

Educative

CS/HR/HR/zh

Interim Legislation for Educational Personnel

Govt. Section

CIAE

25 June 1948

2

1. Government Section concurs in the proposed law as interim legislation, provided that a clause is included therein to the effect that it is subject to the National Public Service Law and such local public service laws as may later be enacted.

2. Otherwise, as previously indicated, in advance of further research directed to the problem of overall bureaucratic reform, this Section believes that school systems should not be exempted from the provisions of the National Public Service Law or such local public service laws as may be enacted.

1 Incl.

Draft of Proposed Law.

G. W.

Government Section's file

11

46

DRN/MTO/ent

Subject: Interim Legislation for Educational
Personnel

Note No.

From CI&E

To: GS/Civil Service 22 June 1948
Division

1

1. The following text is proposed as the basis for drafting interim legislation as a stopgap measure until the law concerning the employment and dismissal of educational public officials is approved.

a. In accordance with Article 13, Supplementary Provisions, National Public Service Law (Law No. 120, October 21, 1947), the provisions thereof shall not apply to presidents, principals, major administrative officers, professors, assistant professors, teachers, and assistant teachers in national schools until a national educators' public service law has been passed by the Diet.

b. The provisions of the national public service law shall not apply to presidents, principals, major administrative officers, superintendents of education, professors, assistant professors, teachers, assistant teachers, and other professional educational personnel in prefectural and local schools.

c. In accordance with Article 14, Supplementary Provisions, National Public Service Law, the National Personnel Commission shall revise or abrogate none of the provisions of the laws and orders concerning school teachers which are valid when this interim law becomes effective.

d. This interim law shall become effective 1 July 1948.

2. A draft of the proposed law concerning the employment and dismissal of educational public officials is submitted herewith (Incl. 1) for comments and suggestions in order that necessary revision may be accomplished as expeditiously as possible.

1 Incl.

Draft of Proposed Law.

----- D. R. N. -----

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
CHECK SHEET

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

File No.:

Subject: Political Education Program

Note No.:

5

From: (continued)

To:

Date:

6. It is proposed that GS representatives regularly participate in conferences with leaders of Japanese organizations, in newspaper and magazine conferences, etc. Since the number of GS personnel is gradually being reduced as specific phases of the Section's mission are accomplished, it will be increasingly difficult for staff members to devote time to such participation, but all possible assistance within the limits of the Section's personnel resources will be given.

7. Some misgivings have been felt concerning the effectiveness of the League of Political Education as an information or education agency. Recently, however, administrative and personnel changes were made that have much increased the organization's effectiveness. Close observation of the League's activity during the past two weeks would seem to indicate that it might be very useful in effectuating a comprehensive political education program. The League proposes, moreover, to adhere closely to a plan of operation which will be approved by CI&E and GS. It is suggested, however, that close liaison be maintained with the League in an effort to guarantee its effective operation.

2 Incls: N/c (Incl 6 and 7)

CW
C. W.

From: CIE

To: GS

^{DB}
DRN/DB/JWG/JFS/emw
Date: 3 May 1948

6

1. The Civil Information and Education Section acknowledges receipt of Government Section's check note No. 5, and appreciates comment and recommendations concerning the formal Political Information-Education program.

2. As suggested in paragraph 1 of that check note, the program intentionally has been made sufficiently broad and flexible to permit expansion when necessary and concentration on new developments as they arise.

3. Regarding paragraph 5, CIE agrees that courses in civics and political science similar to those given in corresponding levels of American schools are desirable. A need for great attention to political and governmental affairs in the Japanese school program already has been recognized by developments in the field of curriculum and textbooks. The Ministry of Education and other appropriate agencies of Japanese education, under guidance of CIE, have established machinery for continued revision and improvement of curricular and textbooks. Recommendations of GS on this subject, which are concurred in by CIE, will be brought to the attention of responsible Japanese educational agencies.

10

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
~~FOR THE SUPREMACY OF THE ALLIED POWERS~~
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
CHECK SHEET

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

File No:

Subject: Political Education Program

Note
No.
6
(Con't)

From: (continued)

To:

Date:

4. A program of visiting consultants approved by the Chief of Staff provides for specialists in the social science fields, including political science. These consultants, some of whom have arrived and have been assigned to CIE, will work on special projects within these fields. All school levels are included. It is anticipated that the consultants' services will afford CIE an opportunity both to stimulate further developments along these lines and to accelerate plans for revision and improvement of materials.

5. With reference to the League for Political Education, mentioned in paragraph 7, CIE is devoting considerable time and effort to assisting the League in concentrating on democratic, constructive methods of political information and education. Because of the basic political structure of the League and the danger of its facilities being utilized for factional political purposes, CIE agrees to ^{continue} its close liaison with the League.

Incls
Withdrawn 2 incls—6 and 7

D. R. N.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

CHECK SHEET

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

File No.:

Subject: Political Education Program

GW/CLK/CIH/ef

Date: 12 Apr 48

Note No.:

From: GS

To: CI&E

5

1. Attached political education program, many phases of which have been operative for many months, is skillfully formulated and admirably comprehensive. It is presumed, however, that the program is not necessarily to be regarded as a fully complete or inflexible pattern of operation, but that it represents a broad base upon which a comprehensive and long-range program can be developed. Therefore, Government Section concurs in the program and urges full implementation with the minor exceptions noted in succeeding paragraphs.

2. Government Section understands that many physical and technical difficulties may make it necessary to carry out the program in successive phases. But because the various phases are closely inter-related, with the ultimate effectiveness of the program depending in some degree on the extent to which it can be carried out as an integrated whole, GS strongly urges that every effort be made simultaneously to develop the most important elements of the program.

3. The purge is virtually completed; the Japanese government recently announced that all screening committees will be dissolved on 10 May. However, discontinuance of the formal purge procedures assigns to the Japanese people direct responsibility for fulfillment of the Potsdam Declaration requirement that "there must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest...." It is imperative, therefore, that the people understand their responsibility as "police" to prevent re-emergence into public life of all persons adjudged unfit for public service.

4. The attached program proposes that attention be directed to the Political Parties Bill. At present no such bill is under consideration by the Diet, but if legislation relating to political groups should be enacted in the future, it is recommended that every effort be made to enable the people of Japan to understand its objectives.

5. It is recognized that some excellent political education materials are being used in the schools. In an effort to speed up the process of political education, the introduction of courses generally similar to the civics and political science courses in American schools is recommended. Even if this should result in greater attention to political and governmental affairs than is customary in American or European schools, this could be justified by the relatively greater need of Japanese youth for political education. Even greater use of visual aids to supplement political education programs in the schools is also recommended.

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
CHECK SHEET**

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

^{DB}
DRN/DB/emw

File No:

Subject: Political Education Program

Note
No.

4

From: CIE

To: GS

Date: 3 March 1948

1. Reference to the program of political education proposed in the basic communication, a copy is attached of a draft evolved out of discussions between personnel of the Civil Information and Education Section and such members of the Government Section as Mr. O. I. Hauge, Mr. G. J. Swope, Major R. A. Bieber, Dr. A. C. Oppler and Mr. A. R. Hussey.

2. Though CIE is of the opinion that the draft needs to be tightened up, particularly in the technical aspects of the proposed implementation, comment on it from GS would be very helpful at this stage.

3. Many parts of the program, it will be recognized, already are being carried out by CIE in conjunction with GS.

4. Special attention is invited to the proposal that the Democratic League for Political Education be used for carrying out an important share of the program. It is requested that GS give an estimate of the soundness of this organization and the degree to which it is likely to fulfill adequately the heavy responsibilities of political education.

7 Incls

5 w/d

6. Draft Plan for Political
Information-Education
Program

7. Plan for Coordinated Political
Information-Education Program

DRN

-D. R. N.-

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

CHECK SHEET

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

File No.:

Subject: Program of Political Education (Cont.)

Note No.:
2
(Cont.)

From: (Continued from page 2)

To:

Date:

2. The limitations of formal media of information in reaching the "grass roots" are recognized. The program to be proposed envisages the cooperation of Military Government teams on the regional and prefectural levels, in addition to the employment of ordinary media. At present, the following activities are underway:

a. A "Primer of Democracy" is in preparation under Ministry of Education direction, with guidance from CIE. Wide distribution is planned. English translations of chapters written to date are available for GS inspection in Education Division, CIE. Social Studies courses at the elementary and secondary level include materials which can be classed as "political education."

b. A program of Women's Organizational Activities is in progress, as shown in Inclosure 4.

c. The increased use of radio, as shown in Inclosure 5.

3. All organizations formed on a democratic basis, not created or dominated by individuals or political parties, will receive full cooperation in the implementation of acceptable programs to increase the political awareness of the Japanese people.

4. This section will continue its conferences with GS, as well as interested Japanese organizations and individuals, to further the planning of the program proposed;

5 Incls:

- 1 - (GS Tab A) w/d
- 2 - List of CIE press conferences with GS speakers
- 3 - List of CIE magazine conferences with GS speakers
- 4 - Summary of women's organizational activities
- 5 - Summary of political education - radio coverage

D.R.N.

D.R.N.

3

From: GS

To: CIE

Date: 1 Mar 48

Still waiting.

5 Incls: w/d

C.W.
C. W.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

CHECK SHEET

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

File No.:

Subject: **Program of Political Education (Cont.)**

Note No.:
2
(Cont.)

From: (Continued from page 1) To:

Date:

- a. Publication of "A Primer on the Constitution", written under the direction of the Ministry of Education with CIE guidance. (Coordination was effected with GS and copies of the publication have been forwarded.) Publication of three and one-half million copies of this Primer has been authorized; approximately 900,000 copies have been printed to date. Distribution to 7th, 8th, and 9th grade pupils, to all teachers, and to adult education activities presently is underway. The remaining 2.1 million copies authorized will be printed as paper becomes available.
- b. Materials on the Constitution have been integrated into the Social Studies courses for secondary schools. Five of the 24 units of the Social Studies course include instructional materials dealing with this subject. English translations of these materials are available for GS inspection in Education Division, CIE.
- c. Press conferences on the Constitution have been conducted by GS speakers, under CIE auspices, as shown in Inclosure 2.
- d. Magazine conferences on the Constitution have been conducted by GS speakers, under CIE auspices, as shown in Inclosure 3.
- e. An informational program on the Code of Criminal Procedure already has been initiated, details and progress of which have been reported orally to GS officials concerned.
- f. Since January 1946, programs of various types have covered the Civil Code. In May 1946, due to the imminent enactment of the Provisional Code, an intensified information program employing all existing media was instituted on a nation-wide basis. In addition to the formation of the Family Law Democratization League, discussion groups, forums, and newspaper-sponsored lectures were developed.
- g. A report covering information activities related to the May elections was forwarded to the Chief of Staff. It is understood that the report was made available to GS.
- h. The employment of such media as kami snibai (narratives illustrated by pictures), motion pictures, etc., has not been neglected.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

CHECK SHEET

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

CW/CLK/OIH/mvb ✓

File No.:

Subject: Program of Political Education

Note No.: From: Gov. Sect. To: CI&E Date: 12 Sept. 47

1. 1. Request that a comprehensive and integrated program of political education, based on developments in government indicated in attached outline, (see Tab A) be planned for dissemination through all available channels of CI&E.
2. The objective would be to present the Constitution chapter by chapter, illustrated by the organization and functioning of the Japanese government, courts, and laws today, to develop understanding of the practical operation of representative government.
3. So that the program will reach the "grassroots" of the country, it is suggested that means of dissemination in addition to all general information media be utilized, particularly the channels and the facilities supervised by the Education Ministry.
4. It is also suggested that such organizations as the League of Political Education for Democracy, the Family Law Democratization League, and similar education or cultural groups be encouraged and aided in preparing and developing intensive programs of political education.
5. Government Section is prepared to give every possible assistance to CI&E in the development of an over-all political education program.

Incl: Tab A

From: CIE

To: GS

CW
DRN/DB/JWG/JFS/sc
Date: 6 Oct 47

- 2 1. In accordance with request contained in paragraph 1 of basic communication, CIE will develop a formal, long-term program of political education and "democratization." Inasmuch as the contemplated program will involve so many media, organizations, and activities, it will not be feasible to present a draft plan before 15 November.
2. Attention is invited to the fact that certain aspects of a program such as that proposed already have been covered and presently are being covered, as shown below:

✓
Political
Education

Political Education Program

OS

CI&X

GW/CLK/OIH/ef
12 Apr 48

K
GOVT SEC

5

1. Attached political education program, many phases of which have been operative for many months, is skillfully formulated and admirably comprehensive. It is presumed, however, that the program is not necessarily to be regarded as a fully complete or inflexible pattern of operation, but that it represents a broad base upon which a comprehensive and long-range program can be developed. Therefore, Government Section concurs in the program and urges full implementation with the minor exceptions noted in succeeding paragraphs.

2. Government Section understands that many physical and technical difficulties may make it necessary to carry out the program in successive phases. But because the various phases are closely inter-related, with the ultimate effectiveness of the program depending in some degree on the extent to which it can be carried out as an integrated whole, GS strongly urges that every effort be made simultaneously to develop the most important elements of the program.

3. The purge is virtually completed; the Japanese government recently announced that all screening committees will be dissolved on 10 May. However, discontinuance of the formal purge procedures assigns to the Japanese people direct responsibility for fulfillment of the Potsdam Declaration requirement that "there must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest...." It is imperative, therefore, that the people understand their responsibility as "police" to prevent re-emergence into public life of all persons adjudged unfit for public service.

4. The attached program proposes that attention be directed to the Political Parties Bill. At present no such bill is under consideration by the Diet, but if legislation relating to political groups should be enacted in the future, it is recommended that every effort be made to enable the people of Japan to understand its objectives.

5. It is recognized that some excellent political education materials are being used in the schools. In an effort to speed up the process of political education, the introduction of courses generally similar to the civics and political science courses in American schools is recommended. Even if this should result in greater attention to political and governmental affairs than is customary in American or European schools, this could be justified by the relatively greater need of Japanese youth for political education. Even greater use of visual aids to supplement political education programs in the schools is also recommended.

9

1 MAR 48

Political Education Program

5 (continued)

6. It is proposed that GS representatives regularly participate in conferences with leaders of Japanese organizations, in newspaper and magazine conferences, etc. Since the number of GS personnel is gradually being reduced as specific phases of the Section's mission are accomplished, it will be increasingly difficult for staff members to devote time to such participation, but all possible assistance within the limits of the Section's personnel resources will be given.

7. Some misgivings have been felt concerning the effectiveness of the League of Political Education as an information or education agency. Recently, however, administrative and personnel changes were made that have much increased the organization's effectiveness. Close observation of the League's activity during the past two weeks would seem to indicate that it might be very useful in effectuating a comprehensive political education program. The League proposes, moreover, to adhere closely to a plan of operation which will be approved by CI&E and GS. It is suggested, however, that close liaison be maintained with the League in an effort to guarantee its effective operation.

2 Incls: M/c (Incl 6 and 7)

G. W.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD:

1. Preparation of this response to CI&E was delayed pending a reorganization of the League of Political Education for Democracy which will be extensively used in the development of the broad program proposed by CI&E.

2. For a time active direction of the League was in the hands of a former Diet member who was generally uncooperative and who failed fully to understand the broad objectives of the political education program formulated by the League. Even during the period of this man's leadership good work was done but it was not as effective as it should have been. Recently a new director was appointed and other personnel and administrative changes were made which have made the League a far more efficient organization. Soon after the reforms were completed, the League was asked to revise its over-all plan of operation in line with suggestions which had previously been made. The revised program was recently submitted to GS and to CI&E and for the past two weeks GS has been waiting to receive a full evaluation of technical aspects of that program. On 8 April we were informed that the various units of CI&E were reporting favorably on all aspects of the program and that the representatives of CI&E would be prepared to confer with representatives of the League and of GS on 12 April.

3. CI&E has supported the suggestion that GS reply be postponed until the League's program had been properly evaluated, especially in view of the fact that important phases of the attached political education program are already in operation.

8

OH
CIH

DRM/DE/ewr

Political Education Program

CIE

GS

3 March 1948

1. Reference to the program of political education proposed in the basic communication, a copy is attached of a draft evolved out of discussions between personnel of the Civil Information and Education Section and such members of the Government Section as Mr. O. I. Hauge, Mr. G. J. Swope, Major R. A. Bieber, Dr. A. C. Oppler and Mr. A. R. Hussey.

2. Though CIE is of the opinion that the draft needs to be tightened up, particularly in the technical aspects of the proposed implementation, comment on it from GS would be very helpful at this stage.

3. Many parts of the program, it will be recognized, already are being carried out by CIE in conjunction with GS.

4. Special attention is invited to the proposal that the Democratic League for Political Education be used for carrying out an important share of the program. It is requested that GS give an estimate of the soundness of this organization and the degree to which it is likely to fulfill adequately the heavy responsibilities of political education.

7 Incls
5 w/d

- 6. Draft Plan for Political Information-Education Program
- 7. Plan for Coordinated Political Information-Education Program

-----D. R. N.-----

3 From: GS

To: CLAE

Date: 1 Mar 48

Still waiting.

5 Incls: w/d

----- C. V. -----

*Political Education
Folder in General Whitney's
Office*

CW/CLK/OIH/AGG

Program of Political Education

GS

CI&E

9 Sept. 1947

1.

1. Request that an integrated program of political education, based on developments in government indicated in attached outline, be planned for dissemination through all available channels of CI&E.

2. The objective would be to present the Constitution chapter by chapter, illustrated by the organization and functioning of the Japanese government, courts, and laws today, to develop understanding of the practical operation of representative government.

3. So that the program will reach the "grassroots" of the country, it is suggested that means of dissemination in addition to general information media be utilized, particularly the channels supervised by the Education Ministry.

4. It is also suggested that such organizations as the Democratic Political Education League, Family Law Democratization League, and others be encouraged and aided in preparing programs for local meetings and in sponsoring discussion at such meetings.

----- G. W. -----

7

N
**BETTER INSIGHT SOUGHT
OF POLICEMEN'S DUTIES**
Nippon Times 7/27/4

**Lack of Understanding on Part
Of People Hit by SCAP Official**

A SCAP Government Section spokesman deplored lack of understanding on the part of the Japanese people of the fact that the police are now their servants and not masters.

He told a press conference yesterday it is essential that the clouds of misapprehension surrounding the Provisional Code of Criminal Procedure be dispelled to obtain the nation's cooperation with the law enforcement agencies.

He warned that the two extreme ideas that the police have full and final authority over the lives and the property of the people, and that the police have no authority at all, are "both false and injurious to the welfare of the community."

He said his conclusions are based on the "material appearing in the press" which evidently suggests the Japanese people as a whole do not fully understand the change from the old police state to the present status of a servant to the people.

DECLASSIFIED BY: 1052 SEC. 5(E) AND 5(D) OR (E) NNDG # 175 012

26 July 1947

MEMORANDUM TO MR. HAUGE

SUBJECT: Political Education

Unless an intensive, coordinated and continuous program of political education is begun in Japan, the present confusion and misunderstanding of the actual functioning of representative government will continue and defeat the objective of making Japan a democratic nation.

A review of monthly summaries and other records reveals that to date the people have been inundated with various presentations of the rights and freedoms they are supposed to get in this fine democracy, so successful in the western country of their conquerors. Most of the material has been presented in a skilled, professional stateside manner, which makes it reasonable to question: (1) how far it has penetrated the Japanese mind; (2) how much factual information they have acquired to enable them to operate a government of popular representation.

Observation would indicate very little, since the Japanese press admits the confusion existing in the minds of the people, MG Teams' monthly reports cites instances of it, and the naive questions asked by Diet representatives of GS members further illustrate complete lack of understanding of the new order.

To eliminate such confusion, GS, in cooperation with CI&E, should initiate an educational program to insure intelligent and effective operation of the new form of government in Japan so that it will become firmly enough established to withstand reaction or the infiltration of totalitarian ideologies when the Occupation ends.

The program will have the following objectives:

(1) Teach the people the safeguards of their rights provided by law, their own duties, and the duties and power of the Diet, the Assembly, the Courts, police, etc., under those laws.

(2) Clarify for representatives, judges, procurators and other government officials their duties and power under the new Constitution.

(3) Inform Military Government Teams of developments in Government so that they can advise local officials on procedure under the new Constitution and laws.

6

Such a program should not, as heretofore, consist of spasmodic releases on the activities of the divisions of GS, but should be planned to run for many months, with the Constitution as the integrating theme, since all the laws and reforms stem from the Constitution, and no one of them should be presented as a separate development.

It seems essential to have GS work continuously with CI&E, rather than leaving it entirely in the hands of that section, for the following reasons:

(1) To date, CI&E has not proposed such a program, although it should have been done long before the Constitution became law on May 3rd. Possibly, because CI&E is supposed to publicize the activities of all the sections of SCAP, it has had neither the time, nor desire - or lacked the vision - to get comprehensive information on the activities of a section so that a continuing, integrated program could be initiated.

The Section's unawareness of the importance of overall planning is further illustrated by its failure to understand the close relation of activities of GS division. The Constitution and Code of Criminal Procedure has been assigned to one member of the CI&E "dream" division; the Civil Code to another, as though each were a separate entity, entirely unrelated to the other. Whether CI&E has any plans for an information program on national and local government, or whether the Section is even aware of the vital need for it is unknown at the moment.

overlooking that each code is a expansion of chapter of the Code

(2) While CI&E undoubtedly has a great deal of creative talent available, they seem to overlook the importance of the intensive and continuing research essential to collect factual material as the basis for a sound program of specific information, and tend to produce superficial, generalized programs. In order to insure a specific program, this division, which is able to work with other GS divisions and learn day-by-day developments, should cooperate continuously with CI&E to insure a supply of appropriate material and adequate dissemination.

If the proposed program of political education is approved, decision should be made regarding:

Method of presentation, or "slant"

In presenting instruction on the operation of laws, institutions, and reforms so utterly foreign to the Japanese, the material, to be less bewildering and really informative should be presented in terms of what is familiar to the Japanese - the new order in contrast to the old. In discussing the Cabinet, for instance, its present genuine executive power should be emphasized in contrast to its former position,

when it was subservient to the Emperor, his special advisors, and the Privy Council. The changed relationship between cabinet ministers and the Diet should also be stressed - a point on which Diet members themselves apparently are not entirely clear.

Means of Presentation

Any GS releases on governmental reform heretofore have quoted "A SCAP spokesman said" as the source. Again thinking of a presentation in terms familiar to the Japanese, and in line with SCAP's policy of encouraging the Japanese to do as much as possible in building a new order, it is suggested that the program be sponsored by an all-Japanese National Committee of leaders in the fields of government, education, law, labor, commerce, manufacturing, publishing, religion, women's, etc. Numerous committees have been formed of Japanese eager to educate the people and at least one - the Constitution Popularization League - has worked with Government Section. But it is not clear if the League was supplied with comprehensive material by GS or whether an attempt was made by the Section to get regular and continuous publicity for it.

With the proposed National Committee, one member of GS would act as liaison with it, material would be continuously supplied, and an organized publicity program concerning its activities launched. For a further discussion of the organization and possibilities of such a committee, see attached.

Media of Presentation

Since the changed order in Japan affects every person in the land, we should bear in mind that the grassroots of the country must be reached. Of course mass media such as newspapers, periodicals, radio and screen will be used. But it must be recognized:

(1) That not all the people - and especially the conservative rural population - have access to such media;

(2) The treatment in such media is necessarily brief and may raise questions in people's minds which can be answered only through discussion or personal instruction. (Witness the attached clipping from today's Nippon Times). In order to reach as many people as possible, and make political education a subject of intelligent discussion in villages, towns and cities, channels in addition to mass media must be used.

Plans for such wide dissemination could be made through MG Teams, to reach local groups (Youth Associations, cooperatives, etc), through the Information Division of CI&E for special groups, such as the Family Law Democratization League,

through the Education Division of CI&E for inclusion in the Adult Education Program or Citizens' Public Halls, etc. It might also be possible to work out with the Education Division some plan for an essay or poster contest among middle school and college students, as one means of having the new order discussed in every home.

The foregoing suggestions are necessarily generalized. If the proposed program is approved, more specific and more comprehensive plans can be worked out than can be indicated in a preliminary report.

ALICE G. GORDON

2 July 1947

SUBJECT: JAPANESE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

The formation of a committee of leaders in various fields is suggested for the following reasons:

(1) The Japanese, as their own writers admit, follow leaders rather than philosophies or labels, the result of centuries of following old clan chiefs.

(2) The members of the committee would be sincerely interested in seeing representative democracy work in Japan. GS could indoctrinate them thoroughly and develop in them a true appreciation of democracy. Such an informed group could rally people to resist any reactionary or totalitarian influence which might threaten after the Occupation has ended.

(3) The members would be outstanding leaders in the field of government, education, law, labor, commerce, trade, manufacturing, publishing, religion, women's, etc. Not only would their names have news value, but their prestige would aid in communicating the purposes of the program to others in their fields and in sponsoring similar local groups throughout the country.

If such a committee is formed, it is essential that GS have a definite program for its activities. The committee will be no better organized nor more effective than the dozens of committees and groups formed to date unless GS works closely and continuously with it, furnishing material, suggesting activities, arranging through CI&E for publicity, etc.

Securing the proper personnel for this committee would be quite an undertaking, but it could probably be accomplished by securing recommendations from GS members who have worked closely with prominent Japanese and from CI&E. If a known liberal like Dr. Ikuo Oyama, for instance, would serve as chairman, he could doubtless enlist the support of other prominent and liberal Japanese.

The Committee should (1) be thoroughly informed on the operation of the new government and reforms; (2) be prepared to speak on radio programs or conduct forums on the air; (3) be prepared to address large or important groups who request information; (4) Get members in their own fields interested and active in the program.

The labor representative might request his national headquarters to pass information along to local unions and urge that the new government be discussed at one of the regular meetings. Of course, such a discussion will accomplish little unless definite information is in the hands of the chairman or a trained speaker is available to

JAPANESE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF POLITICAL EDUCATION - 2

answer the questions that will arise.

The theatrical representative might request theatres to help publicize the program through lobby displays or by other means.

The press representative might encourage newspapers to run editorials, informative features, question and answer box, etc.

The business firm representative might request other firms to hold employee's meetings for discussion.

The above suggestions are briefly presented just to indicate how such a committee could aid in a program of political education.

15 July 1947

MEMORANDUM TO MR. HAUGE

SUBJECT: Political Education

Unless an intensive, coordinated and continuous program of political education is begun in Japan, the present confusion and misunderstanding of the actual functioning of representative government will continue and defeat the objective of making Japan a peaceful, democratic nation.

The Japanese press admits the confusion in the minds of the people, Military Government Teams' monthly reports cites instances of it in local officials, and last week's first "free debate" in the House of Representatives proved the confusion existing in the minds of the representatives themselves.

To eliminate such confusion, Government Section, in cooperation with CI&E, should initiate an educational program to assure intelligent and effective operation of the new form of government in Japan so that it will become firmly enough established to withstand reaction or the infiltration of totalitarian ideologies.

The program will have the following objectives:

(1) Teach the people the safeguards of their rights provided by law, their own duties, and the duties and power of the Diet, the Assembly, the Courts, police, etc., under those laws.

(2) Clarify for representatives, judges, procurators and other government officials their duties and power under the new Constitution.

(3) Inform Military Government Teams of developments in Government so that they can advise local officials on procedure under the new Constitution and laws.

Before the comprehensive program is ~~started~~ Government Section teams, of two or three members, should visit Military Government Regional Headquarters to meet with the Legal and Government and CI&E officers of MG teams from surrounding prefectures for the following reasons:

(1) To explain how the national and local governments should function under the new Constitution.

(2) To explain the relationship between national and local governments.

(3) To discuss civil rights, the Civil Code, Code of Criminal Procedure, and court reforms.

(4) To explain the objectives of the purge and the actual procedure.

(5) To secure from MG reports of observed violations, inconsistencies, or confusion existing in local government.

(6) To inform MG of the proposed overall program of political education to be launched in September.

(7) To secure from MG information on the effectiveness of local groups (Youth Associations, Citizens' Public Hall, etc.) as one means of disseminating political information.

(8) To learn how much cooperation MG can give in initiating a local program of political education through officials, local cooperatives and societies, etc., in conjunction with a national program.

A program will be worked out later so that GS teams will make regular visits to MG teams in each prefecture, to keep them informed on new developments. However, for the first meeting it is recommended that they be held in each of the eight regional headquarters, with officers from surrounding prefectures in attendance.

It is suggested that the first meeting be held in Tokyo on August 5 and 6, with officers from the Tokyo-Kanagawa MG District and the Kanto MG Region (Niigata, Nagano, Gumma, Tochigi, Ibaraki, Saitama, Chiba, and Yamanashi Prefectures). The agenda will include the subjects mentioned above and sufficient time will be allotted for questions and answers.

The following schedule is suggested for two teams from Government Section who will transmit to MG Teams a briefly written outline of the important changes since May 3, and who will be prepared to answer any questions the teams may raise:

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

August - GS visits field

Comm. on Political Education formed.

September Committee announced through press and radio

Press conferences start

Weekly release (6) on National Government

October Continued press conferences

Announcement of school contest

Local government (6)

November Local Government continued

Courts

December Courts

Preliminary judging of contest

January Civil Code

National judging of contest

February Awarding of prize

PROPOSED PROGRAM OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

Government Section, in cooperation with CI&E, should sponsor a program of political education to assure intelligent and effective operation of the new form of government in Japan in the hope that it will become firmly enough established to withstand reaction or the infiltration of totalitarian ideologies.

Such a program would be successful if we could present the Constitution in such practical and specific terms that people would not say "How nice it sounds" but rather, "Let us make it work".

A title such as "This Is How Your Constitution Works," mentioned in all publicity, might be used to integrate the program. The Constitution should be presented chapter by chapter, illustrated by the organization and functioning of the Japanese government, courts, and laws today. The following outline briefly lists some of the points to be covered.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Executive - the Cabinet

1. Method of election of Prime Minister and appointment of ministers.
2. Executive powers, limited legislative powers.
3. Changed relation with the Emperor.
4. Relation with the Diet.
5. Relation with local government.

Legislative - the Diet

1. Highest law-making body in the land, no longer dependent upon and subordinate to the executive.
2. Every effort must be made to build up the prestige of members if they are to function as true representatives of the people and not rubber stamps for ministers.
3. House of Representatives - veto power, control over the election of the Prime Minister, the budget, etc.
4. House of Councillors - this popularly elected house must be publicized if the people are to know it represents them, and not, as the undemocratic House of Peers, the privileged classes.

Judicial - Supreme Court and lower courts.

1. Significance of the reorganization of the entire court system.

2. Method of appointment of judges.
3. People's power of referendum over judges.
4. Greatly expanded power of the Supreme Court.
5. Importance of the Supreme Courts' power to review of the constitutionality of all laws, regulations, or official acts.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. Changed status of governors, mayors, and headmen as popularly elected representatives.
2. Their responsibility to the people.
3. Their relation to national government.
4. Local assemblymen now have real legislative power, veto power, control over the budget.
5. People's power of recall and initiation of legislation.

CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

1. Safeguards furnished to people in the performance of arrest, or search and seizure, right to speedy trials.
2. Powers of procurators, judges, and police under the new code.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE CIVIL CODE

1. The rights and freedoms guaranteed the people under the new Constitution, not, as under the old Constitution "except as determined by law".
2. The equality of individuals under the law.
3. Change in family law.
4. Responsibility of the people to participate in representative government.

PURGE

1. Objectives of the purge.
2. Basis for the purge.
3. Actual operation through local and national committees.

POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Place in a democracy
2. Democratic Government Education Association.
3. Political parties law.

PROPOSED PROGRAM OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

"This is How Your Constitution Works," or a similar title to integrate the program in presenting the various phases of government operation.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT:

THE DIET (Chapter IV)

1. Highest law-making body in the land, no longer dependent or subordinate to the executive.
2. Members' prestige must be built up if they are to function as true representatives of the people and not as rubber stamps for ministers.
3. Democratization of procedures in both Houses: election of presiding and other officials; free debate, standing committees; public hearings and sessions.
4. House of Representatives - veto power, election of the Prime Minister, the budget, treaties, etc.
5. House of Councillors - now popularly elected representatives, undemocratic House of Peers; influence on legislation, comparison of voting power with that of House of Representatives.

THE CABINET (Chapter V)

1. Method of election of Prime Minister and appointment of ministers.
2. Executive powers, limited legislative powers.
3. Changed relation with the Emperor.
4. Relation with the Diet.
5. Relation with local government.

JUDICIARY (Chapter VI)

1. Significance of the reorganization of the entire court system.
2. Method of appointment of Supreme and lower court judges.
3. Popular Review of Supreme Court Judges.
4. Supreme Court's rule-making power.
5. Importance of the Supreme Courts' power to review the constitutionality of all laws, regulations, or official acts.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT:

1. Changed status of governors, mayors, and headmen as new representatives.
2. Relation of prefectural government to municipalities, towns, and villages.
3. Relation to national government.
4. Assemblymen's real legislative power, veto power, control over the budget.
5. Assembly's committees, which have authority to hold the government.
6. People's power of recall of representatives and initiation of legislation and the procedure for initiating such action.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE: (Chapter III)

1. Rights and freedoms are guaranteed to the people and not, as in the old Constitution, promised "except as determined by law".
2. The Code of Criminal Procedure specifies safeguards of the people's rights in the matter of arrest, or search and seizure, speedy trials, bail, etc., and indicates the powers of judges, procurators, and police.
3. The Civil Code further defines and protects the civil rights of the people: the equality of individuals under the law, the change in family law, inheritance, divorce, etc.
4. The power of the vote and control over representatives.
5. Duty of participation in civic affairs.
6. The objective, basis and actual operation of the purge, implemented in accordance with the statement in the Potsdam Declaration that: "There must be eliminated at all times the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest . . .".

POLITICAL PARTIES:

1. If the people are to use the ballot intelligently and never submit to an IRAA, they should be familiar with:
 - a. The basis of a sound political party.
 - b. The importance and functions of political parties in representative government.
 - c. Their influence on legislation and in governmental affairs.
 - d. The objectives of the Political Parties Bill.

PROPOSED PROGRAM OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

"This is How Your Constitution Works," or a similar title, to integrate the program in presenting the various phases of operation.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT:

THE DIET (Chapter IV)

1. Highest law-making body in the land, no longer dependent and subordinate to the executive.
2. Members' prestige must be built up if they are to function as true representatives of the people and not as rubber stamps for ministers.
3. Democratization of procedures in both Houses: election of members and other officials; free debate, standing committees; public hearings and sessions.
4. House of Representatives - veto power, election of the Prime Minister, the budget, treaties, etc.
5. House of Councillors - now popularly elected representatives, undemocratic House of Peers; influence on legislation, comparison of voting power with that of House of Representatives.

THE CABINET (Chapter V)

1. Method of election of Prime Minister and appointment of ministers.
2. Executive powers, limited legislative powers.
3. Changed relation with the Emperor.
4. Relation with the Diet.
5. Relation with local government.

JUDICIARY (Chapter VI)

1. Significance of the reorganization of the entire court system.
2. Method of appointment of Supreme and lower court judges.
3. Popular Review of Supreme Court Judges.
4. Supreme Court's rule-making power.
5. Importance of the Supreme Courts' power to review the constitutionality of all laws, regulations, or official acts.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT:

1. Changed status of governors, mayors, and headmen as new representatives.
2. Relation of prefectural government to municipalities, towns.
3. Relation to national government.
4. Assemblymen's real legislative power, veto power, control over budget.
5. Assembly's committees, which have authority to hold.
6. People's power of recall of representatives and initiation of action and the procedure for initiating such action.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE: (Chapter III)

1. Rights and freedoms are guaranteed to the people and not, as in the old Constitution, promised "except as determined by law".
2. The Code of Criminal Procedure specifies safeguards of the people's rights in the matter of arrest, or search and seizure, speedy trials, bail permitted, etc., and indicates the powers of judges, procurators, and police.
3. The Civil Code further defines and protects the civil rights of the people: the equality of individuals under the law, the change in family law, inheritance, divorce, etc.
4. The power of the vote and control over representatives.
5. Duty of participation in civic affairs.
6. The objective, basis and actual operation of the purge, implementing the statement in the Potsdam Declaration that: "There must be eliminated all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest . . .".

POLITICAL PARTIES:

1. If the people are to use the ballot intelligently and never submit to an IRAA, they should be familiar with:
 - a. The basis of a sound political party.
 - b. The importance and functions of political parties in representative government.
 - c. Their influence on legislation and in governmental affairs.
 - d. The objectives of the Political Parties Bill.

PROPOSED PROGRAM OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

"This is How Your Constitution Works," or a similar title, to integrate the program in presenting the various phases of operation.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT:

THE DIET (Chapter IV)

1. Highest law-making body in the land, no longer dependent and subordinate to the executive.
2. Members' prestige must be built up if they are to function as true representatives of the people and not as rubber stamps for ministers.
3. Democratization of procedures in both Houses: election of members and other officials; free debate, standing committees; public hearings and sessions.
4. House of Representatives - veto power, election of the Prime Minister, the budget, treaties, etc.
5. House of Councillors - now popularly elected representatives, undemocratic House of Peers; influence on legislation, comparison of voting power with that of House of Representatives.

THE CABINET (Chapter V)

1. Method of election of Prime Minister and appointment of ministers.
2. Executive powers, limited legislative powers.
3. Changed relation with the Emperor.
4. Relation with the Diet.
5. Relation with local government.

JUDICIARY (Chapter VI)

1. Significance of the reorganization of the entire court system.
2. Method of appointment of Supreme and lower court judges.
3. Popular Review of Supreme Court Judges.
4. Supreme Court's rule-making power.
5. Importance of the Supreme Courts' power to review the constitutionality of all laws, regulations, or official acts.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT:

1. Changed status of governors, mayors, and headmen as representatives.
2. Relation of prefectural government to municipalities, towns.
3. Relation to national government.
4. Assemblymen's real legislative power, veto power, control over budget.
5. Assembly's committees, which have authority to hold . . .
6. People's power of recall of representatives and initiation of action and the procedure for initiating such action.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE: (Chapter III)

1. Rights and freedoms are guaranteed to the people and not, as old Constitution, promised "except as determined by law".
2. The Code of Criminal Procedure specifies safeguards of the people's rights in the matter of arrest, or search and seizure, speedy trials, etc., permitted, etc., and indicates the powers of judges, procurators, and police.
3. The Civil Code further defines and protects the civil rights of the people: the equality of individuals under the law, the change in family inheritance, divorce, etc.
4. The power of the vote and control over representatives.
5. Duty of participation in civic affairs.
6. The objective, basis and actual operation of the purge, implemented the statement in the Potsdam Declaration that: "There must be eliminated all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest . . .".

POLITICAL PARTIES:

1. If the people are to use the ballot intelligently and never submit to an IRAA, they should be familiar with:
 - a. The basis of a sound political party.
 - b. The importance and functions of political parties in representative government.
 - c. Their influence on legislation and in governmental affairs.
 - d. The objectives of the Political Parties Bill.

Education

CONFIDENTIAL

ASR/EP/e

**Conduct of Public Opinion Surveys
by Government Agencies**

CIAA

Government Section

11 March 1947

2

1. Investigation of the subject contained in GCD intercept JP/OSA/38873 discloses that the use of the name of the Cabinet Deliberation Room, Public Opinion Institute, was unauthorized. The Cabinet Unit flatly denied the relationship, and a letter has been received from the Kyushu Public Opinion Institute confessing a misrepresentation and accompanied by a complete retraction of the letter sent by them to individuals and organizations.

2. This organization was aware of the contents of GCD intercept JP/FUK/13813 in regard to Shiga Prefecture, and the problems which it represents. The Japanese Government was notified through the Central Liaison Office and the Police Bureau of the Home Ministry that their actions constituted a violation of SCAP verbal notifications, and that a recurrence of such violation would not be tolerated. A similar case had already been reported by letter to this Section through the NS team in Fukui Prefecture on 4 November 1946. For action taken in this case see inclosure No. 1.

3. Acting on instructions contained in check note from the Chief of Staff, dated 29 May 1946, this Section has, on three separate occasions, given verbal notification to the Japanese Government concerning public opinion polls: On 1 June 1946, the Imperial Japanese Government was instructed to discontinue public opinion operations; because of violations in the prefectures, the notification was repeated and clarified in a conference on 1 August 1946; on 29 November 1946, the Imperial Japanese Government was notified that non-political polls could be carried on by agencies of the national government upon approval of each specific study by this Section. The substance of these notifications was included in a Command letter to CG, Eighth Army, and is contained in Eighth Army Operational Directive 85 (Revised), which is attached.

2 Incls

- 1. Ltr AG 014.13, dated 4 Nov 46 CIN
- 2. Eighth Army Operational Directive 85 (Revised)

-----D.R.H.-----

5

CONFIDENTIAL

**BASIC: Ltr, Fukui Mil Gov't Team, Subject: "Public Opinion Surveys",
dtd 4 Nov 46**

AG 014.13 (4 Nov 46) CIE 3rd Ind

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS, APO 500

16 Dec 1946

TO: Commanding General, Eighth Army, APO 343

1. The surveys covered by the reports from the police department of Fukui Prefecture and inclosed with basic communication, are considered public opinion polls on political matters and violate instructions issued to the Imperial Japanese Government as described in paragraphs 1, a and b of Operational Directive No. 85 (17 October 1946) issued by the Eighth Army.

2. The Imperial Japanese Government was notified verbally on 1 June 1946 that no studies of public opinion would be conducted by any agency of the national, prefectural, or municipal governments. (See Letter AG 014.13, dated 14 June 1946 CIE). The Imperial Japanese Government was notified again verbally on 1 August 1946 of the prohibition of government-sponsored public opinion surveys. Therefore, any activities of a public opinion nature carried on by any agency of the Japanese Government after 1 June 1946 are to be considered violations of these verbal notifications.

3. In a conference with representatives of the Imperial Japanese Government of 29 November 1946, further verbal notification was given that no studies of any kind, whether political or non-political, may be conducted by prefectural or municipal government agencies, although non-political studies by agencies of the national government are permitted.

4. The collection by police officials of intelligence essential to the maintenance of public peace and safety, as distinct from activities ordinarily associated with public opinion polls, is not a violation of the instructions contained in the verbal notification. Example: The collection of vital statistics and other essential data is not prohibited. Example: Attempts to ascertain public opinion on political or social problems or interrogation of individuals as to their opinion on these or related problems are prohibited.

BY COMMAND OF GENERAL MacARTHUR:

**5 Incls:
n/c**

0008
040
000.1

DRM/JT/GC/bd

Request for approval for meeting with
and lecturing to Japanese Diet Reporters

Chief, CI&E

Gen Sec'y, IMTFE
Thru: GS

20 Jan 47

4

1. Since CI&E and the Ministry of Education have responsibility for matters relating to all phases of commercial education in Japan, it is requested that a detailed plan of the proposed program be submitted to this Section which can be used as a basis for an expression of opinion. In the meantime, approval of the request stated in Check Note 1 above is withheld. If desired, conferences may be arranged with officials of this Section to discuss the proposed program.

2. Inasmuch as the above subject involves Diet personnel and facilities, it is considered proper that this correspondence be referred to the Government Section for whatever comment is deemed desirable.

----- D. R. N. -----

4
CIRCULATE

5

From: Govt Sec

To: IMTFE

CH/CLK/JM/RGB/ms

Date: 21 January 1947

Government Section concurs with request contained in Check Note No. 1, provided that compliance is made with CI&E requirements in Check Note No. 4, and that Government Section receive a copy of the proposed program.

----- C. W. -----

500

H

PA 8

CW/CLK/PER/WH

Nippon Agricultural Leaders' Training School

Govt Sect

CIE
Att: Major Arrowood

4 June 1946

1. Attached petition submitted for your information and consideration.
2. Request return with your recommendation.

C.W.

MEMO FOR RECORD:

1. Major Arrowood of CIE was asked whether Mr. Seitoku YASUOKA had been retained. His inquiries revealed that the Ministry of Education had ordered the Governor of Saitama Prefecture on 23 March 1946 to dissolve the school, since it was "run by the Kinkei Gakuin outfit" of which Yasuoka was merely a figurehead. No report of action by the Governor had been received however.
2. We therefore asked Major Arrowood to determine whether CIE wants this school dissolved or not and to advise us accordingly.

PIETER K. ROEST
Lt Col TC

CIRCULATE

275

3

Education

Understand 20 May

(W)

GN

Public Opinion Survey Activities of the
Imperial Japanese Government.

Govt Sec

CIE

20 May 1946

R

1. Concur in proposed directive.
2. Recommend that critique of plan not be dispatched, lest the Japanese use it as a basis for bargaining. SCAP's disapproval of proposed plan should be final.

C. W.

P.A.D. 513

2

205

D R A F T

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS**

AG _____ (____ May 46) CIE
(SCAPIN _____)

APD 500
____ May, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR : IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.
THROUGH : Central Liaison Office, Tokyo.
SUBJECT : Public Opinion Survey Activities of the
Imperial Japanese Government.

1. Reference is made to a plan submitted to the Civil Information and Education Section, this Headquarters, by the Public Opinion Survey Section of the Japanese Cabinet, dated 11 April, 1946, and entitled "Outline Structure of Local Offices for the Public Opinion Survey", in effect a plan for the establishment of an organization for the continuous survey of public opinion throughout Japan by the Imperial Japanese Government.

2. The reference plan is returned disapproved and the Imperial Japanese Government is directed to cease public opinion survey operations, including planning activities, which involve the method of querying individual citizens or groups of citizens, either directly by interview or indirectly by questionnaire, radio, newspaper etc appeal.

3. The considerations taken in evaluating the reference plan and in formulating this directive are stated in detail in the inclosure hereto. They may be summarized as follows:

(a) The past history of the Japanese Government's thought control activities is such that a government public opinion survey, entailing as it does prying into a citizen's social background and habits of mind, is likely to reawaken public suspicion of the government's purposes. In such an atmosphere, moreover, a survey agency can not obtain an accurate gauge of public opinion.

(b) The technical and organizational proposals made by the reference plan are superficial, incomplete, and

D R A F T

D R A F T

give evidence of dangerously faulty conceptions of survey techniques. It is the belief of this Headquarters that, with such an inadequate knowledge of modern surveying methods, the Japanese Government's survey could not be expected to ascertain public opinion accurately.

(c) Any surveys backed by an agency as highly-placed as the Japanese Government will exert a strong influence over the actions and attitudes of that Government and over the development of public opinion in Japan. The reference plan indicates that the Government's survey activities would not be capable of justifying that responsibility by obtaining a rigorously accurate assessment of public opinion.

4. This directive is in no way to be construed as an expression of disapproval of the principle of a government's holding surveys of public opinion in order to provide it with information, not otherwise obtainable, on the opinions, attitudes and wishes of its citizens. Such activities have been held successfully in the past by agencies of other governments and the information gained has been of irreplaceable value in helping to guide the actions of government officials and legislators. Their success, however, has been predicated upon a favorable, non-political setting for the survey, and the use of proven scientific techniques. As is apparent from the foregoing, it is the belief of this Headquarters that neither of these requisites would be present in survey activities held at this time by the Imperial Japanese Government.

FOR THE SUPREME COMMANDER:

1 Incl.:

Critique of Plan of the Public Opinion Survey Section
of the Japanese Cabinet.

D R A F T

D R A F T

Incl. to AG ___ (___ May 46) CIE, (SCAPIN ___):

Critique of Plan presented by Public Opinion Survey Section of the Japanese Cabinet dated 11 April, 1946, entitled "Outline Structure of Local Offices for the Public Opinion Survey."

1. The detailed considerations taken in evaluating the reference plan are as follows:

2. History of the Imperial Japanese Government's Thought Control Activities: These activities, pursued up to the end of the War, involved a continuous process of inquisitorial investigation into the public and private utterances of the people. The process produced social pressures that led to discontent and fear and, consequently, to distrust of the Government's purposes whenever it approached the subject of a citizen's opinions and attitudes on public matters. Public opinion surveying inevitably entails prying into the respondent's social background and habits of mind. The survey agency can hope to obtain accurate results only when the person queried feels that the agency will not use his statements either to compromise him personally or to foster any propagandistic or political purposes of its own. The past reputation of the Imperial Japanese Government in the general field of thought control is such that any public opinion survey activity carried out by it is likely to reawaken suspicion of its purposes in many quarters. In such an atmosphere, moreover, the Government survey agency could not be expected to ascertain public opinion accurately, no matter how adequate its methods might be.

3. Influence of a National Public Opinion Survey: The results of any surveys held by the Imperial Japanese Government and reported as such are certain to exert, and should, if they are to justify themselves, exert a strong influence over members of that Government, over Japanese information agencies and, through them, the people. Unless, however, the capacity of the survey justifies its influence, it can do great harm socially and politically by influencing persons in authority to courses of action at variance with the true temper of the Japanese people. Furthermore, it can to some extent guide the temper of the people themselves, by persuading into certain opinions that portion of the population, always large, which had been undecided or merely neutral. Faulty methods can

1
D R A F T

D R A F T

permit a survey to become a sounding board for false conclusions and for the activities of pressure groups. There is evidence that the reference plan is based upon an insufficient knowledge of modern scientific survey techniques to enable it to produce results that will justify its responsibility.

4. Technical Considerations: The plan deals primarily with the organizational and personnel aspects of a proposed nation-wide survey agency. Proposals in this category are impractical and give evidence of dangerously faulty conceptions of survey techniques. Plans directly outlining technique are superficial, incomplete and unacceptable.

(a) Local Survey Organization: The plan envisages the establishment of a branch office at each of the Prefectural capitals. Although a local organization is necessary to any large-scale survey agency, such offices must be established with reference primarily to the areas from which it has been previously determined samples of respondents are to be drawn and, only secondarily, to administrative and communication considerations. Without having first constructed samples, it is impossible to demonstrate that Prefectural divisions also represent adequate sample divisions, the criteria for determining which are not primarily geographic distribution, but rather cultural area differentiation, economic, educational and social characteristics, etc. From this point of view, it is probable that the plan provides for far too many local offices, and is therefore wasteful.

(b) Personnel: Under the proposed plan, one paid local representative is to be in charge of each local office and is to be assisted by a varying number of unpaid surveyors, or interviewers, who will be asked to do this work on a part-time basis while at the same time engaging in their normal occupations. The qualifications set up for the selection of personnel for these positions are inadequate to ensure that properly-qualified people can be obtained. The local representatives should have an adequate background in the social sciences, psychology and/or statistics. Surveyors should have some background in the social sciences. Furthermore, it is unlikely that anyone capable of the continuing and exacting work of interviewing respondents can be developed from persons working on a part-time basis at their own convenience for no pay, particularly under present economic circumstances.

D R A F T

permit a survey to become a sounding board for false conclusions and for the activities of pressure groups. There is evidence that the reference plan is based upon an insufficient knowledge of modern scientific survey techniques to enable it to produce results that will justify its responsibility.

4. Technical Considerations: The plan deals primarily with the organizational and personnel aspects of a proposed nation-wide survey agency. Proposals in this category are impractical and give evidence of dangerously faulty conceptions of survey techniques. Plans directly outlining technique are superficial, incomplete and unacceptable.

(a) Local Survey Organization: The plan envisages the establishment of a branch office at each of the Prefectural capitals. Although a local organization is necessary to any large-scale survey agency, such offices must be established with reference primarily to the areas from which it has been previously determined samples of respondents are to be drawn and, only secondarily, to administrative and communication considerations. Without having first constructed samples, it is impossible to demonstrate that Prefectural divisions also represent adequate sample divisions, the criteria for determining which are not primarily geographic distribution, but rather cultural area differentiation, economic, educational and social characteristics, etc. From this point of view, it is probable that the plan provides for far too many local offices, and is therefore wasteful.

(b) Personnel: Under the proposed plan, one paid local representative is to be in charge of each local office and is to be assisted by a varying number of unpaid surveyors, or interviewers, who will be asked to do this work on a part-time basis while at the same time engaging in their normal occupations. The qualifications set up for the selection of personnel for these positions are inadequate to ensure that properly-qualified people can be obtained. The local representatives should have an adequate background in the social sciences, psychology and/or statistics. Surveyors should have some background in the social sciences. Furthermore, it is unlikely that anyone capable of the continuing and exacting work of interviewing respondents can be developed from persons working on a part-time basis at their own convenience for no pay, particularly under present economic circumstances.

D R A F T

(c) Administrative: It is proposed that "if a local representative has no office of his own, the local office will be established in a Prefectural government" or "in a local newspaper office, news-service bureau, etc." and that surveyors will be officed in their "residences or their places of employment". No payments for office rent are planned. Such an arrangement is impractical. It means that the survey agency will impose upon other organizations, many of which have no relationship with the government. Moreover, the scattering of the local survey agency throughout a number of independent offices will result in a dissipation of its efforts and a loss of control over the activity and records of the agency.

(d) Training Plan: By the terms of the qualifications set up for the selection of local organization personnel, these officials are not required to have had prior training or experience in public opinion surveying, or even a suitable scientific or educational background in complementary fields. The fact that prior survey experience is not demanded is not itself a disqualification of the plan, since such experience is all but non-existent in Japan. However, this fact makes an adequate training plan and program all the more essential. The only references to training contained in the proposal are the statements that the local representatives will be convened for a course of instruction twice a year, that certain visiting liaison officials will help guide local office activities, that source books and other documentary materials will be made available, and that surveyors are to be trained by the local representatives. Inasmuch as there are not present in Japan personnel with adequate background or experience in modern public opinion survey techniques, it is apparent that the Cabinet Survey Section would be unable to train the members of its organization except after an extensive program of research into, and productive contacts with exponents of, modern scientific methods.

(e) Sampling: On this subject, the plan proposes that the Cabinet Section's main office will direct the total number of respondents to be drawn by each local office and that local representatives and surveyors will make up lists of persons to be interviewed on the basis of considerations of "profession, talent, sex, income, age, etc.", several types of such lists being prepared to accord with the subject matter of varying surveys. These proposals are superficial and inadequate. It

D R A F T

is true that the criteria for setting up an accurate sample are based upon certain obvious characteristics of the population which may be regarded as having an amlyzable influence upon attitudes, such as social class, income, type of occupation, amount of education, sex, age, etc., and these are ordinarily available in the census or similar sets of figures. However, the utilization of these criteria, their application to specific population groupings, and the construction of sample areas on the basis of them is a procedure that calls for highly informed methods, cognizance of which is not in evidence in the proposed plan. A properly drawn sample, in the experience of the United States and England at least, does not require large numbers of respondents. Conversely, no matter how large a sample is drawn, if any considerable proportion of respondents is improperly selected, the validity of the entire survey is destroyed.

(f) Method of Contacting Respondents: The proposal calls for reliance principally upon an interview procedure for contacting respondents, though answers will also be gathered through correspondence. However, no plans are presented for the conduct of either process. Specifically, there is no proposal concerning the training of interviewers or the conduct of interviews. Proper interview procedure involves a delicate combination of clinical techniques that are often difficult for trained men and usually impossible for untrained ones. The interviewer, by unduly influencing the answers, asking leading questions, by skewing the interpretation of an answer on the basis of his own partisan attitudes, can warp, or even destroy, the accuracy of the survey. As for answers received by correspondence, without a direct interview, they cannot give public opinion, and are often decidedly dangerous. The sample that produces them is a pseudo-sample, representing only that small part of the population that is articulate, i.e., that has strong opinions on the subject in question and wishes to make itself heard. Any pressure group can flood the sample and convert the survey into a dangerous house organ.

(g) Selection of Questions Asked of Respondents: No proposal is made for a method of devising questionnaires, and there is considerable evidence, from a study of past questionnaires devised by the Cabinet Survey Section, that^{is} is unaware of the problems involved. The process of preparing a set of questions to test opinions and attitudes presupposes an understanding and utilization of procedures for psychological testing, clinical interview techniques, statistical analysis and common

DRAFT

sense. Surveys are useless if they elicit only information that can be obtained from other sources, such as the census or the published results of an election. Before preparing the questions, the entire possible range of opinion toward the subject must be considered, and questions so formulated that they can, as efficiently as possible within the limited number asked, test the presence or absence, and strength, of these varying opinions. Questions should also be tested to ensure that they are clear, not so worded that they will give rise to extraneous emotional associations that may influence the respondent to give a tangential answer, and lead directly to a type of answer wanted that can be analyzed with the statistical means at hand.

(h) Statistical Analysis: The plan fails to indicate what method of statistical handling will be given the results collected. A questionnaire calling for a "Yes" or "No" type of answer, or the selection of a limited number of alternatives, could be analyzed with fair ease by competent statisticians working with a properly-drawn sample of limited size. However, even in such a situation, a considerable staff of statisticians, editors, etc. is required to put the results of the survey into articulate form. The work of analysis requires an even larger staff and the use of highly informed skills if questions leading to an essay type of answer are attempted.

DRAFT

Public Opinion Survey Activities of the
Imperial Japanese Government.

Govt Sec

CIE

20 May 1946

1. Concur in proposed directive.
2. Recommend that critique of plan not be dispatched, lest the Japanese use it as a basis for bargaining. SCAP's disapproval of proposed plan should be final.

----- G. W. -----
*Copy of subject memo in PA file
for perusal of Personnel interested
in same.*

Only one copy available

Shims

Circulation copy

Education

CONFIDENTIAL

HR
K
JM

CW/CLK/FR/WT

Clarification of Policy.

Govt Section G-2/CIS

16 May 1946

(2)

1. Reference is made to the following directives:

a. Memorandum dated 22 October 1945, subject: Administration of the Educational System of Japan, AG 350 (22 Oct 45) CIE (SCAPIN 178).

b. Memorandum dated 30 October 1945, subject: Investigation, Screening and Certification of Teachers and Educational Officials, AG 350 (30 Oct 45) CIE (SCAPIN 212).

c. Memorandum dated 4 October 1945, subject: Removal of Restrictions on Political, Civil and Religious Liberties, (SCAPIN 93).

d. Memorandum dated 4 January 1946, subject: Removal and Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Office, AG 091.1 (4 Jan 46) GS (SCAPIN 550).

2. Persons affected by reference d above are barred from all government service; those affected by reference c are excluded from positions under the Home and Justice ministries and from positions of responsibility under other ministries (at the national, prefectural and local levels); those affected by references a and b are excluded from the educational system.

3. Because of the very nature of the teaching process, exclusions from educational institutions extend to broader categories of persons than those affected by either SCAPIN 93 or SCAPIN 550. If such persons also fall under SCAPIN 93, they are excluded from certain other government jobs as noted in paragraph 2 above. If they fall under SCAPIN 550, they are excluded from all government service. This leaves a residue of persons who, although unacceptable in the educational system, are not barred from government service.

4. From the information at hand, it does not appear that Takenori KATO falls within the categories of undesirable persons defined in Appendix "A" of SCAPIN 550, or that he is affected by SCAPIN 93.

5. Under existing procedures, KATO, on assuming a new post, will file a questionnaire which, if passed by the Japanese Government,

CONFIDENTIAL

Circulation Copy

194

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Clarification of Policy

Govt Section

CIS

16 May 1946

(2) (Cont'd)

will be reviewed by G-2/CIS and by the Government Section. If, on the basis of his questionnaire or such other information as may become available, he is found to be subject to the political purge, he will be removed.

----- C. W. -----

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD:

Takenori Kato was dismissed from the Education Dept of Saga Ken because he had been an officer in the army. The policy outlined in Note No. 2 above was transmitted verbally to Lt Col Shindel (CIS/Compliance Br) on 14 May 46. The Note completes the record.

FRANK RIZZO
Major, CMP

C O N F I D E N T I A L