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Political Change During the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952): The Justin Williams Papers in the East Asia Collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland

George William Ware Jr.

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Geoffrey William Ware, Jr.
University of Maryland

Introduction

The Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952) has become a subject of major research interest for both American and Japanese scholars.* New books on the Occupation are constantly being published. New archival materials have also become available. One of these important sources is the collection of personal papers of Justin Williams, Sr., in the East Asia Collection at the University of Maryland's McKeldin Library in College Park. The Williams Papers provide the researcher with a unique approach to the study of the Government Section (GS) during the Occupation. The Government Section, created on 2 October 1945 by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) Douglas MacArthur, carefully monitored legislation in the Japanese Diet, kept SCAP appraised of parliamentary and political activity, and also strengthened the National Diet to function as the chief organization of state power under the 1947 democratic Constitution. Williams served throughout the Occupation, from 1946 to 1952 as chief of GS's Legislative Division. His private papers, donated to the University of Maryland Libraries in 1979 and housed in the East Asia Collection, reflect the strategic importance of Williams' position.

The East Asia Collection contains one of the world's most important holdings of Occupation era publications. Most of the materials that were once in the files of SCAP's Civil Censorship Detachment, Press Publication and Broadcasting Section, may be found in the Gordon W. Prange Collection of the East Asia Collection. These include copies of nearly everything that was intended for publication in Japan between 1945 and 1949. The Prange Collection consists of approximately 45,000 Japanese language books and pamphlets, an estimated 13,000 periodical titles, 12,000 different newspaper titles, and an array of censored materials.

The Justin Williams Papers increase the importance of the East Asia Collection even more. Any serious researcher of the Occupation of Japan visiting the Washington, D. C., area would do well to consider visiting not only the National Archives and the Library of Congress downtown, as well as the Washington National Records Center in Suitland, Maryland, but also the East Asia Collection in College Park, Maryland.

*The author of this paper wishes to thank Justin Williams, Sr., and Frank Joseph Shulman for their helpful comments. Japanese names appear in text in Japanese order: family name first.
Justin Williams, Sr.

Justin Williams, a former professor of History and chairman of the Social Studies Department at the University of Wisconsin in River Falls, joined the Army Air Corps in July 1942 as a first lieutenant. After attending the School of Military Government (SMG) at the University of Virginia in 1944, and the Civil Affairs Training School (CATS) at Yale University during 1944–1945, he arrived in Tokyo in September 1945 as a staff member of GHQ's Military Government Section, soon to be abolished. From December 1945 until July 1946, he served as a legislative analyst in SCAP's Government Section (GS). In July 1946, he became chief of GS's Legislative Division, a position he held until April 1952.

Description of the Justin Williams Papers

The papers of Justin Williams, Sr., provide an unequalled view of parliamentary, political, and constitutional change in Japan after World War II. As chief of the Legislative Division, he interacted with key Japanese politicians and GS officials who were intimately involved in making crucial decisions for Japan between 1945 and 1952. The Legislative Division maintained liaison with the Cabinet, the Diet, and the political parties, kept SCAP sections informed of pending legislation in the Diet, oversaw election campaigns and practices, and played a major role in effecting parliamentary change in the new National Diet. Williams reported directly to Major General Courtney Whitney and Colonel Charles L. Kades, the two most important GS officials.

Williams' memos are replete with notable "inside" information. They throw light on the several Japanese political parties, both left and right; on such Japanese politicians as Asanuma Inejiro, Nishio Suehiro, Suzuki Toshio, Miki Takeo, Sato Naotake, Matsumoto Takizo, Tokuda Kyuchiro, Nosaka Sanzo, and Ozaki Yukio; on the 1950 Diet Delegation visit to the United States; on the growth of Diet power; on the Purge; on Japanese figures like Ashida Hitoshi, Yoshida Shigeru, Matsudaira Tsuneo, Kanamori Tokuijiro, Shidehara Kijuro, Tanaka Kotaro, Nambara Shigeru, and Takayanagi Kenzo; and countless other topics.

In addition, Williams wrote numerous memoranda for the record on a wide range of subjects. Memoranda in the collection cover such topics as the 1951 Peace and Security Treaties, the 1947 Constitution, election laws and election field visits, the establishment of the National Diet Library, police reorganization, and political bills in the Diet such as the Local Tax Bill, the Diet Law Bill, and the National Public Service Law. The uncensored Justin Williams-Helen Loeb "Diet Reports," covering every Diet session beginning with the 90th in 1946, are valuable because of General MacArthur's personal interest in them. Each report went directly to him and constituted his main source of information on Diet activities during his entire tenure.

Researchers concerned with different shades of official Japanese opinion on the SCAP-proposed constitution will find of value the carbons of the Hearings of the Privy Council and the House of Representatives-House of Peers, in English, on that subject. Only six of these typed records were given to GHQ. Indispensable to students of the neglected latter half of the Occupation are Marcel Grilli's unpublished "Political Reorientation of Japan, 1949–1952" (9 chapters), and Frank Rizzo's monthly reports and weekly briefings for SCAP, April 1951–April 1952.
Williams' Collection contains his correspondence with leading GS officials. He wrote to and received letters from Courtney Whitney, chief of GS from December 1945 until April 1951; Charles L. Kades, deputy chief of GS from December 1945 until December 1947; Frank Rizzo, deputy chief of GS from July 1951 until April 1952; Guy J. Swope; Milo E. Rowell; Cecil G. Tilton; and Alfred C. Oppier and others. The Williams-Kades letters, dating from the early Occupation years well into the 1970's, constitute a useful historical source. These detailed letters discuss State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC)-228 and the nature of American post-surrender planning for Japan, how Occupation planning was actually put into effect, the drafting of the 1947 Constitution, the MacArthur-Whitney relationship, the Far Eastern Commission versus SCAP over constitutional revision, the role of Baron Shidehara in the discussions over the 1947 Constitution, and the intra-divisional rivalries during the Occupation. Williams also wrote to and received letters from leading Japanese such as Kanamori Tokujiro, Irie Toshio, Nakai Shoichi, Sato Naotake, and Takayanagi Kenzo. Williams' letters, in addition to providing historical data, supply the reader with a wealth of biographical information on Japanese and American dignitaries.

One of the more significant items in the Williams Collection is folder 128 containing the correspondence between SCAP and three Prime Ministers. In several cases, these 120 letters may be the only copies presently in existence. They cover such subjects as the Purge and appeals for depurging, economic measures such as the Coal Mining Bill, the 1947 Constitution, the food situation in Japan during 1945-1947, the annual budgets, police reform, the National Public Service Law, the Imperial Institution, Japanese labor, political corruption, elections, and lese majesty and the Penal Code.

Readers of the letters between MacArthur and Yoshida should come away with a feeling for the direct relationship between these men. Folder 128 also includes the letters exchanged between Whitney and Prime Ministers Ashida Hitoshi, Katayama Tetsu, and Yoshida Shigeru.

Historians on the Occupation of Japan will find additional items of interest in the Williams Collection. One of these is the MacArthur correspondence bearing on the 1950 Margaret Sanger birth control controversy in Japan. Other items include Courtney Whitney's 1967 chapter-length account of President Truman's dismissal of MacArthur, an August 1945 U. S. War Department list of Japanese who were considered friendly and trustworthy, copies of the Diet deliberations on the 1946-1947 draft Constitution, copies of the proposed amendments to the new Constitution recommended by the various political parties, copies of the 1944-1945 U. S. Army Civil Affairs training handbooks for Japan, and the 16 December 1947 GS memo for the record regarding the preparation of the draft Constitution. Williams' handwritten notes provide the researcher with a special insight into Courtney Whitney, the 1947 Constitution, E. Herbert Norman, SWNCC 228, and military government in Japan. The collection also contains the exchange of messages between SCAP and the Pentagon on NSC 13/2 and the National Public Service Law which show how MacArthur prevented the reversal of U. S. Occupation policy.

Organization of the Papers

The Williams' Papers are stored in 245 folders within 69 Hollinger boxes comprising 25.8 linear shelf feet. The number of the documents in each folder varies. Some folders contain only 2 or 3 items; others contain hundreds. With the exception
of a few copies of Diet minutes and proceedings in Japanese, the collection is entirely in English. Most of the material is in GS memoranda form with a sizeable portion of correspondence and press translations or clippings. The following chart should illustrate the collection's subject holdings:

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<tr>
<th>Subject of folder</th>
<th>Number of folders</th>
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<td>GS memos</td>
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<td>Occupation articles</td>
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<td>Memos on the National Diet</td>
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<td>CIES public opinion surveys and press analyses</td>
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<td>Japanese elections</td>
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<td>Far Eastern Commission</td>
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<td>Correspondence of Williams</td>
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<td>SWNCC 228 and Occupation planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCAP-Prime Ministers' Correspondence</td>
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</table>

The majority of the collection is on fragile onion skin typewriter paper or rapidly fading, brown, crinkling paper. Care must be exercised in handling most of the items. Acid free paper has been placed between each piece of paper to ensure maximum longevity for the collection. None of the papers has yet been microfilmed. Limited xeroxing facilities are available through the East Asia Collection. For a complete folder by folder description of the collection, see Appendix A of this paper.

Guides to the Justin Williams Papers

Several user guides to the Williams Papers are available. A starting point for the researcher is the calendar of the Williams Collection which contains an entry for every single item in the collection. An alphanumeric name/subject index guide,
a correspondence file with letters to and from Williams, a miscellaneous correspondence file, and a chronological index guide for every document enable the researcher to determine quickly what information is available and in which folder it can be found. Each guide entry indicates: the folder in which the document is located; the date of the document; the number of pages; and whether the document was typed, handwritten, signed, unsigned, et cetera. The entries also provide a brief description of the subject of the document. The back side of every document in the Williams Papers bears a file number for quick identification and retrieval.


For further information on these papers, including the hours of their availability, the possibility and cost of photoreproduction of individual items, and other matters relating to the papers, please consult Mr. Frank Joseph Shulman, Head, East Asia Collection, Room 3115 McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742. Telephone: (301) 454-2819/5459.

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**Notes**


2. In February 1948 the Legislative Division was renamed the Parliamentary and Political Division.

3. In August 1946 Captain Williams reverted to civilian status.

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<td>FEC: Miscellaneous material including Military Activity in Japan, March 1948; International Military Tribunal for the Far East, June 1949; FEC press relations, June 1949</td>
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<td>Civil Information and Education Section (CIES): Japanese Public Opinion Surveys, May 1948-June 1949</td>
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<td>CIES: Japanese Press Analyses, January -June 1946</td>
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<td>08</td>
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10 CIES: Japanese Press Analyses, July-December 1947
11 CIES: Japanese Press Analyses, January-June 1948
12 CIES: Japanese Press Analyses, July-October 1948
13 CIES: Japanese Prefectural Press Analyses, February-December 1946
14 CIES: Japanese Prefectural Press Analyses, January-December 1947
15 CIES: Japanese Prefectural Press Analyses, January-June 1948
16 CIES: Japanese Prefectural Press Analyses, July-October 1948
17 Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan, March 1946
18 CIES: Education Division: Education in the New Japan (two volumes), May 1948
20 United States Army Forces Pacific (AFPAC). Office of the Chief of Counter-Intelligence regarding SCAPIN 550, 1946
21 Economic and Scientific Section (ESS): Labor in Japan, April 1946-January 1947; Accomplishments of ESS, September 1949
22 AFPAC: Bonner Fellers' article on Japanese Psychology (undated); 1941-1946 AFPAC chronology regarding World War II and Occupation
23 GHQ. SCAP. Government Section (GS): Duties of GS; GS Administrative Memos, April 1946-February 1953
24 GHQ. SCAP. GS, Miscellaneous material including SWNCC 52/4, October 1945; Military Government (MG) vs. GS in Japan, October 1945
25 Copy of December 1936 U.S.S.R. Constitution
26 Professor Peter Kerzog's article on reform of Japanese Government, October 1945
27 Two POLAD messages from George Atcheson, Jr., October 1945
28 Paul DeGyarmathy folder, January-March 1946
29 Japanese Constitution: draft of by Matsumoto Joji and 1946 revision by
30 SWNCC folder: SWNCC 228 and SWNCC 228/1, November 1945-February 1946
31 GS and new Japanese Constitution, November 1946
32 GS meeting with House of Peers (HP) regarding new Constitution, October 1946
GS memo regarding new Constitution, February 1946

Comments of Japanese political parties and proposed amendments to new Constitution, 1946

GS report to the FEC, January 1946

Draft, amended draft, and final draft of new Constitution, 1946

Justin Williams (JW) and Harold S. Quigley's articles on 1947 Constitution

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GS: First contact with Diet, September 1946

GS. Public Administration Division. Political Parties Branch, memos, July-August 1946; Political Affairs Division, memos, August-October 1946; P.K. Roest's memos to deputy-chief of GS; Roest's memos for the record, 1946; Misao Kuwaye's memos for the record, 1946-1947

U.S. elections laws regarding political contributions, 1944-1946

GS: Progress reports on the Occupation of Japan, October 1946-December 1949

Articles on the Occupation of Japan, 1951-1973

Joint Press Conferences of GS and CIES, March 1947-August 1948

GS memos for the record regarding oyabun-kobun system, August 1946-October 1947

GS memos regarding Cabinet orders and SCAP, July 1947

Assorted GS memos and ATIS press translations

Helen Loeb and JW's memos for Courtney Whitney, March 1950-March 1951

GS. Parliamentary and Political Division (PPD): Subject Index of Laws enacted by the Japanese Diet, 1945-1951

SCAP Guest List of Prominent Japanese Officials, February 1952

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House of Peers (HP): Regulations of and Seating Order in; Duties in HC Secretariat, September 1950; Duties in HR Secretariat, September 1950; Diet Secretariat Law, September 1950

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JW letters and Diet Delegation Progress Reports sent to SCAP, January 1950-January 1951

Reaction of Diet Delegation visitors to U.S.A., March-July 1950

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Japanese and American press clippings on Diet Delegation visit to U.S.A., March-April 1950

GS news digest, September 1947-May 1948

Draft of Marcel Grilli's Control of Anti-Democratic Elements and The Political Reorientation of Japan, 1949-1951

F.E. Hays' April 1945 booklet on forces influencing the Japanese Cabinet, 1885-1945

GS memos for the record by F.E. Hays regarding HR Election Law, January-July 1947

U.S. Personnel Advisory Mission to Japan: GS memos on and activities of the Mission, December 1946; National Public Service Law, 1947

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Texts of Imperial House Law, Cabinet Law, and Imperial House Economy Law, January 1947-January 1948

C.P. Marcum, C.D. Avery, and Tom Diamantes' memos to C.L. Kades and Courtney Whitney, October 1946-June 1948

Career of Alfred C. Oppler, 1960

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94 GS: Roest's memos for the chief, November 1946-May 1947; memos for the record by F.E. Hays, C.P. Marcum and Tom Diamantes, July -October 1947

95 GS memos regarding Political Party Bill and Election Law, November 1946-September 1947

96 GS monthly reports, April-September 1951: Frank Rizzo's briefings for SCAP regarding current political developments in Japan, September 1951-May 1952

97 GS: Guy J. Swope's memos to the chief and memos for the record, October 1945-February 1948

98 GS memos on local government in Japan, April 1946-December 1951


100 Life magazine serialization of Whitney's MacArthur: His Rendezvous with History, 1955

101 Favorable reviews of MacArthur: His Rendezvous with History, 1955-1956

102 Whitney's account of Truman's dismissal of MacArthur, 1967


104 JW's personal notes regarding C. Whitney, E. Herbert Norman, Dr. K.C. Lubrick, Sanzo Nosaka; December 1946 conference at Dai Ichi Building with MacArthur, Yamazaki Takeshi, and others; JW's memos for the Chief, GS, November 1948-September 1951

105 JW-Harold S. Quigley correspondence, July 1947-March 1948

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110 Frank Rizzo folder: biographical information; memos on Cabinet Orders; Rizzo-JW correspondence, July-August 1974

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