Press Reform in Occupied Japan (1945-1952) The Records of the Press and Publications Branch, Information Division, Civil Information and Education Section of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers at the National Archives and Records Administration, Suitland, Maryland

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PRESS REFORM IN OCCUPIED JAPAN (1945-1952)
THE RECORDS OF THE PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS BRANCH, INFORMATION DIVISION, CIVIL INFORMATION AND EDUCATION SECTION OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION, SUITLAND, MARYLAND

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The 10,283 cubic feet of records of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) are housed in the National Records Center under the control of the Suitland, Maryland Reference Branch of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Several scholars, prior to the 1989 meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Region/Association for Asian Studies, have presented papers on various aspects of the SCAP records. This study, by examining and placing in historical perspective the records of the Press and Publications (P&P) Branch of the Information Division, Civil Information and Education (CI&E) Section of SCAP, hopes to increase scholarly awareness of this prime source material which illuminates a significant chapter in U.S.-Japan relations, albeit the material makes up a scant .012 percent (12 boxes) of SCAP holdings.

These records are a part of the direct evidence of General Douglas MacArthur's efforts to implement the direction and guidance of the Potsdam Declaration of 26 July 1945, clarified and expanded by the agencies of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC) and the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). The Allied Powers, in Article 10 the Potsdam Agreement, decreed that:

We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established.

The P&P Branch records also reflect, predominantly, the efforts of one personality, Major Daniel Carington Imboden, the chief of the P&P Branch, a central character in my 1988

'I would like to thank the personnel of the National Archives for the gracious assistance they rendered in the preparation of this paper. I would also like to recognize those members of the Suitland Reference Branch, especially: Richard Boylan, Maria Hanna, Victoria Washington, Benjamin Cooper, and Kenichi Hoshi, chief of the SCAP Project, who were never too busy to respond to my requests. I am grateful to Frank Joseph Shulman, Curator of the East Asia and Gordon Prange Collections, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, for his comments and criticism of this paper. His support is deeply appreciated.'
Before a detailed description of the contents of the 12 boxes is given, it is essential that the organization of SCAP and the history of the records it produced be understood.

On 2 October 1945, MacArthur, in a series of General Orders, formed SCAP from his own theater resources in the Southwest Pacific during World War II. He assigned to his United States Army Forces Pacific (USAFPAC) general staff (G-1, G-2, G-3, G-4) the additional duties of the SCAP general staff, and he created ten Special Staff Sections, all reporting directly to his Chief of Staff. The ten special staff sections were divided along functional lines according to their areas of responsibility. Each special staff section advised MacArthur in its particular field of expertise and supervised the Japanese authorities in their application and adherence to policy directives. The ten original special staff sections were the Economic and Scientific; Government; Civil Intelligence; Natural Resources; Public Health and Welfare; Legal, Statistics and Reports; Civilian Personnel; Civil Communication; and the Civil Information and Education, this last being the section within which the P&P Branch functioned. General Order No. 4 activated the Civil Information and Education Section to "advise the Supreme Commander on policies relating to public information, education, religion, and other sociological problems of Japan and Korea." While other parts of the SCAP structure changed to meet the changing conditions during the six and a half years of the Occupation, the CI&E Section, except for a few consolidations and internal changes, remained fairly constant. In general terms, the CI&E Section included five divisions: Information, Education, Religion and Cultural, Public Opinion and Sociological Research, and Administration. An Analysis and Research Division, headed by Collas G. Harris, was disbanded in 1947 after accomplishing the mammoth task of analyzing and reporting on the information channels to and from the Japanese media. In addition to the Press and Publication Branch, the Information Division included the branches of Radio, Motion Picture and Theater, and Policy and Programs.

The P&P Branch, headed by Major Daniel C. Imboden from November 1945 to May 1952, initially included six officers as well as several enlisted men and civilians. These personnel created the files of the P&P Branch which will be covered later in some detail.

Even before the Allied Occupation of Japan came to an end, Army screening teams in Tokyo were emptying the filing cabinets of the many individual SCAP offices and loading the documents into footlockers for shipment to the United States. The SCAP records on the shelves of the Suitland Reference Branch of the National Archives come from the material in these footlockers. Beginning in November 1951, when 1,159 footlockers were shipped from Japan, they made their way piecemeal to the Washington, D.C. Quartermaster Depot, Cameron Station, consigned to the Chief, Departmental Records Branch, of the U.S. Army's Adjutant General's Office at King and Union Streets, Alexandria, Virginia in a building known as "the Old Torpedo Factory." The shipments continued through November 1953, when the accumulated footlockers totalled 4,747. In 1958 the Department of the Army turned over these SCAP records, and the personnel who serviced them, to the jurisdiction of the National Archives. They remained at the Old Torpedo Factory until June 1968. During that ten-year period, they were divided and reboxed into 10,283 one-cubic-foot boxes. In June 1968 the records were transferred to the newly-built National Records Center at Suitland, Maryland, where they remain today.

Since 1979, in accordance with an agreement between the U.S. National Archives and Record Service (NARS) and the Japanese National Diet Library (NDL), an NDL team
consisting of four Japanese staff members (currently headed by Kenichi Hoshi), has been examining, classifying, and indexing the SCAP records, after U.S. personnel have screened them to insure that restricted items have been removed. The indexing process results in descriptive entry cards which are then filmed by U.S. personnel and made into two copies on microfilm reels, one for each party. Likewise, the original documents contained in the folders are also microfilmed and copies of the rolls of film are retained by each party. In Japan, the NDL is making microfiche copies of the product. This effort, called the "SCAP Project," has maintained its goal of processing 1,000 boxes each year. To date, it has indexed 9,615 of the 10,283 boxes (92.6%) of the SCAP records. The SCAP Project is expected to be completed by the end of 1990. Those engaged in the Project--both Japanese and Americans--perform a valuable service, as they enhance the preservation of vital source materials, and provide a useful reference tool for interested researchers. Masaaki Chiyo, former head of the SCAP Project, struck a resonant chord when he wrote, in his 1983 paper, "It is a historical irony the GHQ/SCAP records which are permitting us to cooperate in this project result from the aftermath of a war between these two formerly hostile nations."

While only a very small part of the SCAP files (the twelve boxes numbered 5252 through 5263 of records of the P&P Branch) reflect the considerable effort made by the P&P Branch as higher headquarters guidance was implemented in the fields of newspaper, book, and magazine publishing.

The P&P Branch records transferred from Tokyo originally were contained in (footlocker) Boxes numbered 1041 through 1045, part of a total shipment of 1,159 boxes. Some time in the late 1950s the folders were taken out of the footlockers and placed into the smaller Federal Records Center boxes which measured one cubic foot and then renumbered 5252 through 5263. The shipping lists are generally brief in describing the contents. The listing for Box 1041 reads: "Oct. 1949-Sept. 1951--Press Release to Japanese newspapers from USIS or Area CI&E Section." The listing of Box 1042 itemizes the contents as being: "Press Conferences," "Magazine Conferences," "Activity Reports," and "Anticommunist Reports." In Box 1043 the listing records: "Book Unit, P&P," "SCAP License Book Program (May 48-51)," "Application for Translation Rights of Foreign Copyright Proprietors, and General Correspondence with CI&E and NY Field Office of CAD (i.e., the Civil Affairs Division, Department of the Army)." Box 1044 includes: "Clipping of articles 1947-1949." And Box 1045's list mentions "Magazine Unit Activities 1950," "Reports," "General and Prefectural Release Lists," and "Magazine Conferences."

The NDL team expanded on the Shipping Lists and recorded the titles of each folder in all the boxes. The present paper explores further products of the P&P Branch in an effort to deepen an appreciation for the information in these files.

Boxes 5252 and 5253, totaling eighteen folders, contain five years of Press Releases to the Japanese press from September 1946 through September 1951. Initially the preponderance of releases emanated from the CI&E Section and reflected SCAP's concerns. Very shortly thereafter the United States Information Service (USIS) became dominant and the releases began to follow the Washington, D.C. line. Through these releases, one can follow the trends of the aims of the Occupation as they developed. The releases became especially important as the Cold War set in and the Americans engaged in psychological warfare for the hearts and minds of the Japanese people. The intensity can be appreciated by a study of the number and types of releases in the months preceding the Korean War. Whereas ninety-two USIS/CI&E releases during March 1950 were sent to the Japanese press, the number jumped to 134 during September 1950. Although the rise in propaganda against the USSR was evident as the Occupation progressed, it was mild
compared to the crescendo reaching a peak six months after the outbreak of the Korean War.

Box 5254, with seven well-stocked folders, is a veritable treasure trove. The first two folders include the early press releases from 11 October 1945 through August 1946, mostly from CI&E before the USIS began operations. Other folders in this box contain the records of the press conferences held from February 1948 through June 1951. The press conference was a highly successful communication technique developed by the Occupation to "educate" the Japanese newsmen through constant reiteration of concepts and attitudes in line with the thinking of the Western democracies. Occupation figures often found themselves on stage before the Japanese press, where fifty or more newsmen from the nation's capital gathered three to five times weekly. The numerous SCAP Instructions (SCAPINs), together with their authors or sponsors, were features of these conferences. Major Imboden, who usually chaired the conferences, occasionally injected American propaganda. At other times, he discussed democracy in the United States. Journalistic techniques recommended by Americans in particular found their way into the agenda. Current information, such as the progress of the war crimes trials, was dispensed regularly in order to implement the dictates of the higher authorities to increase Japanese awareness of their war guilt.20

There are thirteen folders in Box 5255, of which the first four include summaries of press conferences from December 1945 to March 1947, where a view of the early issues of the Occupation may be discerned. Two folders are devoted to conferences for magazine editors from 21 May 1946 through August 1948.

That the Japanese newsmen were not inhibited during these conferences is clearly shown in the following exchange:

Q: Are all Japanese publications subject to SCAP?
Imboden: No. We have attempted to assist the Japanese papers, and with some success, in proper reporting.

Q: So after all there is not such a thing as freedom of the press as far as Japan is concerned?
Imboden: That is a trick question and will not be answered. No reference can be made to that insulting and impertinent question in any Japanese magazine.

Q: That was not intended as an insult. I thought we had a license [sic] press rather than a free press in Japan.21

Daily and weekly activity reports from 10 October 1945 through February 1946 are found in other folders. Imboden is quite vocal and the researcher will appreciate the pressures on the occupationnaires as Imboden vents his frustration in these early reports.

Folder 8 in box 5255 contains anticommunist reports from April 1949 to October 1951. This folder seems to be out of place, since the other folders in the box include reports dated before December 1946, although Folder 13 includes activity reports from January 1949 to 31 August 1950, also seemingly out of place.

The twenty-three folders of Box 5256 contain materials relating to the second function of the P&P Branch—supervision of the licensing, translation, and publication of foreign books. The items in the first five folders are devoted to SCAP's issuance during 1948-1950 of foreign book translation and other rights to Japanese firms under the provisions of SCAP
Circular 12, "Admissions of Foreign Magazines, Books, Motion Pictures, News and Photograph Services, et cetera, and Their Dissemination in Japan," dated 9 May 1948. There were those in Japan quick to take advantage of these opportunities. And Japan was a prime field. For example, Sergeant 1st Class Richard B. Harris of the Troop Information and Education (TI&E) Detachment of the Far Eastern Command on 15 March 1949 successfully petitioned for a license to contract with a Japanese publisher for his book, "The Science of Baseball." On 25 October 1950 the well-known Dr. Immanuel Velikovsky petitioned CI&E for rights to have his book, Worlds in Collision, translated into Japanese and published.

It appears that CI&E had the world with which to contend. The British, Dutch, French, Italian, Soviet, and Swedish diplomatic missions petitioned to have their cultures adequately represented. The Soviet Mission Representative informed the CI&E Section that "the works written by V. I. Lenin and Stalin were allowed for translation and publication in all the countries of the world, including Japan, without payment of any royalties or author fees." However, the Soviets wished to be informed whenever CI&E (P&P Branch) permitted a Japanese publisher to translate and publish in Japan any of the books by these authors (Folder 12). In Folder 16 a very useful 45-page report by the Analysis and Research Division of CI&E, entitled "Comprehensive Listing of Books by Foreign Authors which were Translated into Japanese subsequent to November 1945" and dated 8 April 1948, includes 1,367 titles. A review of this list shows that the Americans were not dominant in that field even though the occupation of Japan was essentially an American undertaking. They contributed only 7.6 percent (104) of the titles. The French accounted for 350; German, 294; Russian 251; British, 194; and the Chinese and Italian authors trailed the American authors with 43 and 37 titles, respectively. All other countries totaled 94. Coordination with the foreign missions occupy several folders: Italy (Folder 8), Netherlands (Folder 9), Swiss (Folder 10), the USSR (Folder 12), France (Folder 14), and the UK (Folder 15).

P&P Branch telephone conference (telecon) transcripts with the New York Office, Civil Affairs Division, Department of the Army, are located in Folder 19. Other contacts with CAD (correspondence, book translation matters, and firm contracts) during the period 1948 through 1951 are included in Folders 17, 20, 21, 22, and 23. Folder 18, "Omnibus Letters, 1950," is impressive in the scope of the letters from all parts of the world. Direct correspondence with the Chief, Reorientation Branch, Secretary of the Army, are also to be found here.

Box 5257, holding thirteen folders, is labeled "Translation and Publication Program, 1948-1951" and seems to be a companion to Box 5256. It features general correspondence with the New York Field Office, CAD (Folder 6) and other correspondence from many different areas of the world (Folders 8 through 13). Folder 5 contains a survey of the books presented for the P&P Branch's review during May 1949 through November 1950.

Boxes 5258, 5259, and 5260 are special albums of clippings of newspapers and magazines in Japanese with English subheadings and dates. In Boxes 5259 and 5260 the clippings are affixed to pages laid open in a box about 4 feet long, 18 inches wide, and 4 1/2 inches high. The contents of Box 5258 include clippings from January to December 1949, while in Box 5259 there are articles from August 1947 to December 1948 and in Box 5260 from January to July 1947. Clippings follow the events just as the Japanese read them daily. In perusing these files, researchers might be surprised to discover the limited space available to the newspaper companies because of the newsprint shortage. Most daily newspapers consisted of only two pages on one sheet of paper, tabloid sized, about 11 inches by 16 inches. In these clippings one can find accounts of Major Imboden's activities, the arrival of the U.S. Education Mission to Japan, and even the activities of Sanzo Nosaka, a leading communist
figure, as he attempted to reconcile "Communist, Socialists and other leftist groups in a united front."

Box 5261 includes files relating to the third responsibility of the P&P Branch in the area of the Magazine reforms. This box contains thirty-four folders of extremely fruitful materials. As in some other boxes, the numbers placed on the folders are inverse to the normal chronological order. Thus the 1947 files are in Folders 28 to 34, the 1948 file in Folders 20 to 27, the 1949 files in Folders 11 to 19, while the 1950 files are in Folders 1 to 10.

The 1947 folders include the general and exclusive listings and releases to Japanese magazines from which can be discerned the tactics of the P&P Branch in targeting its audiences. "What Shall We Teach About the War" and "What is Americana" are two catchy titles of releases taken from the July 1948 issue of an American magazine, The American City (Folder 25, Publications report, 1948). The 1948 folders include releases from Australian and British sources as well. Telecon transcripts with CAD's New York Office, reports of magazine editor's conferences, weekly activity reports, and other master reports are sprinkled throughout the four years of the files. One can readily see Imboden's strong anticommunist bias in a speech he gave on "School newspapers" on 21 October 1949 to be found in Folder 12, labeled "Anti-communist, Pro-democracy Placement Reports." Also in that folder is a six-page report giving titles of articles and the magazines to which they were distributed. A typical release, "Kremlin's activities likened to those of Hitler" (USIS), suggests the tenor.

The telecon transcripts in Folder 19 further reveal the P&P Branch's initiatives: On 6 July 1949, in a letter entitled "Preparation and Dispatch of Radio," the Branch requested that to "help promote Kravchenko's book," the New York Field Office solicit comments of 500 to 1,000 words from Kravchenko to publicize his book in Japan as a "warning against the spread of Communism in Asia." Marking its awareness of "stateside" current events, the Branch also asked for several copies of book reviews from the Saturday Review of Literature, New York Times, Herald Tribune, Chicago Sun, and St. Louis Post Dispatch. And further, the P&P Branch requested sixty sets of promotional material for Civil Affairs teams, and seventeen copies of pocket-sized materials for display, presumably for the very important seventeen Civil Affairs Information Centers throughout Japan. The P&P Branch was obviously a primary route through which other SCAP sections reached the Japanese people. A researcher can infer from the records the manner in which all SCAP sections contributed to the "control" of the Japanese press (in this particular case, magazine publishing) as is suggested by one item in the biweekly report ending 30 November 1947 (Folder 17):

Releases: U.S. articles placed with Japanese magazines totaled 371 of which 86 were exclusive releases to selected magazines. 154 were special releases* and 131 were general releases.

The label "Master Report to Clippings-Magazine Unit Reports-1945-1950" in on Box 5262 which contains nineteen folders. The subjects of these folders generally parallel those found in Box 5261 except for the years 1946 and parts of 1947. Master reports of June-December 1947 describe the magazine world and follow its growing population and increasing circulation. Reported are the appearances at the magazine press conferences of

*Articles from blanket-cleared magazines which were recommended for placement by various SCAP sections and other articles of particular interest which received special handling but were not placed on an exclusive basis.
many personalities, both from within SCAP and outside, who sought to get their message across to the Japanese public. Frank Luther Mott, a War Department Expert advisor to CI&E and a noted professor of journalism, appeared on 1 April 1947. A report of this magazine conference includes his speech before the assemblage.23

On the 27th of the following month, Roger M. Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, made an address to about sixty-five magazine staffers. The Japanese reporters were not passive listeners. One asked, "Is it true that American white people tend to have a sentiment about Japanese people because the Japanese people in America settle in little communities together?" Another asked, "What about the House Un-American Activities Committee, what about its authority rights and activities? Is it democratic?" A copy of Baldwin's address is included.

Colonel Charles L. Kades of the Government Section appeared several times as he sought to educate the magazine editors on the intricacies of the New Japanese Constitution. The transcript of one such meeting on 24 June 1947 is to be found in Folder 7.

Folder 3 includes Imboden's reports of the numerous releases his Branch issued, among which is the July 1947 monthly report listing "How I Learned the Meaning of Love" by Helen Keller, published in the Josei Kaizo (circulation: 50,000); "Administrative Democracy" by Father Edward J. Flanagan,24 founder of Boys Town, Omaha, Nebraska, published in Amerika Kyoiku (circulation: 10,000); and "American Magazines as Interpreters of the Modern World" by Dr. Frank Mott, published in Ondori Tsushin (circulation: 25,000).

The twelfth Box (5263), labeled "Magazine Unit Activities, 1950," consists of eight folders with press clippings for the months of May through December 1950.

The products of the P&P Branch can also be found in other boxes throughout the SCAP files. Significant matters pertaining to the Branch are found in the files of the Administration Division of CI&E whose documents are included in Boxes 5059 through 5240. Here one can find the consolidated reports prepared for the chief of CI&E and higher authorities. Here especially one can sense the fervor of the chiefs of CI&E as they struggled to articulate the functions they believed they should perform. Here also are records of personnel actions that reflect the rapidly changing conditions which called for the changing of rosters, and a plethora of reports. From these files one can get a sense of the progress of the occupation, as for example, in Box 5059 where Lt. Colonel Donald R. Nugent, the CI&E chief, forwarded a "Memorandum for the Supreme Commander," dated 31 July 1946 which included this item:

5. PRESS: The establishment of a free and democratic press was furthered by requiring strict adherence to the SCAP Press Code of September 1945. It was constantly emphasized that the responsibility for the newspaper's editorial policy resides in the hands of management rather than in any pressure group, whether political party, labor union, or other organization.25

Annual summaries of accomplishments were required of all sections.

Also in box 5059 is a report dated 18 June 1949 by Major Imboden detailing his encounter with the top managers of the leading Tokyo newspapers regarding communist infiltration of their newspapers. Other memoranda of great interest, such as "CI&E Drafts of Duties and Functions," are included in Box 5061. Some P&P Branch staff visit reports are located in
Box 5076. Box 5116 contains Imboden's weekly reports, many of which are duplicates of those found in Box 5255.

In Box 5118 there is documentation of Imboden's role in the establishment of the Japan Newspaper Publishers' and Editors' Association in 1946 and of its products, the Canons of Journalism and the annual National Newspaper Week observances in 1948. The well-known Japanese journalist Susumu Ejiri, in response to a questionnaire I sent him in 1986, reported that the 39th annual National Newspaper Week Convention was being held in Osaka that year.

Many of Imboden's speeches are filed in Boxes 5122 and 5123. In Box 5147 there are copies of CI&E Weekly Bulletins which are especially helpful in understanding the times. One Bulletin, dated 15 September 1948, proclaimed "Major Imboden Teaches Democratic Journalism to Japanese Press" to kick off Imboden's initiative, the 10-day Press Institutes, which was designed to reach the newsman in the outlying prefectures. The Institutes were one leg of a three-legged strategy pursued by Imboden—the other two being Press Conferences and Speech-making—to influence the Japanese press to function in democratic ways.

There are other references to the P&P Branch activities throughout the entire 917 (5059-5975) boxes that constitute the CI&E contribution. In Box 5785, for example, a significant report, AR-295-IM-99-PP (for Press and Publication)-A-22, "Survey of Japanese News Agencies," (circa August 1946) was prepared by the Research and Analysis Division (CI&E).

Still others can be considered a part of this reported group. These include fifty-five Monographs, "History of the Non-Military Activities in the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1951" (stored in fourteen 4 1/2-inch-wide boxes) covering a range of subjects. Of special interest is Monograph 15, Vol. V, Civil Liberties—Part 4, "Freedom of the Press." The monthly "SCAP Summaries of Non-Military Activities" are also helpful in following the progress of the Occupation. Boxes 11 through 13 contain the reports of the early years—1946 and 1947.

In conclusion, I would like to make some comments. In 1983 John Mendelsohn reported in his paper that the condition of the records he examined ranged "from good to poor, with the majority being in fair shape," and he concluded that the preservation of those records range "from excellent to poor, with the majority of the records fairly well preserved." Although his categories are rather broad, they can apply to the state of the records in Boxes 5252 to 5263 of the SCAP records.

The records of SCAP evidence the existence of many unsung heroes and heroines whose exploits await telling by willing scholars. The scholar can breathe life upon these dry bones of facts and make them live to tell their stories to future generations who need to understand and appreciate the history that is theirs. Recently in a Japanese middle school discussion, a Japanese teacher astounded his pupils by declaring that the Americans and Japanese had fought each other only forty years ago. One bright student, recovering from the shock, raised his hand hesitantly and asked, "Sensei, who won?" Inherent in this study is the theme that common men do uncommon things. One such common man, Imboden, sparked a reanimation of democracy in a country that had had only some semblance of it previously. Were it not for Imboden and others like him, the Occupation might have followed a significantly different course.

Some researchers, skeptical of the MacArthur style, tend to fault the documents and suspect that they were sanitized—a history of SCAP written by SCAP adherents. But the
documents are worthy of being given careful consideration. The crucible in which the various documents were tested—from originator through a series of knowledgeable editors insures that, as far as practicable, the reports and other documents reflect the actual events and the feelings of the participants. But scholars do need to be suspicious and utilize their professional skills for careful research.

Lastly, the NDL and NARA specialists in the SCAP Project have made the SCAP files better understood, more accessible, and less formidable to interested users. Their work will be appreciated by all researchers for whom the first step has been made easier.

END NOTES

1 The National Records Center (NRC) is an activity of the General Services Administration (but operationally controlled by NARA) located at Suitland Avenue, Suitland, Maryland, consisting of a one-story building housing various offices atop a huge 20-bay lower facility, each bay the size of a football field containing stacks reaching fourteen feet to the ceiling. NARA at Suitland (a reference branch of the Washington National Archives) maintains its holdings of military and civilian documents, about 450,000 cubic feet of records, (including the SCAP records) in four and one half bays. The SCAP records (10,283 cubic feet) represent about two percent of the military and civilian records facility.

John Butler is chief and Richard Boylan is assistant chief of the Suitland Reference Branch, Boylan handling the military records and Butler the civilian. The two chiefs direct the work of about twenty archivists and technicians and they administer an inventory of an estimated 450,000 linear feet of documents. Boylan estimates that the military records for which he and his staff are responsible constitute about 250,000 linear feet. This would cover a distance of approximately 43 miles. Actually, the records occupy 1.7 miles, since they are tiered in double stacks. Butler estimated that each call for boxes involves a technician or archivist making a round trip of half a mile to secure the requested boxes. Sharon Fawcett, the chief of the Reference Service Branch, supervises the activity of three assistants, Victoria Washington, Benjamin Cooper, and Daycon Hogue, who coordinate the work of the researchers. A security element of two guards complete the staffing of Room 105 where the records are examined by researchers.

The individual to contact for the SCAP files is Richard Boylan. His telephone number is (301) 763-7410. The Suitland Reference Branch address is 4205 Suitland Avenue, Suitland, Maryland 20409. Mail may be received there or through the U.S. National Archives, 7th and Pennsylvania Avenues, Washington, D.C. 20409. It is advisable to call in advance. The Suitland facility is open Monday through Saturday, 8 a.m. to 4:15 p.m., but for Saturday visiting arrangements must be made in advance because personnel are not available to draw records. Parking is adequate and free. Except for Saturday, a shuttle bus runs from the Suitland facility to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. (From discussions held with Boylan and Butler during July-August 1989.)

2 The estimates of the bulk of the SCAP records vary. James J. Hastings of the Washington, D.C. National Archives and Records Administration, in a paper titled "A Survey of the Records in the National Archives of the United States Pertaining to the Occupation of Japan" (an unpublished revision of a paper he presented at the 1975 annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies), estimated that the SCAP records constitute
more than 10,000 feet (25 million pages)." To underscore its size, Hastings was wont to quote Professor of History John Dower who commented in an article in the Journal of Asian Studies: "Most scholars could not walk the length of the collection, let alone read it." However, Masaaki Chiyo, former chief of the SCAP Project at the National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, in a paper titled "Records and Related Documents from the Allied Occupation of Japan in the Washington, D.C. Area: The Program of the National Diet Library for Microfilming and Acquiring Valuable Research Materials," reported to the Association for Asian Studies in October 1983 that the same GHQ/SCAP files (RG 331) are stored in 10,283 Federal Record Center boxes (equivalent to 10,283 cubic feet). He estimated the total number of pages to be thirty million.


Copies of the above papers, available upon request from Frank Joseph Shulman, Curator, East Asia and Gordon W. Prange Collections, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742, are vital in understanding and appreciating the nature of this gigantic collection.

The terms "linear feet" and "cubic feet" are used to describe the bulk of the SCAP records. Both terms are correct according to compilers Frank B. Evans, Donald F. Harrison, and Edwin A. Thompson, "A Basic Glossary for Archivists, Manuscript Curators, and Records Managers," edited by William L. Rofes, The American Archivist 37, no. 3 (July 1974): 425.

I completed a Ph.D dissertation titled "Major Daniel C. Imboden and Press Reform in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952" at the University of Maryland at College Park in 1988. I used the SCAP records extensively in the research for that work.

3 The Potsdam Declaration had thirteen articles, of which the last eight were "terms." A copy of the Declaration is published in FRUS: Diplomatic Papers: The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference) 1945, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960, Vol. II: 1474. The Proclamation is also contained in Appendix A to a dissertation titled "Public Information in Japan under American Occupation: a Study of Democratization Efforts through the Agencies of Public Expression," written by John W. Gaddis at the University of Geneva in 1950. Gaddis, as a Lt. Colonel (Army of the United States) and chief of the Plans and Programs Branch (a sister branch of the Press and Publications Branch of the Information Division, CI&E), left the occupation in late 1949 and was one of the first to commit his experiences to print. Gaddis' title reflects the language of an early SWNCC 91 paper, "Control of Media of Public Information and Expression," which entered the SWNCC series on 7 April 1945. SWNCC 91 was removed from the SWNCC agenda in July 1945 and its precepts carried forward in a competing SWNCC 162 series, "Reorientation of the Japanese."

The SWNCC and JCS issued implementing directives that were eventually solidified in the basic SWNCC 162 series (SWNCC 162/4, 13 February 1946), and the JCS 1380 series, refined into a fifty-paragraph JCS 1380-15 paper, "Basic Initial Post Directive to Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for the Occupation of Japan," issued 3 November 1945. Actually, the guide for press reform was skimpy. SCAP was directed by paragraph 9 b, JCS 1380-15, to "establish censorship of the press" (for which the Civil Intelligence Section was charged), while fostering "freedom of thought" by disseminating democratic ideals and principles through "all media of public information." And in 9 e, SCAP was charged with "insuring freedom of opinion, speech, press, and assembly to the extent that the security of
military occupation and the attainment of objectives would not be prejudiced." This is, most assuredly, very general guidance.


4 At the University of Maryland at College Park in 1988 (See endnote no. 2 above.)

5 See Robert E. Ward and Frank Joseph Shulman, The Allied Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952: an Annotated Bibliography of Western-Language Materials, Chicago: American Library Association, 1974. The authors furnish a keen insight into occupation personalities and, through SCAP organization charts, the changing structure of the SCAP headquarters. Several other sections were added to the SCAP structure during the occupation, among which were the Diplomatic Section in 1946 and the Civil Affairs Section in 1950 which played an important role in furthering CI&E Section effectiveness in administering to the local press. Shulman places the Annotated Bibliography in its historical context in his paper, "Bibliographical Controls for Research on the Allied Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952: Current Resources and Critical Needs," in The Occupation of Japan: Impact of Legal Reform, the Proceedings of a Symposium Sponsored by the MacArthur Memorial at the OMNI International Hotel in Norfolk, Virginia, on April 14 and 15, 1977, edited by L. H. Redford (Norfolk, Va.: MacArthur Memorial, 1978: 184-200). Researchers using the SCAP files would benefit greatly from consulting this paper.

6 Korea was shortly to be deleted from MacArthur's responsibility. It must be understood that MacArthur had prepared to, and did officially occupy Japan on 2 September 1945, when he accepted the Japanese surrender aboard the USS Missouri. Initially, the plan of occupation had envisioned an occupation organization based upon the hundreds of military government personnel and units then undergoing training and preparation for overseas movement at the Civil Affairs Staging Area (CASA) at the Presidio of Monterey, California. But the suddenness of Japan's capitulation found the military government elements still in California awaiting transportation, and this caused MacArthur to press into service whatever personnel he could gather from his own resources. There were, however, a sprinkling of CASA personnel in the theater of war; with more and more arriving each day. In this connection, see Richard Tregaskis, "Peace Caught Us Napping," Saturday Evening Post, 29 September 1945. Tregaskis reported on the "confusion that was General MacArthur's Headquarters" during August 1945 and captures the spectacle as the influx of officers and men were hurriedly organized to administer to the imminent occupation of Japan. The history of CASA can be found in RG 338, Box 4, NRC.

7 In November and December 1945 Harris chaired a special CI&E Committee to investigate and identify all news services and newspapers in Japan. As he prepared to leave Japan in September 1947 Harris summarized the A&R Division's accomplishments and its growth from when it was "just an idea on paper and develop[ed] into a fully operational division today with a staff of nearly 250." He claimed that the A&R Division produced 1,748 reports as a result of research requests and 3,033 independent of such requests. This report is located in the Collas Harris Collection, Box 11, Folder 8, in the George C. Marshall Library, Lexington, Va. The A&R Division's reports received wide distribution in
the SCAP headquarters and were universally acclaimed. They were sought after by and sent to the agencies of the U.S. government responsible for policy matters in Japan.

Researchers should be prepared to encounter some difficulty in understanding the SCAP organization. The organization of CI&E in the months leading to a major reorganization in April-May 1946 was mercurial. As people arrived, they were formed into "sections" to address particular identifiable tasks and later regrouped into redesignated "units," "branches," or "divisions." With the formation of definable research, media analysis, and public opinion units, CI&E settled down for a time. A CI&E Section working chart dated 3 October 1945 featured a chief with an executive and administrative support unit, controlling elements of research (responsible for editorial review, public opinion survey, library and reference, and investigation and statistics); plans and operations (controlling the functions of education, religion, progress of occupation, youth, war guilt and anti-militarism, P.O.W. and demobilization, labor and industry, and women); radio; motion pictures; schools and organizations; and a press and publications unit (eventually headed by Imboden) which included the responsibility for the policies relating to Japanese newspapers, magazines, and books.

On 9 November 1945 G-1, USAFPAC (technically a support agency for SCAP) authorized CI&E which comprised 85 officers, 127 enlisted men, and 2 civilian spaces. CI&E was supported by G-2 Allied Translator and Interpreter Service (ATIS) personnel, other civilians, including Interim International Information Service personnel who formerly were Office of War Information (OWI), and Japanese nationals joining in considerable strength. The Press and Publication Branch roster listed the following:

- Major D. C. Imboden (CMP)—Executive Officer
- Capt. J. W. Henderson (SC)—Pictures and Art Officer
- Capt. E. J. Kraft (MI)—Magazine Writer
- Capt. M. P. Mitchell (WAC)—News Writer
- 1st Lt. I. R. Rosenbloom (WAC)—Book Subdivision
- 1st Lt. B. C. Shine (WAC)—Assistant Chief of Section
- Ens. J. R. Curran (USN)—Magazine Officer
- Cpl. H. Carter, Jr. (Inf)—Assistant Photo Chief
- Cpl. R. L. Green (Inf)—Assistant to Photo Group

Others in the Branch at the time were: secretary and principal stenographer, Ruth Gumbinsky (assistant to Rosenbloom), Joyce Jones, Kikue Yamamoto (Japanese national), principal interpreter Theodore Ohno and assistant M. Kim (Korean national), and stencil cutter, PFC Louis Belscher (RG 331, Box 5059, NRC).

Major (later Lt. Colonel) Imboden was an unlikely candidate for the job of reform. He was 52 years old when he undertook the task in November 1945 and had limited press experience as an editor before the war for a semiweekly newspaper in California. But through his dedication he became a commanding and pivotal figure among the Japanese newsmen and Americans in Japan.


10 For the sequential shipments, see SCAP shipping lists (DD Form 111, 1 October 1949), RG 331 (in ten 4 1/2-inch Federal Records Center boxes, NRC). For shipment to the Reference Branch, Suitland, see "Change of Holding Report (Archives)," General Services Administration - National Archives (GSA Form 6710, July 1967), dated 6 May 1968, which contains a listing of six bulk intra-transferral of records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, including "Supreme Commander for Allied

Some time during that ten-year period (1958-1968), the records were reboxed into the smaller (1 cubic foot) Federal Records Center boxes and renumbered. Researchers were permitted access to the (then) classified documents but under very severe restrictions—security clearances, notes not to leave the premises, notes to be subject to archival review and approval before use. The records were generally declassified in the 1970s (from discussions with National Archives staffers: John Taylor, Edward Reese (a member of the Army and, later, of the staff of the Archives at the Torpedo Factory), Wilbert Mahoney, Richard Boylan, John Butler, Maria Hanna, and Michael Musick, July-August 1989).

An 11 May 1989 Washington Post story reported approval for the creation of another National Archives building on the campus of the University of Maryland at College Park. It is expected that the SCAP files, among others, will eventually be transferred to the new facility, Archives II, sometime in 1994.

11 "Agreement between the National Diet Library of Japan and the United States National Archives and Records Service to microfilm the records of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers," dated 1 May 1979 (National Archives). There was, however, an initial agreement between NDL and NARS by which the filming of the files of the Government Section, SCAP, was completed in 1978. NARS has since been redesignated National Archives and Records Administration.

12 Actually, very few items have been removed and practically all the files have been declassified (see Chiyo, "Records and Related Documents from the Allied Occupation of Japan," (1983) (conversations with Richard Boylan, assistant chief of the Suitland Reference Branch (for Military Records), NARA at the NRC, July-August 1989).

13 See Chiyo, "Records and Related Documents..." (1983) for a detailed description of the process. In order to preserve the original records, the Suitland facility personnel have been replacing the folders with acid-free ones. Jennie Guibeaud, staff archivist (SCAP records), estimated that roughly about twenty percent of the 10,283 SCAP boxes were completed.

14 7 August 1989.


16 See SCAP Shipping Lists (Box 6 of 10), RG 331, NRC.


18 The USIS, formerly the Overseas Branch of OWI, became part of the newly-created Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, in the Office of William Benton, the Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural and Public Affairs, who assumed the functions of OWI when OWI was dissolved on 31 August 1945. The slow start-up of USIS support can be traced to the broader State Department-SCAP tussle for control of information in occupied Japan. That animosity carried over well into the Occupation. The relationship was disclosed publicly on 1 January 1947 when the Nisei Weekender, a Tokyo newspaper, carried a report, "Snafu in Tokyo," written by Captain Arthur Behrstock, a former chief of the Policy Division, CI&E. Behrstock had written an expose of the Occupation. "MacArthur," he said, "regarded Japan as his empire and resented any attempt to infringe upon his sovereignty," while the State Department officials in Tokyo "were placed in a humiliating kind of political quarantine." However, the two opposing forces managed to
establish a technical channel from Washington to accommodate daily USIS releases to the P&P Branch (USIA Training Document, "Background of the Information Program: Significant Dates," August 1953. See also Bruno, Chapter V. (Washington Guidance and SCAP Information Campaigns), "Press Reform in Occupied Japan," (1988)).


20 The impetus for the regularly convened press conferences, under control of the P&P Branch, can be traced to a 28 October 1945 staff study to the Chief of Staff in which Colonel Ken R. Dyke, then Chief of CI&E, made the Chief of Staff aware of the confusion that existed as SCAP staff sections attempted to deal individually with the Japanese press. The Chief of Staff saw the wisdom in Dyke's proposal and directed that CI&E Section be the only authorized channel for the dispensing of information to the Japanese press (RG 331, Box 5059, NRC). Two authors comment on this highly successful communication mechanism. Gaddis (in his 1950 dissertation) created one scenario: "The conference method is used from three to five time weekly when fifty or more correspondents ... gather in a CI&E conference room. There with Major Imboden as chairman, a specialist speaker from another section explains a particular phase of democratic reform or modernization...." (p.27); William J. Coughlin (a foreign correspondent accredited to SCAP), in his Conquered Press: The MacArthur Era in Japanese Journalism (1952), identified a successful venture: "By May 1946 the number of conferences began to drop off. The number of meetings which reached ... nearly forty a month, declined.... There were two reasons for this. The Japanese press, coming along rapidly under firm SCAP guidance required less explanation. The educational pressure of SCAP on the Japanese press was beginning to pay off" (p.36).

21 This exchange was taken from an earlier conference on 22 February 1946 (RG 331, Box 5255). For an appreciation of censorship in occupied Japan, see Marlene Mayo, "Civil Censorship and Media Control in Early Occupied Japan: From Minimum to Stringent Surveillance," in Robert Wolfe, Americans and Proconsuls: United States Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944-1952, 1984: 263-320, 498-515. The East Asia and Gordon W. Prange Collections at the McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, contain the censored publications from the Allied Occupation of Japan.

22 Sources include the Japan Publishers' Association, Free Publishers Association, and the files of the Press, Publications, and Broadcasting Division, Civil Censorship Detachment, G-2, SCAP (covering three censorship districts of Japan).

23 Frank Luther Mott, the Dean of the Missouri School of Journalism, reports on his role in fostering journalism education in Japan in "A Survey of the Japanese Daily Press as of April 1947," Journalism Quarterly 24 (December 1947): 332-38.

24 A Life magazine photograph shows Father Flanagan posing with the young Prince Akihito, Mrs. Elizabeth Vining, the prince's tutor, and Russell Durgin of the Education Division, CI&E. Father Flanagan was in Japan to aid child-welfare programs. He died the following year (Life, June 9, 1947: 48).

25 SCAP almost lost the fight to have management control the editorial policy of the newspapers. The circumstances surrounding the struggle for control of the Yomiuri Shimbun in the early days of the occupation is given in Coughlin, Conquered Press (1952),
chapter VII, "Fight for Control," and Theodore Cohen, *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal*, ed. Herbert Passin (1987): 240-59. Coughlin was a foreign correspondent covering the occupation, Cohen was a member of the Economic and Scientific Section of SCAP, and Passin was a member of CI&E.

26 RG 407 Entry 369, (The Adjutant General's Office), Administrative Division Operations Branch, "Foreign (Occupation) Area Reports," is another significant collection of SCAP records in which the P&P Branch's contributions may be examined. The "Japan" records are in Boxes 1674 through 2044. There are no finding aids for this collection.

27 See also Ward and Shulman, *Annotated Bibliography of Western Language Materials* (1974): 123. The authors describe each of the fifty-five monographs in some detail.

28 Written by Captain George R. Splane, an assistant to Major Imboden, and edited by Imboden and Imboden's superior, Don Brown, Chief of the Information Division, CI&E. Both Imboden and Brown entered Japan about the same time and served in their respective positions throughout the occupation. Splane went on to serve with the United States Information Agency and became chief of the Miami Branch of the Voice of America, a position he held from 1973 to 1980 (Correspondence with Splane, Miami, Florida, December 1986-October 1987).
