, must do more than talk of the glories of democracy. If we want the hundreds of millions of the peoples of the world in the democratic ranks, we must show them the way with practical programs of social reconstruction. The European Recovery Program serves that end; and so does the China Aid Act at least in part.

(3) We cannot force such programs on other nations. But we stand ready to suggest them and help to work them out. We must stand ready to support with sanctions the liberals of any country who have programs of social reconstruction for their people. There are in many countries men both in and out of government who have the inner strength and vitality to formulate programs for their own people. James Yen has such a program for China -- a program of mass education and rural reconstruction. It is indigenous to China and thus true to the character of the Chinese. With our backing and support it can do more than save China from Communism. It can set in motion a force that will sweep Asia and align it with the democratic forces of the world. What can be done in China can be done in other countries.

The real victory over Communism will be won in the factories and rice fields of the world rather than on the battle fields. The fight against Communism depends for its ultimate success on the people of the various nations, not on their governments. Thus we must support those who represent democratic values and who have practical programs for political action. When we prop up governments that are self-seeking, corrupt, or fascist, we loss ground in the world-wide struggle against Communism. When we stand behind the liberal and progressive forces in other countries, we become identified with their interests in the eyes of the peoples of the world.
Then the democratic cause gains strength and character.
Then the flood tide of Communism will begin to recede.

(4) This course requires the backing of a strong, alert and mobile military machine. For weaklings have never yet won a campaign -- political or other-wise -- against dictators.

These should be our articles of faith in this fateful year of 1948. If we adhere to them, we will betrue to our character and ideals. If we fail, we will fail proudly, not miserably as men do when they compromise with principle. If these be our articles of faith, we will keep alive the ideals of freedom and decency even in defeat. Even if disaster over takes us, we will have left a heritage from which men can draw strength and inspiration when the day for revolution against the new political bondage comes.

But there need be no failure. Success is assured if we are true to ourselves. We have a system which, though far from perfect, is strong with idealism. It gives elbow room for men of all beliefs. It is vital and dynamic. And it works. We have the means of shaping the world in our pattern. If we do, freedom will be assured for all men. The decision is in the hands of this generation. It is a challenge to our political competence. For western civilization it is the greatest challenge of all time.

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D R A F T
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Economic and Scientific Section
Labor Division
APO 500

_____( )ESS/LAB _____ June 1949

SUBJECT: Educational Program on Trade Union Organization and Structure.

TO: Civil Affairs Labor Officers

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3. MAIN POINTS OF PROGRAM

Attention should be concentrated on the following points:

* * * * * * *

f. Women's Sections - It is the policy of Labor Division to encourage Women's Sections in unions, where they exist, to train and educate women workers to take their rightful place as equal members with men in the trade union itself. The Women's Section should not be considered as a substitute for, or as a rival to, the trade union of which it is a part, but as an agency to give special assistance to a group which by custom and tradition has been made subservient and unable or fearful to demand equal rights. It is to be hoped that eventually when women union members are able to exercise full union rights freely, they will no longer consider Women's Sections necessary and will abolish them. As to stage of development, Women's Sections are classified as follows:

(1) Those whose members think of themselves as women only and stress sewing, cooking or other domestic and cul-

tural pursuits. In these, the danger is great that the women will separate themselves and substitute the section for the union.

(2) Those which seek to improve their conditions as working women. The majority of sections fall in this class.

(3) Those which direct their efforts at assisting women as workers and as union members. In addition to stress upon the improvement of wages and working conditions, the sections at this level encourage and educate their members to participate fully in union affairs.

The objective of the program is to raise all Women's Sections to the third level of activity.

g. Youth Sections - After thorough study of the Youth Sections in unions, Labor Division believes that unions including such sections should be urged to abolish them. Where outright abolition is not possible or feasible, the Youth Sections should be reorganized as committees with purely educational and recreational functions. They should not have the power to make policy, separate representation on executive committees, collect special dues, double voting rights, or be able to carry on separate collective bargaining.

OUTSTANDING JAPANESE WOMEN

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ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS FROM JAPANESE WOMEN

Released by
General Headquarters
Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
Civil Information and Education Section

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS FROM JAPANESE WOMEN

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ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS FROM JAPANESE WOMEN

I. Women's Organizations in the United States

A. General Information

1. What type of organizations do women have in the United States?

There are organizations in the United States to answer the needs of practically all groups of women. Organizations are not formed on a geographical pattern as they are in Japan. Rather, they are organized around interests, so that there are among the national organizations such groups as the Business and Professional Women's clubs, Federations of Women's clubs, the League of Women Voters, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Association of University Women, The Parent-Teachers Association, etc. Practically every community has at least a dozen different organizations, some of them branches of national groups and others merely local clubs to answer the particular needs of a particular group of women in a community. Some of their programs are centered entirely around home needs, others around the school, community or national needs, all depending on the group interest.

2. What kind of organizations do American widows have?

There is no outstanding national organization of widows in the United States. Such organizations in Japan are formed primarily for welfare purposes, and such welfare programs in the United States are undertaken by the government and private welfare agencies. Widows, like all other people who have suffered a personal hardship, try to work out their own solution. They get jobs, remarry, and wherever possible make their own adjustment to the society in which they live. When in need of help, they are provided with such through the Social Security Act. This act has provisions for help for the needy, the aged, the blind, dependent children and maternal and child care for prospective mothers.

3. Are there many cooperative undertakings in America which help ease the burden of the housewife? If so, what?

Probably the most important cooperatives in the United States are the Consumers' Cooperatives and buying clubs. These are organized so that consumers may pool their buying power and purchase goods, food, clothing, etc., in large quantities thus saving money for the individual. There are not many cooperatives concerned specifically with the burden of the housewife.

4. What kind of programs do women's associations in the United States have?

There are almost as many different kinds of programs as there are people, for women's organizations are formed according to the interests of the members. This can be illustrated by the development of the programs of three or four national associations. These associations have branches in almost every State and in almost every large town in the United States.

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs was formed in 1919 with the following objectives: to elevate the standards of women in business and the professions; to extend opportunities for education along industrial, scientific, and vocational lines; to aid in providing new job opportunities for women; and to promote the movement for equal pay for equal work for men and women. To accomplish these objectives, this organization makes studies of job and educational opportunities for women throughout the country; publishes its findings; holds meetings to inform its members and the general public on the need for opening new fields for women; consults with legislators; and gives organized support to necessary legislation relating to its goals. Perhaps the most important fact about this comprehensive program is that the women who participate come to definite conclusions and make specific recommendations for accomplishing stated purposes. The Business and Professional Women's Club is non-partisan, self-supporting and self-governing.

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers has as its members more than three million fathers, mothers, and teachers. Its objects are to promote the welfare of children and youth in the home, school, church, and community; raise the standards of home life; secure adequate laws for the care and protection of children and youth; develop between educators and the general public united efforts to secure for every child the best available physical, mental, social, and spiritual education. To accomplish this, the organization has regular weekly or bi-monthly meetings of its members. The membership is voluntary and the organization is self-supporting. Its activities include lectures, public meetings, discussion groups, and studies and investigations of specific problems related to its aims. It has undertaken programs to provide thousands of children with school lunches, traffic safety education, and health examination before enrollment in school so that all remedial health defects may be eliminated. In addition to the foregoing, the program, of course, includes projects to improve the local school system and to keep the parents informed about the latest developments in education.

The Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation has a membership of nearly half a million farm women from forty-four States and Puerto Rico. Its aim is to promote, protect and represent the business, economic, social and educational interests of the nation's farms. It has a valuable home economic extension service which takes the latest information about home affairs into the home so that women receive instruction in cooking, sewing, etc., in their own environment. The organization promotes discussion groups among farm men and women and provides opportunities for needed recreation programs. It has conducted ten annual public speaking contests on such subjects as civic responsibility, schools, health, world-peace, and producer-consumer relations. It has sponsored a nation-wide project to send aid to foreign countries suffering the after-effects of war. This is part of its program to interest farm women in international relations and in the interdependency of peoples all over the world.

5. Are women's organizations in the United States doing anything to help prevent juvenile delinquency?

Many of them are. One organization in Cleveland, for example, has done a great deal in this regard. This organization was composed of some business and professional women and a large group of housewives. They became concerned about the increasing rate of juvenile delinquency and wanted to do something about it. They requested the Central Executive Committee to appoint a chairman to organize a committee and make a study of the problem. The committee as organized included as its members a woman lawyer, a social worker, a school teacher, several housewives, and a representative of labor unions. This group held regular meetings and had as speakers, leaders in the community who were interested in the juvenile delinquency problem. These speakers included the president of the school board, a director of public safety, a judge of the juvenile court, members of various social welfare agencies, and outstanding men and women active in juvenile delinquency work in other states and cities.

These discussion meetings were alternated with field trips to settlement houses, playgrounds, courts, and slum areas. The committee found, of course, that the juvenile delinquency problem was connected with housing, food and home conditions of the young people as well as with domestic problems in the home, the lack of understanding on the part of parents, and the lack of adequate recreation facilities in the community.

After all the above study, the committee compiled a detailed report, drew up practical recommendations for a solution, and publicized the results through the newspapers and public meetings.

In cases where legislation was needed and laws had to be enforced, they consulted the representatives in the city council and other officials whom they had elected. They made these people see that in order to be reelected they had to do something about the juvenile delinquency situation.

The program developed to such an extent that there finally evolved a community plan for the creation of a juvenile court, staffed by men and women especially trained in all phases of juvenile problems; a public recreation program that included use of school buildings for evening classes in everything from wood-work and sewing to music and games; and a school for girls who needed new vocational training.

As you see, this program that started from simple beginnings grew into a plan that took years to accomplish. The important thing is that the entire undertaking resulted from a desire on the part of citizens in a democratic society to do something about a problem that affected them all.

6. Do women's organizations in the United States have anything to do with censoring films which children are to see?

Yes, in some areas various organizations have formed a council to pass upon and make recommendations as to films which children may see. In many cases these councils have been formed by the film distributors themselves in order to secure the good will and cooperation of parents. Men in the motion picture business say that some of these councils were formed after distributors found that parents were boycotting their theaters because of the films children were being permitted to see. They found it was good business to secure the cooperation of parents.

7. What can be done to interest rural women in organizations?

Here are the answers that Japanese women themselves have given to this question. First, because rural women are exceptionally busy people, the programs for their organizations must be very practical and very close to their real interest. If an organization is having difficulty in securing the interest of rural women, it would be well to survey carefully their desires and find out what women think they really want. From these desires, work out a program. Community projects concerned with lessening the work burden of the farm wife seem to vie at the moment with information programs designed to give her some information about how peoples in other countries live. The most effective programs, in the long run, will be those in which she participates directly. One woman, for example, organized a club for boys and girls in her community and then interested the parents in sponsoring the project. In this case, mothers and fathers participated in organizing the club house and helped in money raising projects through which the children were able to help pay the operating expenses of the Club. This organization has a great many possibilities for development, for the woman who started it now wants to undertake some joint recreation activities for the adults in her area.

8. Was there ever a national organization in the United States comparable to Dai Nippon Fujinkai, the war-time women's organization in Japan?

The United States has never had one national organization that included all women. There are many national organizations, all formed according to the interests of the women involved.

B. Mechanics of Organization

9. How can organizations support themselves if they don't accept money from the government?

Organizations support themselves by dues, contributions and through promoting special money raising projects.

10. In joint associations of men and women, how do the women secure funds?

In joint associations, if the men agree that the women are to have a special women's section, and if all committees receive funds to carry on their programs, then women are entitled to such appropriations as are consistent with the budget of the organization. To supplement such funds, women may find it necessary to hold special money-raising projects.

11. How can a women's organization educate women voters?

The program of the League of Women Voters in the United States is a good example of how a women's organization may educate women voters. This organization was founded in 1919 for the express purpose of teaching women how to use their political power for the public good. Membership is open to all women who support the democratic theory of government, regardless of their particular party affiliation. The organization itself is strictly non-partisan. It is entirely separated from the government and supports itself through modest membership dues supplemented by special contributions from the general public. In this organization women are trained to collect facts about important public questions, to speak in public, preside at meetings, draw conclusions on important issues and base these conclusions on facts instead of emotion. This is accomplished through study groups, schools for new voters, and programs for civic betterment.

The League does not indorse or oppose candidates for public office. It is interested in the qualifications of all candidates and in their views upon public issues included in the League's program. It secures this information through questionnaires and interviews with candidates. It publicizes this information through pamphlets, newspapers, radio and public meetings to inform the League membership and the public of the importance of the issues and to acquaint the candidate with the League's interest in the subject.

The League interprets the vote and politics to women in terms of their immediate ability to instigate improvements. It shows women how to use their voting power in obtaining better schools for their children, better distribution of food for their families, better housing, better car for the needy, and all the other matters in which women have a great deal of interest, because they are wives and mothers.

The League has a year-round program, for this organization realizes that a citizen's responsibility in a democracy does not end with the election.

12. What can organizations do to help develop confidence in women?

First, give as many women as possible definite jobs to do. Second, limit the tenure of service for officers so that many women will have an opportunity to get experience. Do likewise with committees. Third, offer training courses to give women experience in public speaking, parliamentary procedures, etc. Fourth, urge every woman in an organization to accept whatever opportunities that come to her to participate in community meetings. Fifth, urge women to participate wherever possible in adult education courses.

13. Do women's organizations need permission from the government in order to operate?

In the United States there is no connection between women's organizations and the government except in cases where the organizations own considerable property and therefore desire to be incorporated under the law.

14. In an election of officers of an organization or of government officials, can you trust a majority vote? If the president of an organization disagrees with the majority opinion, does he or she have to abide by it?

This question merits full discussion. In brief, however, wherever or whenever a democratic society has been developed, there seems always to have been a group which has opposed majority rule. This was so in the establishment of national democracy in the United States. Out of the struggle between two opposing factions, one that wanted to restrict the vote to a certain privileged few and the other that wanted the people to rule through majority vote, grew the fundamental principles of American democracy.

In a democracy it is the majority vote which rules and officers or officials cannot, with impunity, act contrary to the majority vote. The vote is cast according to rules set down in the constitution of the organization and that constitution is the law which must be obeyed. Usually, in fact, the constitution of an active organization contains an article providing for a referendum in cases where an officer oversteps his bounds. You will find such an article in the sample constitution included in the CI&E pamphlet, "Democratic Organization". If, as sometimes happens, the majority vote is not in the best interests of the organization, it still must rule until the membership indicates its desire for change through another majority vote.

15. What percentage of the membership should constitute a quorum at a meeting?

This percentage depends on the will of the membership and the occasion for the meeting. Page 6 of the pamphlet, "Democratic Organizations" specifies that at regular meetings of the Central Executive Committee of organizations, two-thirds of the members of the committee shall constitute a quorum. On the other hand, one-third of the membership constitutes a quorum for a meeting of the House of Representatives of the Japanese Diet. With this great range of possibilities resulting from differences in numbers of members to be considered, it is imperative that such matters be fully discussed when the constitution of an organization is being framed.

16. In national organizations, how do you apportion the votes? Does each geographical area or recognized branch, regardless of population or membership, get the same number of votes?

This is a question which is always discussed when a national organization is being formed, and such discussion usually results in some sort of compromise.

For instance, one national organization in the United States solved the problem in this fashion. In the case of the national convention, one delegate is allowed for all branches under 4,000; two delegates for all branches having 4,000 or more members; three delegates for branches having 8,000 or more, and four delegates for branches with 16,000 or more members.

II. Women's Organizations in Japan

17. In cases where people are not acquainted with the importance of group activities, do you advise forcing them to participate in organizational work?

In a democratic country people are not forced to join organizations. If any people here are being "forced", it is their duty to report this to the proper authorities to publicize what is happening, and to assert their right to make their own decisions about joining organizations.

18. Parents are very reluctant to allow their daughters, 21 to 25, to participate in youth associations of men and women. What should be done?

It would seem that a girl from 21 to 25 -- a woman who now has the right to vote and is considered an adult -- should be allowed to make such decisions for herself and that the family would permit her to do so without interference. However, since so much in Japan is in a state of transition, such differences of opinion indicate a need for adult education that can be given both in schools and in organizations. In the United States, adult education classes which present in practical terms the changing social conceptions have done much to help fathers and mothers bridge the gap between the social customs of yesterday and today.

19. What can women do to persuade men to give them equal responsibility in an organization?

It is a regrettable fact that this question has to be asked. If the purpose of an organization is to promote the interests of democracy in Japan, the beginning of the work is within the organization itself. Unless men and women within the group are treated on an equal basis and unless women have an equal voice, then the organization's purpose is entirely inconsistent with its own practices. Thus, to have a political party, labor union or cultural organization talk at length about democracy and neglect to give women a voice in its activities is a breach of its stated policy and is open to question by all the people.

However, it must be admitted that the problems women in Japan face in making this fact a working principle are not too different from the problems women have faced all over the world in achieving something approaching equality. (If this is being discussed in a group, it might be helpful to ask members of the group to tell what they have done to persuade the men to give them equal responsibility. Follow this with discussion and close with necessity for leadership training classes and an adult education program to give women some of the background they need in order to preside at meetings, make speeches, etc. Emphasize also the necessity for women to accept all available opportunities to participate in meetings of organizations of men and women.)

20. The local officials in many places in Japan are relying on the local women's organizations in much the same way they did during the war. They demand that women's organizations undertake certain relief work and require members to attend meetings, contribute time, money, and energy. Women report that they are sick of this sort of organization and want to know what they can do about it.

It is good for women's organizations to help with relief work. However, where the organization is not an acknowledged arm of the government, it is up to the organization to decide what its program will be and for the members to decide how much they will contribute of time, money, and energy. In any democratic country, in times of distress, women's organizations are among the first to volunteer their help.

21. What are the good and bad features of a prefectural federation?

Most of the prefectural federations now organized in Japan are still on a wartime basis and have not yet held a really democratic election. In many instances, the leaders are still the same leaders who held office during the war and who have run the organization for a great number of years. In some cases, men are serving as officials. In others, the federation is closely allied to the prefectural government. This is all inconsistent with the principles of democracy.

Moreover, the women's movement in Japan at the present time is in great need of new leaders to handle increasingly heavy responsibilities. These leaders can develop only through women being given responsibility and learning through doing how to organize and develop democratic groups. For this reason, it is good to have small independent groups in which many women will get the required experience and then to build from those toward ken and national - yes, several national organizations, so there will be healthy competition.

22. Is it unfair not to purge women who headed organizations during the war, especially if they are still heading an organization that has not been reformed along democratic lines?

The matter of purging women as organization heads is a matter for the Japanese Government and the Japanese people.

23. Young people want to form their own organizations and want to be free of the prefectural federation, but the prefectural government refuses them paper ration unless they are members of the federation. What should be done about this?

Raise your voice so that no organization gets support, money or paper from the government unless all do. A democratic government has no right to support one women's club or one youth organization in preference to another.

III. Political and Union Activity for Women

24. What can be done to educate women so that they will realize the importance of participation in civic affairs?

First, plan programs in clubs and organizations that will give women who do participate a sense of time well spent. Develop practical programs to solve specific community needs and in carrying out these give as many women as possible opportunities for active participation. In this way, women will learn through concrete experience that there is a direct connection between their life in the home and the welfare of the community.

25. How do women in the United States obtain their political education?

In the first place, since education for citizenship begins at an early age, it is well to remember that boys and girls in the United States attend the same schools, the same classes and study from the same text-books. Throughout their school years, they participate in student government associations and help organize and direct school clubs; this, of course, under the wise supervision of their teachers. In classes, they discuss, debate and report on important current events. As they reach the higher grades

they study government, citizenship, history —— all the subjects that deal with the operation of the government under which they live. In some communities, classes in citizenship undertake as practical problems the staging of mock political campaigns which end in mock elections and sometimes actually include a "Citizenship Day" in which boys and girls take over the government of the city for a day.

All of this is the beginning of political education that is developed further through adult clubs, organizations, community adult education programs, and full reporting of political information by newspapers, magazines, radio, and motion pictures.

26. What is the function of a women's section in a political party or labor union and how can it be used to raise women to the level of men?

The women's sections of political parties and of labor unions should serve two purposes:

(1) To give women the necessary background and experience to help them in taking equal responsibility with men in the main work of the organization.

(2) To enable them to give special attention to special programs and projects of interest to women. However, in cases where these projects affect the interest of the whole organization, final action and support of the projects should be a matter of common agreement and action by the main body of the organization in which women, as members, should be represented. For instance, if the women's section studies and makes recommendations concerning the equal treatment of women and men, these recommendations should be supported, discussed and acted upon by the Central Executive Committee. If they aren't supported, then women will have to campaign accordingly.

In working out projects to give women needed background and experience, women's sections in Japan could, as women's committees do in the States, hold classes in public speaking, give special instruction in parliamentary procedure and give practice in presiding at meetings in order to help build up the confidence of new leaders. In this regard, the women's section of organizations, political parties and labor unions might even prepare "canned" speeches for women members to give.

27. What are the activities of women in local and state government in the United States?

The 1945 statistics show 234 women serving as members of state legislatures and 1500 who are serving in other important elective positions. Among these latter are city and county officials, mayors, judges, members of the Board of Education, state heads of Public Instruction, health officials —— scores of women getting their first political training in local offices.

28. What are the activities of women members of political parties in the United States?

Political parties in the United States are organized quite differently from those in Japan. For instance, the National Committee of the two main parties is composed of 96 people, one man and one woman from each of the 48 states. Likewise, in many of the most progressive states, the state committees are composed of one man and one woman from each county and the county committees have one man and one woman from each ward or local sub-division. This move toward equal representation all along the line is known as the "Fifty-Fifty" goal.

In regard to this, the campaign handbook issued by the women's division of one of the parties states: "'Fifty-Fifty' calls for equal representation of women with men on all party committees and for an executive committee with a chairman and vice-chairman of the opposite sex, with equal voting power."

"....equal representation gives women a voice in formulating the policies of their party, and a greater incentive to work for the party's success."

To accomplish this 'Fifty-Fifty' goal, women and men, too, have campaigned for representatives in the state and local legislatures who supported bills for equal representation. The biggest gains have been made recently, for as women gained numerical superiority in voting strength, their power to influence men candidates has increased.

So much for their representation in the organization of the political parties. As for their activities, they have a place in all the main committees and in addition have a special women's division to accomplish two things:

(1) Study problems of special interest to women.

(2) Give women needed information about the party and experience in using it. This is accomplished through classes and other means.

IV. Social Status of Women

29. The feudalist conception of women in Japanese society stems from the family system. What is the family system in the United States?

The family unit in the United States consists of the husband and wife and their children. The husband and wife are considered equals, and so are sons and daughters. Americans do not think in terms of the first daughter and the second daughter, the first son and the second son. Americans regard each living indiv-

idual as of the utmost importance and because of this feel that all within the family should share within the limits of age and experience, equally in its benefits and in its responsibilities. From this develops in the child an ever-widening circle of experience and responsibilities, extending to the school, to the community and to society. In other words, training for democracy begins in the family in the United States.

30. What do you think of the advancement of Japanese women since the termination of the war?

Because recent legal changes have given women an opportunity to use talents and abilities which already existed, it is difficult to analyze the "advancement" women have made. In the past, they had so much opposition that their abilities didn't see the light of day. Now, from one end of the country to the other, they are beginning to take part in political parties, serve on civic committees, join labor unions and organize themselves into democratic groups for the common good of the Japanese people, and they are being approached, rather timidly it is true, for their opinions on various important questions. Thirty-nine are serving in the Diet. Many of them will be running as candidates in local elections. They are to be commended for all they are doing despite the opposition of tradition and the lack of education. Their accomplishments are a credit to them ... their difficulties a discredit to society for not giving them the education they need.

31. What can be done to develop pride in factory girls?

That's a good question and one for discussion. If the question is asked in a group, it would be helpful to ask the members what they think. (Bring out the fact that in a democratic society every individual is important and that this basic conception is one that is taught first in the home, and then in the school.)

V. Miscellaneous

32. Soviet Russia has many laws to protect working women. Do they have such laws in America?

Of course. There are national, state and local laws in the United States protecting the working women. General information is available in the text of a talk titled "Labor Standards as They Affect Women and Children," by Miss Golda Stander, of the Labor Division, ESS, SCAP.

33. If women want the same wage for the same work that men do, should they also be given preferential treatment because they are women?

This is a matter which has been debated at length since women first began to campaign for equal rights. It is perfectly true that if an employer has two applicants for a job, one a man and the other a woman, he will, if he is paying the same wage to both, select the person from whom he is most likely to get the most hours of work. Thus, if a woman is going to take two days off each month, the employer, since he is in business to make a profit, will undoubtedly select a man.

In fairness to everyone concerned, women then, must consider the total picture when they ask for special protection —— some of which, it cannot be denied, is needed for the welfare of the population.

34. What can be done to shorten the work day of the Japanese housewife?

There is no simple answer to this question. Women in some areas of Japan are attacking this problem through cooperative endeavor. They are organizing cooperative nurseries, spreading home responsibilities within the family circle, and learning that there are hours in the day that they should and can have to themselves if they plan accordingly.

Part of the answer lies in the development of a more modern kitchen and the serving of simpler meals. Partly it lies in changing certain traditional attitudes. Here, woman's long confining work day has been considered a normal thing. Women themselves have to make the break. Its been done in the United States partly through continuous agitation and education, using every publicity media to show people that women, like men, need a certain amount of personal freedom if they are to be good mothers and good citizens.

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Outline of the remarks of Mr. Richard L.G. Deverall, Chief, Labour Education Branch, ESS Labour Division, GHQ, SCAP made on 11th May 1948 to the Training Conference for Field Representatives of the Womens and Minors Bureau of the Japanese Labour Ministry.

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WOMEN AND LABOUR EDUCATION

Some time ago, it was my good fortune to be invited to the home of a liberal Japanese trade unionist. After enjoying a very fine evening of conversation about labour problems and the economic problems of Japan, I noticed that his wife, although present, had not uttered a word. So quite naturally I said: "Well, what do you think, okasan?"

The wife blushed, and her husband replied: "In Japan, the wife is too busy with her home duties. She does not think about labour problem, nor is the wife interested in politics."

The husband is a liberal trade unionist. Yet in making that remark he admitted on the face of it that at least with regard to women his thinking is yet somewhat feudalistic. In the new Japan, the women bear 50% of the responsibility for the government of Japan, for women have the right to vote the same as men. If they have the right to vote, they most certainly have the right to discuss political and other problems. And as the women of Japan want to be good citizens, they not only have the right to discuss labour, economic, and political problems ... but they have the duty to inform themselves so that they have intelligent convictions and intelligent opinions on the pressing questions of the hour.

Everyone is talking about democracy these days, so let us talk about the unmentioned but very important subject of Feudalism. Now my only concern at this time is with feudalism as we find it in the trade uion movement. Certainly it is a grave manifestation of feudalism of the Tokugawa Era when the men in the trade union movement regard the women and young girls as people "to be seen but not heard"!

Certainly it is a manifestation of the old-time feudalism when the men are happy to keep the women busy in their Womens' Section learning about Tea Ceremoney and Flower Arrangement.

I don't think there is any doubt but that many of the men who shout "feudalistic" at their employer might well look in the mirror next time they say that, for they are to various degrees feudalistic in their thinking.

This is nothing particular to Japan alone. In American, the history of the struggle of women for equal rights and for realization of the human dignity of women is a long story, and it has not yet been finished. We have unions which discourage the women from active membership. We even have one huge union made up mostly of women ... and men run the union. There are

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many reasons for these things, but certainly one of them is that many American men are, in a sense, still feudalistic in their thinking about women.

Therefore, Japanese women are taking part in an international crusade when they struggle to obtain equal dignity with men, and equal rights with men. My own personal observations here in Japan, made over a period of a few years, are that of Japanese as a group, the women seem to be outstandingly democratic. I have passed Japanese homes, late at night, and often heard the Okasan or the Obasan soundly chastising the husband for something he has done during the day. It is a peculiar matter, but although Japanese feudalism restricted women to the home, within the home there has been a good measure of democracy. And it is no secret that the average Japanese husband permits his wife to control the spending of the family funds ... an admission that the women have a better economic sense than do the men!

Now the function of women in the trade union movement is to transfer the limited democracy of the home out onto the streets and into the factory. Men have the same dignity as women, and vice versa. Women have an equal right to work for a living. Women have an equal right to vote. And women certainly have a right to be active and participating members in trade union!

And so I say to you that if the women of Japan are to be co-partners with men in building the democratic and bright New Japan, they must be recognized as co-partners, and treated with the dignity which should be theirs.

The problem facing the women trade unionists is the same as women trade unionists in any other country which guarantees the natural rights of women.

One problem is educating the men to treat the women with the respect and decency due them as human beings.

The other problem is that of educating the women so that they will increasingly merit that respect and decent treatment.

Now in most Japanese trade unions, we find either a Women's Committee or a Women's Section. In some cases, these women's sections have done exactly what the feudalistic men wanted them to do; i. e., to confine their activities to problems of sanitation, tea ceremony, and flower arrangement.

Many women resist active participation in the work of the trade union, for they feel that it is "none of their business". Believe me, if the trade union can play an important role in settling wage problems, if the trade union can play a part in determining whether or not a person will work, it is definitely of great personal interest to each and every woman worker who works for a wage.

How is this feeling to be overcome? How can blushing girls in the

factories be educated to the point where they will appear at union meetings, argue with the men, and outvote the men when the women know they are right.

How can we help the women to help themselves?

I think one of the major steps in this direction must be to relate the work of the trade union to the problems of women. Women should be just as interested in labour contracts and collective bargaining as the men. Women should be as interested, or more so, than men in such political action programs as public housing, rationing distribution, and control of black markets.

It seems to me that one of the outstanding jobs of the Womens' Sections and the Womens' Committees within the trade union movement is to provide the women with a sound knowledge of the trade union movement, and then through a series of activities slowly train women so that they will speak without blushing.

Specifically, one of the finest devices developed through years of democratic development in foreign countries is that called the "Discussion Group." A group of trade union women may agree to meet once a week, meeting each week successively in the home of one member of the group. The group should be kept small, say not over 10. At each meeting, one person serves as the chairman. They schedule a series of topics for discussion. Suppose that they plan to study the Trade Union Act, the Labour Standards Act, and the New Constitution. One woman is designated at each meeting to be chairman of the next meeting; she must then get busy and purchase a copy of the Trade Union. Another must purchase the Labour Standards Act, and so forth. At subsequent meetings, the woman or girl who has studied, then makes a brief report. She outlines the nature of the act and shows how it protects the rights of workers. This should take only ten to fifteen minutes. Then the Chairman asks each woman in turn, "What do you think?" As fast as one woman stops speaking, the chairman turns to another, and says: "And you, Mrs. Watanabe, do you think that is correct?" And again, "And Miss Sato, did you know that before?"

If small groups of women can be encouraged to start these small and very informal discussion groups, an hour a week devoted to this will in a few months train a small group of women trade unionists.

Another device is to start a small public speaking class. You can purchase copies of very excellent Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure Manuals at the Bookstore of the Central Labour College out in Shiba Park. If a group of ten young women are interested, they meet at night or on a holiday in their dormitory room, or in a classroom of the local primary school. The first few meetings would be devoted to practical discussion of public speaking. How should one stand. Should the speech be written out in advance, or is it better just to jot down a few notes... Have each girl give her ideas on the subject, and after a few meetings everyone is thinking about

speech making. They assign a topic for the next meeting -- say, "Democ[illegible] in Our Dormitory." Each girl must come prepared to make a three-minute speech on anything relating to the topic. Miss Sato is called upon by the Chairman, and after she has made her speech, the Chairman calls upon other members for criticism. One person says, "Miss Sato didn't look at us. She kept watching her notes." Another person says, "Why did Miss Sato keep twisting her fingers around her dress? It was very distracting." The next speaker is called upon, and after five or six speeches, followed by discussion, it is time to serve tea and assign topics for the next week.

One very important item is to select lively topics which are of interest to women. Topics such as "Women and the New Constitutions," "Women and the Political Parties," "Our Trade Union Movement," "Are Women's Physiological Holidays Really Necessary" and "Women's Rights Under the Labour Standard Act" will both give practice in speaking and at the same time inform the girls about many aspects of the trade union movement. Above all, avoid those highly theoretical matters such as "Culture in the New Japan" and "The Spirit of International World Peace ..."

If a group of young women begin to develop as competent public speakers, the next major step is to arrange for a public speaking contest. Three or four girls are selected (or are elected by their classmates) to take part in a public speaking contest. A good two weeks or a month in advance of the contest, the girls are given a topic. Again, choose practical topics such as "What Can we do to kill the Black Market" or "Does the Communist Party really represent the workers of Japan?" Each girl must prepare herself for the big event.

If possible, have the speeches given in a local primary school or in a large room, so that each girl will speak to a mixed audience of young men, men, and fellow women workers. Introduce the three speakers, and then one by one give them 15 minutes for their speech. At the end of the speeches, distribute small papers. Again have each girl stand up and identify her. The crowd then votes, and the girl getting the most votes is given some appropriate prize. Such contests can be repeated every three or four months. And if the women can produce good public speakers, you may even see the men starting public speaking classes, too!

Another technique is to produce a labour play. I have often visited Textile Plants and found the girls in the dormitories busy either writing a play or preparing to act in one. The Japanese seem to have a genius for the dramatic art, and of the sexes, the women seem to be better actors ... and this in spite of the fact that Kabuki is strictly for men only! Again, topics of a practical every-day nature should be presented. A group of girls may decide to put on a play showing the life in the dormitories under the militarists... For weeks, they write their 20-minute play, they practice it, and finally it is produced before the entire local Union. Perhaps other girls may present short acts, such as the singing of a song, or a popular dance. But in writing such plays, in producing them, the women are not only