

The Establishment of the ROK Armed Forces and the Japan Self-Defense Forces and the Activities of the U.S. Military Advisory Groups to the ROK and Japan^{*}

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Abstract

After the end of World War II, the Republic of Korea (ROK), having gained independence from Japan, established a new ROK Armed Forces under the guidance and advice of the U.S. Military Advisory Group to the ROK. In Japan, against the backdrop of its Constitution which maintains that the nation will never possess a military, the outbreak of the Korean War prompted the expedited establishment of the Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) under the guidance and advice of the U.S. Military Advisory Group to Japan. In this way, the activities of the U.S. military advisory groups played a significant role in the creation of the ROK Armed Forces and the JSDF. Nevertheless, there were some differences in their activities in Japan and the ROK, because of the international and domestic political situations in which in the two countries found themselves, the intentions and motives on the part of the United States, among other reasons. Specifically, the two countries differed in their processes of accepting advisory groups, the U.S. involvement in the formation of the concept behind the establishment of a military force, the organization of the advisory groups, and their activities. In short, in the ROK, the military organization of a new nation had to be built from zero, and therefore, the U.S. military advisory group was proactively involved in all aspects of the establishment of the ROK Armed Forces, ranging from its organization, personnel, quartermaster's affairs, schooling and training, to its maneuvers. In Japan, on the other hand, out of consideration for its Constitution and Japan's sovereignty, the U.S. military advisory group, while keeping its activities in check, indirectly supported the establishment of the JSDF that would be suitable for a free and democratic nation and was contrary to the former Imperial Army of Japan.

Introduction

The end of World War II saw the rise of communism in countries such as the Soviet Union. Against this backdrop, the leading proponent of liberalism, the United States, set out two major foreign policy goals: to establish a market-centered liberal world economic order; and to contain Soviet expansion. In order to achieve these goals, the United States proactively extended assistance to other liberal states. The assistance was aimed at strengthening the military capabilities of liberal states and to build up their economic foundations. Through economic and military assistance,

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coupled with bilateral and multilateral military alliances, the United States endeavored to secure its influence, and thereby, stop Soviet expansion. In keeping with the 1947 Truman Doctrine, the United States started providing military assistance to areas outside of Europe. U.S. military advisory groups were dispatched to countries receiving U.S. assistance in order to develop their military forces and facilitate the smooth execution of assistance. Accordingly, the United States dispatched U.S. Army Groups to Greece, Turkey, and Iran, and on August 24, 1948, established the Provisional Military Advisory Group (PMAG) in the Republic of Korea (ROK). Subsequently, along with the completion of the withdrawal of the U.S. Army Forces in Korea (USAFIK) in late June 1949, the U.S. Military Advisory Group to the Republic of Korea (KMAG) was established, which played a leading role in the creation of the ROK Armed Forces. KMAG's activities spanned an array of fields pertaining to the ROK Armed Forces, including its formation, operations, schooling and training, and logistics. The ROK Armed Forces' creation and strengthening process led by KMAG was a process of accepting the practices of the U.S. Army Forces, such as its organization, tactics, schooling, and culture. The process of acquiring arms, equipment, and techniques that the ROK Armed Forces had never had before, the process of adopting methods of operating a vast military organization and a training system, and the process of applying and acquiring the tactics and doctrine of the U.S. Armed Forces were processes of transmitting and passing on U.S. "systems and values" to the ROK Armed Forces.

Conversely, in the case of Japan, the U.S.-Soviet Cold War spilled over into East Asia, causing U.S. policy to shift away from the demilitarization and democratization of Japan, to rebuilding and rearming Japan as a bulwark against communism. The outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950 thus led to the rapid rearmament of Japan. The establishment of the National Police Reserve traces back to the MacArthur order authorizing the Japanese Government to establish a national police reserve of 75,000 men. To this end, the United States adopted the "military advisory group" method with a track record of involvement in the establishment of militaries in Europe and in countries, such as Greece, Turkey, and the ROK. In particular, the U.S. military advisory group was proactively involved in the establishment of Japan's ground force, which has evolved from the "National Police Reserve" to the "National Safety Force" and to the "Ground Self-Defense Force." In short, the military advisory group proactively provided guidance and oversight in a variety of areas, including the formation, equipment and training of the ground force.

In this way, U.S. military advisory groups played a leading role both in the rearmament of the ROK, a new nation that gained independence from Japanese colonization, as well as in the rearmament of Japan fueled by the outbreak of the Korean War. Nonetheless, there were also differences between the activities of the two U.S. military advisory groups due to the differences in the international and domestic environments of Japan and the ROK. This paper hence compares and examines how the U.S. military advisory groups were involved in establishing the Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) and the ROK Armed Forces. It also sheds light on the nature of their respective establishment processes, namely, how the rearmament processes in Japan and the ROK, both led by a U.S. military advisory group, varied due to the differences in their international and domestic environments. In examining these questions, this paper focuses on the establishment of the ground force that the U.S. military advisory group was heavily involved in, both in Japan and the ROK.

KMAG's Role in Establishing the ROK Armed Forces and KMAG's Activities

The organization and transformation of KMAG

As has already been stated, PMAG was established in the ROK in August 1948 as part of the U.S. foreign policy. Subsequently, along with the completion of the withdrawal of the USAFIK in late June 1949, KMAG was established and continued to conduct military advisory activities for about 23 years until it was merged into the Joint U.S. Military Assistance Group-Korea (JUSMAG-K) in April 1971.

The legal basis of PMAG was unclear at the time of its establishment. It was thus decided that PMAG would be established comprehensively under the Executive Agreement between the President of the Republic of Korea and the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, concerning Interim Military and Security Matters during the Transitional Period, an agreement reached between the ROK and the United States on August 24, 1948. The Executive Agreement was concluded between General John R. Hodge, Commander of the USAFIK, and Syngman Rhee, President of the ROK, shortly following the inauguration of the Government of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948. The agreement stipulated that the United States would retain the authority to exercise operational control over the ROK Armed Forces and retain possession of military facilities until the U.S. Army Forces withdraw completely from the ROK. The agreement also set forth, among other items, that the United States would be responsible for training the ROK Constabulary.¹

Pursuant to the provisions of Article 1 of the Executive Agreement, PMAG was formed under the U.S. diplomatic mission in the ROK, with General William L. Roberts as head of PMAG. However, because PMAG was a provisional supervisory group for administrative purposes, its affiliation was transferred to the 5th Regimental Combat Team, one of the remaining USAFIK units in the ROK, in January 1949. This body with a limited role, PMAG, with troop strength of 241, laid the foundation for establishing an official military advisory group that would organize and train the ROK Armed Forces.²

Full-fledged discussions on the formal establishment of a military advisory group commenced after the U.S. policy was committed in writing in "The Position of the United States with Respect to Korea (NSC 8/2)" on March 22, 1949, namely that "there should be established in Korea forthwith a U.S. military advisory group, already in existence on a provisional basis." The U.S. Department of the Army finalized the March 30 policy to establish a military advisory group and sent this policy to the Far East Command.³ According to this policy, the purpose of the activities of the military advisory group would be to build up the national defense capabilities of the ROK, so that it can deal directly with external invasions and maintain domestic order, within the scope permitted by the ROK economy.

On June 28, 1949, the U.S. Department of the Army issued a final order on the establishment

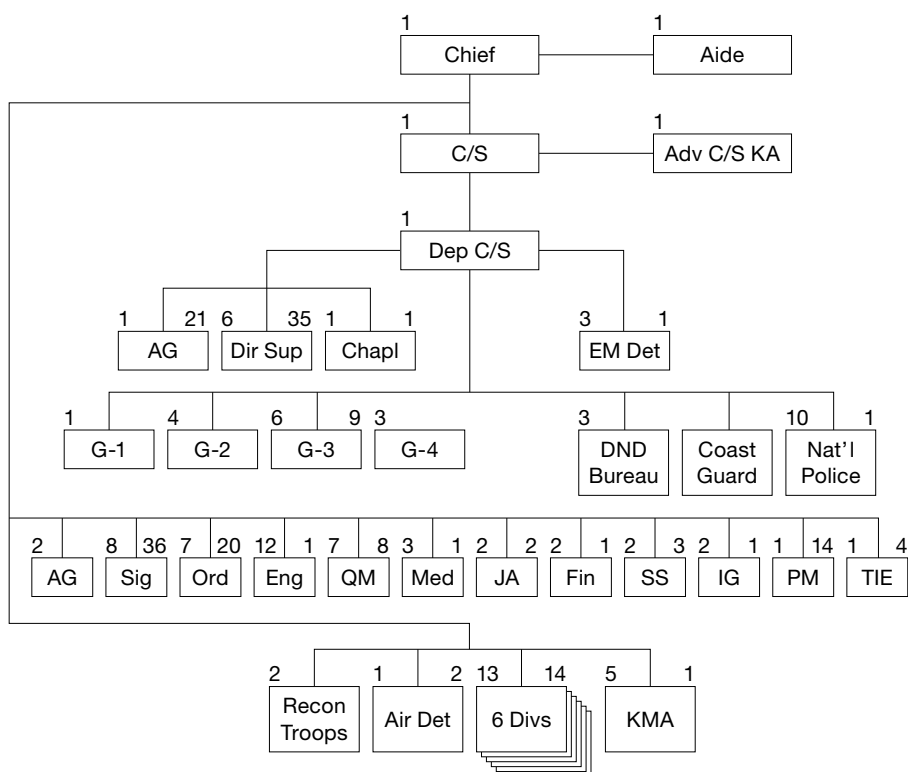
¹ Institute for Military History Compilation, Ministry of National Defense, Republic of Korea, "Executive Agreement between the President of the Republic of Korea and the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, concerning Interim Military and Security Matters during the Transitional Period," *The Treaties of National Defense*, Vol. 1, 1981, pp. 34-39.

² Robert K. Sawyer, *Military Advisors in Korea: KMAG in Peace and War*, Office of the Chief of Military History Department of the Army, 1962, p. 35.

³ "The Position of the U.S. With Respect to Korea (NSC 8/2) (1949.3.22)," *Korean War Series: Documents of the National Security Council 1*, 1996, p. 54.

and organization of a military advisory group. On July 1, 1949, KMAG was formally established under the vernacular name of the “8668th Army Unit.”⁴ KMAG consisted of 479 personnel in total: 186 officers; 1 nurse; 4 warrant officers; and 288 enlisted men. Approximately two months later on October 19, KMAG was reorganized and consisted of 472 personnel in total (181 officers, 7 warrant officers, 1 nurse, and 283 enlisted men). The revised table of distribution (Revised Table of Distribution No. 400-1734) went into effect on December 31 and remained valid until the new KMAG table of distribution was applied in March 1951.⁵ Figure 1 shows the table of distribution at the time of KMAG’s establishment.

Figure 1 KMAG Revised Table of Distribution (No. 400-1734)⁶



⁴ In general, units of the ROK Armed Forces are given a unique name and a vernacular name. The unique name is the original name of the unit that is given pursuant to a general order or the unit’s table of organization. For example, names following the style of “1st Division” are unique names. On the other hand, vernacular names are used to keep certain information confidential to maintain the unit’s security, such as the unit’s nature, organization, size, and equipment. The vernacular name is often represented as a four-digit number. Accordingly, the advisory group’s unique name is “KMAG,” while its vernacular name is “8668th Army Unit.” Later in 1951, the vernacular name of the advisory group was changed to “8202nd Army Unit” due to changes in its affiliation and organization.

⁵ Park Dong-Chan, “The Organization and Activities of the U.S. Military Advisory Group to the Republic of Korea (KMAG) (1948-53),” Ph.D. thesis for the Graduate School of Hanyang University, February 2011, p. 89.

⁶ Park, “The Organization and Activities of KMAG,” p. 90.

The officers assigned to the military advisory group were highly specialized and came from different branches of the military. With respect to the distribution of the branches, the branch that was most highly represented was infantry at 49%. This was followed by artillery (8%), ordnance (7%), quartermaster (6%), engineer (5%), signal (5%), provost marshal (5%), and others (15%). They can be further broken down into specification serial numbers, which were granted to each officer based on their area of specialty in connection with the execution of military tasks. Based on such analyses, 51 types of specification serial numbers can be confirmed in total.⁷ They included: infantry unit commander; operational training officer; detachment chief; adjutant and staff; HR officer; disbursing officer; exclusive adjutant; postal officer; strategic intelligence personnel; tactical intelligence personnel; inspector; supply officer; purchasing officer; provost marshal; civilian officer; signal personnel; ordnance personnel; construction engineer; combat engineer; medical personnel; judge advocate; accounting personnel; special services personnel; and troop information and education (public relations).

Analyzing the table of distribution and the actual assignments, the following observations can be made. First, the table of distribution indicates that out of the entire advisory group, 43% of officers and 30% of enlisted men were to be assigned to six army divisions. However, in actuality, 34% and 20% of officers and enlisted men, respectively, were assigned to the six army divisions as of December 1949, and 33% and 23%, respectively, as of June 1950. Thus, large discrepancies with the plan can be confirmed. Secondly, unlike combat units, a relatively large number of advisory group personnel were assigned primarily to the Seoul and Incheon metropolitan areas. Around 64% of officers and 74% of enlisted men out of all KMAC personnel worked in these areas. These observations elucidate that KMAC had a loose organizational structure at the time, and due to advisors' dislike of combat unit assignments, KMAC's activities gave priority to tasks, such as organizational realignment, education, and logistics, over the forward and backward tactics of the ROK Armed Forces.⁸

KMAC's involvement in developing the founding principles of the ROK Armed Forces

The ROK was absorbed into Japan as a result of Japan's annexation, suspending the history of the ROK Armed Forces for 36 years during the Japanese Imperial period. It is considered that ever since the ROK became independent from Japan after WWII, the founding principles of the new ROK Armed Forces were developed by taking the following points into account: recovering the history of the armed forces that was disrupted; and creating a military backed by continuous history and traditions. In this regard, the ROK sought to have the Korean Liberation Army, an organization which fought against Japanese rule and operated in China at the time, fill in the blank history of the period of Japanese colonization. The ROK wished to establish a military which maintained historical continuity by succeeding traditions passed down from the Korean Liberation Army, and which was grounded on traditions that have existed since the dawn of history.

Hence, the founding principles of the ROK Armed Forces have as their cornerstone, upholding the spirit of the anti-Japanese people's resistance movement during the Japan-ROK annexation period and creating a solid military of an independent state by restoring the strong will

⁷ Office of the Chief, KMAC, "Semi-Annual Report, Period Ending 31 December 1949 (RG554, Entry No. A-1 1355, Box 29)," Annex No. 2.

⁸ Park, "The Organization and Activities of KMAC," p. 100.

of the people.⁹ What did KMAG think about the development of the founding principles of the ROK Armed Forces? In the process of striving to establish a military, U.S. military administration authorities made proactive efforts to welcome personnel from the Korean Liberation Army that fought against Japanese rule in China. Furthermore, U.S. military administration authorities sent a liaison officer to the Korean Liberation Army to appoint its former personnel as head of the National Defense Command (predecessor of the Minister of National Defense). In this way, the United States reflected the public opinion and hopes in the ROK that the Korean Liberation Army forms the backbone of the founding of the military. It can be said that the U.S. military administration itself determined that the Korean Liberation Army needed to be placed at the center of the military-establishment process. For instance, in selecting the head of the National Defense Command, Colonel Lyle W. Bernard, who was in charge of the liaison work, described the selection of the appropriate candidate to the following effect—namely, that as the existing Korean Constabulary officers came from the Japanese army, Manchuria army, Chinese army, and other armies and made the military very complex, the (head of the National Defense Command) must be a person who can achieve harmony and solidarity among the military, in particular, among its senior officials, and at the same time, a person who is respected by not only senior military officials but also the public. Colonel Bernard indicated only General Yu Dong Yeol, a former Chief of Staff of the Korean Liberation Army, fulfilled these two requirements.¹⁰ Subsequently, General Yu Dong Yeol was officially appointed as head of the National Defense Command, and Song Ho Seung, former Chief of the Training Center of the Korean Liberation Army, was appointed Commander of the Korean Constabulary. In view of the fact that the National Defense Command and the Korean Constabulary were realigned into the Ministry of National Defense and Armed Forces, respectively, after the inauguration of the Government of the Republic of Korea, it can be said that importance was attached to the role and significance of the Korean Liberation Army in the founding of the ROK military.

The main activities of KMAG

(1) Control over the ROK Armed Forces

KMAG applied an operational method called “counterpart system” to the ROK Armed Forces in order to communicate the wishes of the advisory group to the ROK Armed Forces and control the ROK Armed Forces. Under the counterpart system, a KMAG advisor is assigned to work with the Minister of National Defense, Army Chief of Staff, members of general and special staff sections at Army headquarters, heads of technical and administrative services, division commanders, regimental commanders, and battalion commanders of the ROK Armed Forces, respectively, to help with their efficient execution of duties. With advisors working and carrying out activities alongside the personnel of the ROK Armed Forces, the system allows for mutual agreement and the giving of advice.¹¹ This system was partially tested out by the advisory groups to Greece, Turkey, and Iran, which were created prior to KMAG, but it did not have as much comprehensive coverage as in the ROK. There is no doubt that the counterpart system was an extremely effective system

⁹ Institute for Military History Compilation, *History of the Founding of the Military*, Ministry of National Defense, Republic of Korea, 2002, p. 39.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹¹ Sawyer, *Military Advisors in Korea*, p. 58.

for increasing the efficiency of operations command, through maintaining close relations between U.S. advisors and commanders of the ROK Armed Forces. Nevertheless, to make maximum use of this system, KMAC needed to increase the number of advisors relative to the expansion of the ROK Armed Forces. In this regard, this system proved to be more effective during the Korean War, when the number of advisors increased in the presence of U.S. combat troops, than before the outbreak of the Korean War.¹²

(2) Guiding the training and education of the ROK Armed Forces

The ROK Armed Forces made quantitative increases in a short period of time under the Constabulary buildup policy of the United States and the ROK Government's independent troop enhancements. For instance, eight divisions with approximately 100,000 personnel were formally formed between May and June 1949. As a result, the challenge for the time being for the ROK Armed Forces was to secure quality standards that would be able to support this short-term rapid expansion. KMAC's mission was hence to first guide and supervise the systematic trainings of the ROK Armed Forces. KMAC's guidance for the trainings of the ROK Armed Forces may be divided into the following main types: the establishment and enforcement of systematic training programs for the divisions of the ROK Armed Forces; guidance provided through the founding of military schools; and guidance provided through officers' overseas studies, among other approaches. In summary, KMAC's guidance was directed at strengthening the tactical training of units and education for the cultivation of commanders.

In general, tactical training is carried out to ensure the most effective implementation of operations and combat. KMAC conducted tactical trainings that were very broad in scope, ranging from basic trainings, such as trainings on the use of firearms, map reading, reconnaissance, and patrol surveillance, to unit-level tactical trainings for platoons and higher-level units. Initially, KMAC dispatched inspection teams to each division to conduct the trainings. The inspection teams evaluated based on the proficiency level of the ROK Armed Forces that the forces had insufficient trainings on basic processes.¹³ Therefore, it was decided that KMAC would apply the U.S. Army Forces' Mobilization Training Program (MTP) 7-1 used at the time of WWII to the trainings of the ROK Armed Forces. The training program was divided into two stages. In the first stage, tactical training for squads, platoons, and squadrons was to be conducted from June 21 to September 15, 1949. In the second stage, tactical training for battalions and regiments was to be conducted from September 16 to December 31, 1949.¹⁴ KMAC, however, was unable to carry out the training program on schedule due to a variety of reasons, including scarce training facilities, difficulties securing lands suitable for training, a shortage of ROK trainers, inadequate arms and equipment, South-North confrontations at the 38th parallel, and anti-guerilla operations from behind.

Due to setbacks with the training program in the first stage, KMAC formulated a new program called the "1950 Four-Stage Year-Round Training." The components of this program included: Stage 1 (January 1–March 31, 1950): battalion trainings (including an eight-day open battle training); Stage 2 (April 1–June 30, 1950): regiment trainings; Stage 3 (July 1–September

¹² Park, "The Organization and Activities of KMAC," p. 106.

¹³ Sawyer, *Military Advisors in Korea*, p. 69.

¹⁴ Office of the Chief, KMAC, "Status of Training KA, Semi-Annual Report, Period 1 Jan. 1950-30 June 1950 (Annex No. V, Box 29, Entry No. A-1 1355)," RG554.

30, 1950): division-level combined arms trainings; and Stage 4 (October 1–December 31, 1950): maneuver trainings of various scales. But the new training program too failed to proceed on schedule for the aforementioned reasons, among other factors. KMAC thus rearranged the program to hold battalion trainings by June 1, 1950 and regiment trainings by September 1950. However, by June 15, the day that the Korean War broke out, no more than a total of 16 battalions had completed battalion training. Of the units that remained, 30 battalions had finally completed squadron training, and moreover, 17 battalions were unable to complete even platoon training. Accordingly, KMAC extended the completion date of battalion trainings to July 31, 1950 and regiment trainings to October 31, 1950.¹⁵ As such, the training programs that KMAC developed for the ROK Armed Forces were unable to proceed as planned due to an array of setbacks. Nonetheless, there was significance in the fact that the first systematic training provided to the ROK Armed Forces was U.S.-style training.

In order to raise the quality standards of the ROK Armed Forces, KMAC put effort into unit trainings as well as guiding and helping the Armed Forces set up military schools. Prior to the establishment of KMAC, the ROK had eight military schools, including a combat intelligence school, but they failed to foster qualified officers. On this basis, on April 15, 1949, KMAC appointed Lieutenant Colonel Lewis D. Vieman, who was an advisor to the 5th Division, as the School Advisor at advisory group headquarters. KMAC directed Vieman to develop plans for establishing and strengthening military schools. The main features of the program Vieman drew up were as follows. First, all company-grade officers would attend basic courses at their branch schools. Secondly, 30% of all officers would attend advanced courses at branch schools. Three hundred selected officers would attend the staff college. Thirdly, 3,000 officer candidates would be selected, trained, and commissioned. Fourthly, specialist courses would be provided for specialist or technician positions. Fifthly, as many officers as possible would study in the United States within the scope permitted by the U.S. Department of the Army.¹⁶

Under this program, 13 major military schools were in operation by the end of 1949, including the Military Academy, Intelligence School, Engineer School, Signal School, Ordnance School, Artillery School, Infantry School, Command and General Staff College, Quartermaster School, Army Medical School, Finance School, Army Band School, and Motor Vehicle School. Emphasis was placed especially on the Infantry School and the Command and General Staff College. By June 15, 1950, the military schools produced 9,126 officers and 11,112 enlisted men. The majority of officers of lieutenant colonel rank or higher attended advanced courses at the Infantry School or the curriculum at the Command and General Staff College.¹⁷

At the same time, KMAC made arrangements for ROK officers to study in the United States and to observe the bases of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan as part of the schooling of the officers of the ROK Armed Forces. In particular, the 1951 fiscal year program expanded military schooling in U.S. mainland and observations of the bases of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan. The program was set up so that a total of 19 ROK officers attended U.S. military schools on U.S. mainland as

¹⁵ Office of the Chief, KMAC, "Status of Training KA," p. 9.

¹⁶ Cho Lee-Hyun, "Withdrawal of U.S. Army Forces in Korea in 1948-1949 and the Activities of the U.S. Military Advisory Group to the Republic of Korea," *History of the Republic of Korea*, Vol. 35, Department of Korean History, College of Humanities, Seoul National University, 1996, pp. 313-314.

¹⁷ Sawyer, *Military Advisors in Korea*, pp. 80-88.

students. Two officers attended the engineer, artillery, ordnance, and signal branches, respectively. One officer attended the command and staff college, and ten officers received administrative schooling. Furthermore, a program was set up so that a total of 50 officers received military schooling at the bases of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan using the Mutual Defense Assistance Program (MDAP) budget. The officers were 20 ordnance officers, 20 artillery officers, and 10 signal officers. Alongside these programs, another program involved dispatching 33 ROK officers to Japan every quarter, as members of the observation team to the bases of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan. Funds amounting to US\$112,800 set aside in the 1951 fiscal year MDAP for the education and training of the ROK Armed Forces were to be appropriated for such overseas military education of ROK officers.¹⁸

Through arranging ROK officers' studies in the U.S. and their observations of U.S. Army units, KMAG strove to apply the U.S. style to the overall operation and maintenance of the ROK Armed Forces, including their schooling and training, establishment of operation plans, and unit management. In particular, the establishment and schooling of military schools, coupled with the studies in the United States of ROK officers, made up a significant part of the activities of the military advisory group.¹⁹

Assistance with the operations of the ROK Armed Forces

KMAG's assistance with the operations of the ROK Armed Forces is broadly divided into: guidance on anti-guerilla operations; and assistance for the development of operation plans related to confrontations at the 38th parallel. The ways in which these assistances were manifested were starkly contradictory. Whereas KMAG was proactively involved in the anti-guerrilla operations of the ROK Armed Forces, KMAG took a passive approach to the South-North military confrontations near the 38th parallel from beginning to end.

The guerilla activities of left-wing groups that were active in the ROK from 1948 to 1950 had threatening implications, even on the fate of the ROK Government. The United States closely followed the anti-guerilla operations, identifying the suppression of internal threats as the "litmus test" for measuring the survivability of the Syngman Rhee government. When the Yeosu 10.19 rebellion broke out on October 19, 1948, approximately two months after the inauguration of the ROK Government, the ROK Armed Forces and KMAG immediately decided to establish a subjugation headquarters in Gwangju and to quickly suppress the rebellion. KMAG dispatched Lieutenant James H. Hausman, advisor to the Minister of Home Affairs, to help with the operations. But when this failed to deliver concrete outcomes, KMAG then dispatched an additional nine advisors, including Colonel Hurley E. Fuller, who played central roles in the anti-guerrilla operations.²⁰

Along with the anti-guerilla operations in the ROK, KMAG was deeply involved in the subjugation of mobile forces that North Korea dispatched to the South. Between November 1948 and March 1950, North Korea dispatched mobile forces to the South on ten occasions. The ROK Armed Forces had no choice but to expend many hours and efforts into subjugating

¹⁸ "United States Military Assistance to the Republic of Korea (RG59, Box17, 1950.6.25)," Lot File 52-19.

¹⁹ Park, "The Organization and Activities of KMAG," p. 114.

²⁰ Cho, "Withdrawal of U.S. Army Forces in Korea in 1948-1949 and the Activities of the U.S. Military Advisory Group to the Republic of Korea," p. 322.

these forces. In this process, KMAG helped organize and arm ROK subjugation units, as well as supported the anti-guerilla operations of the ROK Armed Forces through providing intelligence, developing operation plans, among other activities.

KMAG itself evaluated that the anti-guerilla operations were “very successful.” After the anti-guerilla operations settled, KMAG revealed to the following effect in an operations report: The anti-guerilla operations this winter (1949-1950) were very successful. Extensive anti-guerilla operations were conducted from October 1, 1949 to May 1, 1950, primarily in the Mt. Taebaek, Mt. Jiri, and Honam regions. Optimal commanders and staff from the ROK Armed Forces were selected for this operation. All participating units supported the transportation and signal units using central intelligence agencies. As a result, three major guerilla groups were decimated for the most part.²¹ KMAG further concluded that, although 60 members of the guerilla remain in Gangwon Province, 70 in Gyeongsang Province, and 130 in Jeolla Province, they will not pose any further threats to national security and public peace.”²²

In contrast with the proactive intervention in anti-guerilla operations, KMAG took a passive approach to the confrontations at the 38th parallel. Through various channels, the United States opposed the large-scale arms buildup of the ROK Government and its arguments to advance northward. Following the outbreak of intense armed clashes between the North and South in Kaesong in early May 1949, John J. Muccio, U.S. Ambassador to the ROK, and William L. Roberts, head of PMAG, visited Syngman Rhee on May 7 and discussed the causes of and how to deal with the Kaesong incident. On this occasion, Roberts stated that he began a comprehensive investigation of the causes and the facts of the Kaesong incident, and went on to say that he cannot exclude the possibility of the ROK’s provocations. Muccio added by saying to Syngman Rhee that should the ROK Government resort to aggressive measures, the United States cannot be of any assistance.²³ Following this, KMAG, working with the U.S. Embassy, endeavored to keep the ROK Government and ROK Armed Forces under proper control, while closely monitoring the confrontations that successively broke out at the 38th parallel. This position of KMAG was reflected in the development of operation plans.

From late 1949, KMAG collected numerous intelligence regarding North Korea’s introduction of Soviet weapons, such as tanks, field guns, and self-propelled artillery, ROK enlisted men in the Chinese Communist Army entering North Korea, North Korea’s troop buildup, North Korea’s bridge and road repairs, and North Korea’s southward deployment of troops. KMAG reported this intelligence to the U.S. Department of the Army. In particular, between January and April 1950, information was collected through KMAG’s intelligence network that North Korea was deploying tanks and other equipment in the southward direction. This information was also confirmed by the members of the ROK liaison unit, which maintained close contacts with KMAG. KMAG thus had knowledge, to some extent, about the signs of the North Korean Army’s invasion of the South.

Despite picking up on these signs of war, KMAG did not view that they would lead to all-out war. As can be confirmed from the “Army Headquarters Operation Order No. 38,” also known as

²¹ Office of the Chief, KMAG, “Semi-Annual Report, Period 1 Jan. 1950–30 June 1950 (RG554, Entry No. A-1 1355, Box29),” p. 14.

²² Ibid., Annex No. 8.

²³ “Memorandum of Conversation, by the Ambassador in Korea (Muccio) (1949.5.10),” *FRUS*, Vol. 7, 1949, pp. 1016-1018.

the “Army Defense Plan,” which was prepared on March 25, 1950, the operation plan was drawn up in preparation not for conflicts covering the entire ROK but for conflicts covering only the areas near the 38th parallel. In other words, it was a defense plan against military clashes in the northern area of Seoul.²⁴

In light of the above, it is deemed that KMAG considered there was little possibility of an all-out war, despite detecting the signs of war, namely, the strengthening of the military forces of the North Korean Army and its deployment to the front line near the 38th parallel. It can be interpreted that the logic that spread in the United States at the time also spread within KMAG—the logic being that the Soviet Union does not wish war with the United States, and there was no way that North Korea, a Soviet puppet, would act independently.²⁵

Procurement and distribution of equipment

Supplying U.S. equipment as well as procuring and distributing new equipment to the newly forming ROK Armed Forces were also an important duty of KMAG. Divisions, such as the quartermaster, engineer, and signal divisions, performed tasks including the procurement, storage, selection, and distribution of equipment according to their respective scopes of work, based on the plans and instructions of the logistics staff (G-4).

In “The Position of the United States with Respect to Korea (NSC 8/2)” decided in March 1949, the U.S. Department of Defense instructed the armament and training of 65,000 men in the Constabulary (including air detachments), 4,000 men in the coast guard, and 35,000 men in the police force. Based on this policy decision, on June 29, 1949, immediately prior to the completion of the withdrawal of the USAFIK, the Office of the Foreign Liquidation Commission was established in accordance with the Surplus Property Act. Military equipment worth US\$56 million (estimated at US\$110 million in current value) was transferred to the ROK Government. The breakdown is as shown in Table 1. The equipment included rifles, cartridges, transportation means, artillery, yard minesweepers for the coast guard, and 20 liaison aircraft.²⁶ KMAG received this equipment and distributed them as appropriate to the units that needed them. In this way, KMAG swiftly and properly performed logistics tasks.

²⁴ Park, “The Organization and Activities of KMAG,” pp. 116-117.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 121.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 121-122.

Table I Major Weapons the U.S. Transferred to the ROK on June 30, 1949²⁷

Item	Quantity	Item	Quantity
Liaison aircraft	20	.30 caliber carbine (M1)	49,107
.50 caliber machine gun	759	.30 caliber light machine gun	433
.30 caliber machine gun	294	57mm recoilless rifle (M1)	117
37mm recoilless rifle (M6)	56	.45 caliber machine gun (M3)	1,320
105mm howitzer (M2-A1)	91	60mm mortar (M2)	417
81mm mortar (M1)	284	Grenade launcher	8,884
.45 caliber pistol (automatic)	6,844	U.S.-made .30 caliber rifle (M1)	41,897
.30 caliber browning automatic rifle (BAR)	1,324	Armored vehicle (M6)	19
0.5-ton truck	11	1/4-ton truck	2,000
3/4-ton truck	884	1.5-ton truck	597
2.5-ton truck	1,380	10-ton truck	11
.30 caliber carbine live ammunition (cartridge)	9,747,800	.30 caliber live ammunition (cartridge)	36,680,871
.45 caliber live ammunition (cartridge)	1,864,600	.50 caliber ammunition belt	2,144,000
2.36-inch rockets	43,776	High-explosive anti-tank (HE-AT)	170,275
Hand grenade (for attack)	125,000	60mm mortar	350,000
81mm mortar	265,000	105mm howitzer ammunition	108,000
Anti-personnel (AP) landmine (HE)	10,000	Plastic explosives	42,000
Radio	3,075	Fixed-line phone	2,102
2.36-inch rocket artillery	150	Yard minesweeper (YMS)	25
Landing craft medium (LCM)	13	Landing craft infantry (LCI)	6
Patrol boat (PB)	26	Other vessels	9

Execution of the Mutual Defense Assistance Program

In October 1949, the United States passed the Mutual Defense Assistance Act, which applied to the ROK. This gave rise to the need to review KMA's mission. The U.S. Department of State envisioned KMA serving the role of implementing agency of the Mutual Defense Assistance Program (MDAP). On the other hand, the Army Forces expressed the view that the advisory group needed to be operated independently, separate from the MDAP. Discussions between the Departments of State and Defense regarding the MDAP as well as the role of the military advisory group led to the conclusion of creating two separate agreements: the Agreement for the Establishment of the United States Military Advisory Group to the Republic of Korea between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the United States of America; and the Agreement on Mutual Defense Assistance between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the United States of America. Two separate written agreements were prepared, and both took effect from January 26, 1950.²⁸

²⁷ "Memorandum for General Bradley from L. L. Lemnitzer Director, Office of Military Assistance, Department of Army, sub: Military Aid to Korea (RG330, Box 68, 1950.7.10)," Entry No. 18.

²⁸ Institute for Military History Compilation, *The Treaties of National Defense*, pp. 58-69.

However, it was decided that KMAC would assume the role of the implementing agency of MDAP, as the Mutual Defense Assistance Office of the Department of State had conceptualized. Accordingly, KMAC was placed in charge of supporting the U.S. Ambassador to the ROK in connection with the operations of the MDAP, in addition to its intrinsic duties of institutionalizing and training the ROK Armed Forces, and appropriately distributing and utilizing equipment and munitions. It meant KMAC had to take on two contradictory functions, as the Office of Military Assistance of the Department of Defense has noted. It also meant the diminishment of KMAC's primary activity of institutionalizing and training the ROK Armed Forces.²⁹

The U.S. Military Advisory Group to Japan's Role in Establishing the Japan Self-Defense Forces and its Activities

The organization and transformation of the U.S. Military Advisory Group to Japan

The outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950 brought about major developments in the issue of Japan's remilitarization. Following the outbreak, the United States decided on military intervention in the Korean Peninsula and to dispatch the Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Strait. Until then, Douglas MacArthur, Commander of the United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE), was against the implementation of the policy set out in NSC 13/2, which called for strengthening and then rearming the Japanese police force. Nonetheless, on July 8, 1950, without waiting for the mainland's instructions, MacArthur at his own discretion sent a letter to Shigeru Yoshida, Prime Minister of Japan, instructing the establishment of a national police reserve and an addition of personnel to the Maritime Safety Board. The letter stated, "I believe that the police system has reached that degree of efficiency in organization and training which will permit its augmentation to a strength which will bring it within the limits experience has shown to be essential to the safeguard of the public welfare in a democratic society...I authorize your government to take the necessary measures to establish a national police reserve of 75,000 men and expand the existing authorized strength of the personnel serving under the Maritime Safety Board by an addition 8,000."³⁰

On July 8, the very day that the MacArthur order was given, the General Headquarters (GHQ), Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Assistant Chief of Staff (G2) Liaison Office was first set up at the former Tokyo Nautical College in Etchujima, Koto City in Tokyo to prepare for the establishment of the National Police Reserve. Then, on July 12, the GHQ approved a plan to form a National Police Reserve. The plan was quickly translated into action. On July 14, the Civil Affairs Section Annex (CASA), entrusted with the important mission of creating, training, and guiding the National Police Reserve, was established at the college.³¹

CASA members helped with the creation and training of the National Police Reserve. Their activities spanned an array of fields, ranging from soliciting reserve personnel, preparing for their acceptance, educating and training personnel, and making equipment enhancements. The G2's Public Safety Division, in close coordination with the national police headquarters, took charge of tasks ranging from the recruitment of 75,000 reserve personnel to their enlistment, and achieved the desired objectives. After the enlistments were decided, CASA's U.S. military

²⁹ Park, "The Organization and Activities of KMAC," p. 128.

³⁰ Hideki Uemura, *Saigunbi to Gojuginen Taisei* [Rearmament and the 1955 System], Bokutakusha, 1995, p. 38.

³¹ "Jieitai Junenshi" Editorial Committee, Defense Agency, Japan, ed., *Jieitai Junenshi* [History of the Decade of the Self-Defense Forces], Defense Agency, 1961, p. 372.

advisors, as camp commanders, assumed the role of organizing, managing, and training reserve units. While some camp commanders were also engaged in personnel affairs, the role of the camp commander gradually shifted from a commander role to a camp advisor role as Japan appointed official senior officials, assigned commanding officers and other personnel, and finalized the reserve structure. The main duties of the camp advisor became providing assistance and advice to the National Police Reserve. For roughly two months after the establishment of the National Police Reserve, none of the camps had any weapons, except for Etajima School (Etajima Town, Hiroshima Prefecture). Once October arrived, as per CASA's request, the Logistic Command of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan supplied approximately 74,000 carbine rifles to CASA. The rifles were distributed to the U.S. military advisor at each camp.³²

The formation process of the reserve was completed on December 29, 1950. Henceforth, CASA began to place greater weight on training. From the second half of 1951, a training system was developed, and various schools were established. Gradually, the National Police Reserve came to exercise autonomy. Over time, U.S. military advisors began to move away from giving overall guidance, to providing assistance and advice to units, schools, and other entities on an individual basis.³³

By January 1951, a 13-week U.S.-style basic training for divisions was completed. By May, an 18-week introductory tactical training for echelons (involving the use of weapons, such as machine guns and rocket launchers) was completed. In addition, an 18-week tertiary training program was initiated in June but faced shortages of equipment and training spaces. June also saw the opening of a five-week course for staff officers (50 personnel), a four-week course for signal officers (70 personnel), a two-week course for budget (accounting) officers (60 personnel), an interpreting school (20 personnel), and an eight-week officer training school commonly known as "Etchujima School" (300 personnel).³⁴

On April 28, 1952, the Treaty of Peace with Japan entered into force, bringing an end to the GHQ that had administered the U.S. occupation. CASA's functions were terminated on the previous day. The Safety Advisory Section Japan (SASJ) that was set up within the USAFFE Command succeeded CASA's operations. As CASA's replacement, SASJ's main challenges were dealing with the independence of Japan, developing the Japan-U.S. defense cooperation arrangements in accordance with the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, and ensuring the smooth transition from the National Police Reserve to the National Safety Force. As of October 1951, the military advisory group had expanded to 780 personnel in total, including 277 officers, 449 enlisted men, and 54 bureaucrats from the Department of the Army. In November of the previous year, SASJ relocated from Etchujima to Hardy Barracks (former Azabu 3rd Regiment) in Azabu Ryudo-cho, Minato City. The relocation to central Tokyo itself suggested that SASJ was gradually moving away from its completely "behind-the-scenes" role.³⁵

On January 1, 1953, SASJ changed its name to the Safety Advisory Group Japan (SAGJ). Even after it became SAGJ, it still performed advisory group tasks related only to ground security. Following on from the coast guard years, the USAFFE Command continued to independently

³² Ibid., pp. 373-375.

³³ Ibid., pp. 373-374.

³⁴ Hiroshi Masuda, *Jieitai no Tanjo* [The Birth of the Self-Defense Forces], Chuokoron-Shinsha, 2004, p. 28.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 31 and p. 57.

assume tasks concerning maritime security. SAGJ existed for over one year and five month until June 7, 1954, during which time SAGJ gave training and guidance to the National Safety Force.³⁶

On May 1, 1954, the Japan-U.S. Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (MSA Agreement) entered into force. The provisions of Article 7 of the Agreement formally provided for the establishment, duties, treatment, privileges, and other aspects of a U.S. military assistance advisory group. This group was named the Military Assistance Advisory Group Japan (MAAGJ). The U.S. military advisory group to Japan started out as CASA and then underwent three name changes from SASJ, SAGJ, to MAAGJ. With the latest organizational change, MAAGJ moved from the USAFFE Command to become a part of the U.S. Embassy in Japan, and acted under the direction and supervision of the U.S. Ambassador to Japan. In other words, the military advisor, while being a military personnel, now concurrently held a diplomatic post. This was a complete change in position from that heretofore held by military advisors.

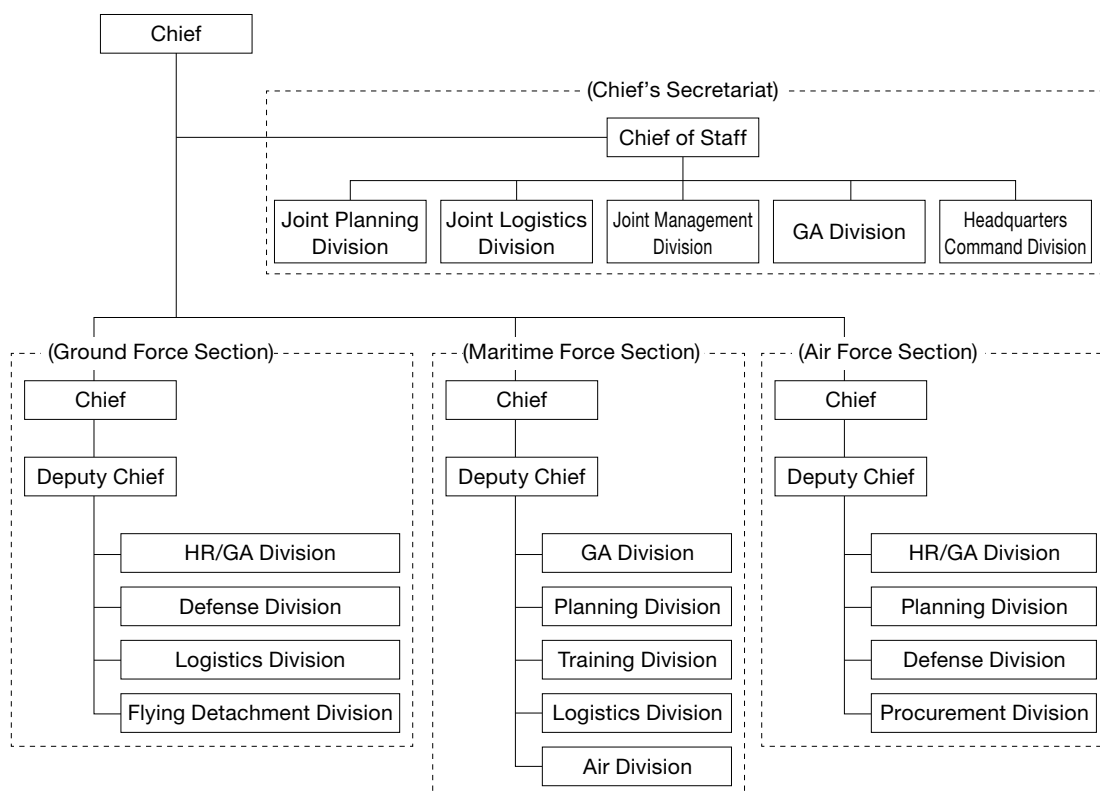
Previous advisory groups provided guidance and advice regarding the organization, equipment, training, and control only with respect to the National Safety Force, the ground force in Japan. The headquarters of MAAGJ, on the other hand, consisted of an Advisory Chief, under which there were not only the Chief's Secretariat and the Army Section, but also the Navy Section and Air Force Section. Each section provided military guidance to the ground, maritime, and air forces of Japan. This was done in order to reorganize the National Safety Force into the "Ground Self-Defense Force" and the coast guard into the "Maritime Self-Defense Force" as well as to newly launch the "Air Self-Defense Force" in the near future.³⁷

Figure 2 shows the organizational chart of the headquarters of MAAGJ as of August 31, 1960.

³⁶ Defense Agency, *Jieitai Junenshi*, p. 372.

³⁷ Masuda, *Jieitai no Tanjo*, p. 82.

**Figure II Organizational Chart of the Headquarters of MAAGJ
(As of August 31, 1960)³⁸**



The U.S. Military Advisory Group's involvement in developing the founding principles of the SDF

This section examines how the founding principles of the newly formed JSDF were developed and consolidated under Article 9 of the new Constitution of Japan, which pledged to renounce war and never to maintain war potential. The U.S. military advisory group's involvement in the development of the founding principles is reviewed, mainly through a memoir written by a member of the U.S. military advisory group to Japan at the time. This section first outlines the situation at the time of the establishment of the National Police Reserve, namely, how the U.S. Army Forces and the leaders of the National Police Reserve struggled to develop the founding principles and the spiritual motivation of the personnel, as revealed in *Nihon Saigunbi* (The Rearmament of Japan), a memoir written by Colonel Frank J. Kowalski, the Chief of Staff of the U.S. military advisory group to Japan at the time. "I (Colonel Kowalski) paid a visit to General (Keizo) Hayashi (Chief of the General Group)...I asked him what he meant when he reported that the soldiers of the NPR (National Police Reserve) did not have spirit in their eyes...He answered with a faraway look in his eyes. 'You have often told me, Colonel, that you admired the Japanese soldier in the last war for his will to fight and his readiness to die. In the Imperial Japanese Army, the most important

³⁸ Defense Agency, *Jieitai Junenshi*, p. 373.

training that a soldier received was spiritual training. We called it '*seishin kyoiku*.'...The *yobitai* has no *seishin kyoiku*. I have looked into the eyes of my men but it is not there...Our people ask, 'How can the NPR fight with no *seishin kyoiku*? Who will the *yobitai* fight for? Who is the supreme commander?'...How does one bridge the centuries of thinking and communicate from one mind to another what one means by fighting and dying for one's country, our way of life, our democracy, and that we fought and many died so these things would endure. I explained that...our Army...was composed of ordinary men and women, who sacrificed, suffered, and died, whose blood flowed just as red and courageously as did the blood of the kamikaze and the dedicated soldiers of the *tenno*, son of heaven. 'Your soldiers fought well and you won the war, but we do not understand democracy like you do (Abridged),' answered General Hayashi."³⁹ As this passage shows, the leaders of the National Police Reserve struggled to understand the purpose of national defense and the spiritual motivation of the personnel, and had a hard time developing such principles. In response, the U.S. military advisory group offered sincere advice to the National Police Reserve.

In the same memoir, Kowalski sheds light on what Hayashi stated later: "In addressing one of his regiments in the field, he (Hayashi) said, 'The fundamental spirit of the NPR I firmly hold to be patriotism and love of our race. We love our parents, our brothers with whom we are one blood, and our wives and children. By extending this love, we love the Japanese people; we love the land of Japan. We love our fatherland which we were entrusted by our forefathers to turn over to our posterity. This is a traditional sincere feeling deep-rooted in the life of the Japanese people.' 'Needless to say, if this organization [Japanese defense force] is to play its rightful role in the new Japan, it must be 'an organization of the people.' This must be the fundamental principle upon which this defense force should be established.'"⁴⁰ In short, it can be said that the leaders of the National Police Reserve regretted the fact that the former Japanese Army over-emphasized itself as an organization of the Emperor, and as a consequence, intervened in politics through stressing the independence of supreme command and drove Japan into war. The National Police Reserve identified that the JSDF should be founded on the philosophy of being an organization of the people rooted in the simple love of our homeland and race, serving as an able organization based on democratic principles. It can be said further that the development of the founding principles of the new military organization of Japan was supported by the active involvement of and advice from the U.S. military advisory group to Japan.

The main activities of the U.S. Military Advisory Group to Japan

When the National Police Reserve was first established, the U.S. military advisory group initially carried out an array of duties, including soliciting and accepting personnel, providing them with education and training, and procuring equipment. As the National Police Reserve began to be developed in Japan, the key duties of the advisory group gradually shifted to assisting and advising the National Police Reserve on education, training, and equipment.⁴¹ Table 2 illustrates the changes over time in the number of advisors that oversaw these activities.

³⁹ Frank Kowalski, *Nihon Saigunbi: Bei Gunji Komondan Bakuryocho no Kiroku* [The Rearmament of Japan: The Records of the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Military Advisory Group], Chuokoron-Shinsha, 1999, p. 221.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 239-240.

⁴¹ Defense Agency, *Jieitai Junenshi*, p. 373.

Table II Changes in the Number of Advisors⁴²

Date	Officer	Enlisted Men	Total
1951. 9	277	449	726
1952. 3	322	599	921
1953. 9	314	524	838
1954. 1	296	466	762
1954. 9	212	253	465
1960. 7	84	126	210

Unit: People

The activities of the advisory group are as described below.

(1) Education and training of units

At its inception, the National Police Reserve did not have an established structure or mechanisms. Formal executives were also not appointed. CASA thus set up the Etajima School (executive, firearm, signal, facility, arms, and vehicle courses), the Etchujima School (human resource, accounting, supply, and prosecution courses), and the Tokyo Command School to provide education for executives as well as technical education. CASA's training division issued orders regarding the education and training at each camp. Schooling and training were given at each camp under the instructions of the officers of the U.S. Army Forces. Tasks, such as the preparation of training programs, creation of manuals and training materials, along with procurement and distribution were all carried out by advisors.

In December 1950, now that Japan had developed mechanisms and appointed more executives, the U.S. Army Forces gradually began to perform its primary role, i.e., providing guidance as advisors. Nevertheless, as National Police Reserve executives had not fully mastered the methods of the U.S. Army Forces, the National Police Reserve could not actually exit from its dependence on the U.S. Army Forces.

From the second half of 1951, the National Police Reserve began to have an established training system as well as schools, and it steadily gained autonomy. Gradually, advisors began to shift from giving overall guidance to giving assistance and advice at respective units and schools.⁴³

By 1952, the National Police Reserve's education and training system as a whole was developed. However, many factors made the training of specialists difficult, including inadequate school facilities and shortages of instructors and teaching materials at units. From 1952, therefore, the advisory group began to make arrangements for Japanese officers to receive schooling and training by U.S. Army Force personnel at their facilities. This proved to be very successful. Furthermore, the advisory group established an English School on May 15 of the same year and began to teach courses in order to prepare Japanese officers to study at U.S. Army Force schools and other facilities in the United States.⁴⁴ With regard to heavy armory training provided at the

⁴² Ibid., p. 375.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 373.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 374.

bases of the U.S. Army Forces in the former, criticisms were expressed by Japan's opposition parties, mass media, and the general public. Hence, the Japanese Government kept the training confidential and took other cautionary measures. With regard to the U.S. studies in the latter, the U.S. Government permitted Japanese officers to receive training in the United States, pursuant to Article 513, Paragraph b of the Mutual Security Act revised in 1951. On this basis, consultations were held between the Department of State and the Department of Defense as well as between the Ambassador in Tokyo and USAFFE Commander. As a result, for 143 Japanese National Safety Force officers to receive specialized education in the United States, it was agreed in March 1953 that the Japanese Government would bear their travel costs and their costs of staying in the United States and that the payment of tuitions for the training school would be unnecessary. Moreover, the U.S. Government approved the appropriation of US\$400,000 from the FY1953 MDAP funds to cover the costs of educating and training Japanese students. In May 1954, the Department of Defense approved the appropriation of US\$547,270 from the FY1954 budget for the Training Program for the Japanese Ground Forces.⁴⁵

Following these processes, in March 1953, the first group of Japanese personnel departed for the United States and received education and training at the U.S. Infantry School. Thereafter, more Japanese personnel were dispatched to and received training in the United States. By the end of the 1950s, the number of Japanese personnel who were dispatched to and received training in the United States reached approximately 3,000. Domestically, approximately 100,000 Japanese personnel completed schooling at U.S. Army Force schools, and approximately 30,000 Japanese personnel received practical training at the bases of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan. The education and training were broad in scope, ranging from courses on specialized techniques provided through long-term studies at specialized schools, to short-term courses at U.S. Army Force facilities and observations of U.S. Army Force bases.

After MAAGJ became the advisory group, education and training began to place greater weight on the Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF). For example, from FY1956, the advisory group gave advice to the Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF) only through methods such as observations of units. Even the single exception to this—the permanent stationing of advisors at the Fuji School—ended in December 1959.⁴⁶

For the education and training of the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF), the military advisory group dispatched several pilot instructors to the air training unit. Assistance and advice were provided in a range of fields, including defense against submarines, defense against landmines, and emergency relief.

For the ASDF that started from zero, the military advisory group provided extensive assistance and advice until the ASDF was able to stand on its own. USAFFE was placed in charge of flight training to implement this MAAGJ mission. From July 1, 1957, the U.S. Fifth Air Force succeeded this mission, and supported and helped MAAGJ in areas such as pilot training, signal, electronics, and maintenance. This assistance was terminated in the end of June 1960, and MAAGJ took over the tasks of the U.S. Fifth Air Force.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Masuda, *Jieitai no Tanjo*, pp. 91-92.

⁴⁶ Defense Agency, *Jieitai Junenshi*, p. 374.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

(2) *Lease and procurement of U.S. Army Force equipment*

For roughly two months after the establishment of the National Police Reserve, none of the camps had any weapons, except for Etajima School. In October 1950, as per CASA's request, the Japan Logistic Command supplied approximately 74,000 carbine rifles to CASA's accountable property officers, who then distributed the rifles to the U.S. military advisor at each camp. U.S. military advisors loaned the carbine rifles to Japanese personnel on an individual and case-by-case basis.

This equipment loan was implemented through the Special FECOM Reserve Program (SFRP), and was not based on a treaty between the Japanese and U.S. Governments. Therefore, all of the equipment that the United States loaned thereafter were the assets of the U.S. Government. The U.S. Army Forces had all ownership and responsibility as far as accountable property was concerned. Japan had no more than a moral responsibility towards the U.S. Army Forces.⁴⁸

The MSA Agreement was signed in March 1954, and from March 15, Japan and the United States jointly made an inventory of property loaned through SFRP. After the MSA Agreement entered into force on May 1, ownership of SFRP property was allowed to be transferred to the Japanese Government at no cost pursuant to the Agreement. It was determined that this system would be implemented from January 1, 1955.⁴⁹ The rapid changes in the U.S. equipment assistance scheme caused some confusion, for example, over the transfer of 4,000 tons of ammunition from a U.S. Army Forces facility to the Japanese National Safety Force. However, as before, Japan and the United States consulted on military equipment Japan deemed it needed, including tanks, and the equipment were supplied as needed.⁵⁰

When MAAGJ became the advisory group, equipment was supplied to the JSDF through MDAP. In turn, MAAGJ's most important job became giving advice on arranging the acquisition of, managing, and appropriately utilizing the equipment supplied under MDAP.⁵¹ In this process, MAAGJ, following on from SAGJ, served as an intermediary and coordinator between the Japanese and U.S. Governments and militaries, to increase the equipment stock of the National Safety Force, and by extension, of the JSDF. Table 3 shows the quantity of equipment the U.S. Army Forces supplied to Japan by fiscal year.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 375.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 375.

⁵⁰ Masuda, *Jieitai no Tanjo*, p 93.

⁵¹ Defense Agency, *Jieitai Junenshi*, p. 375.

Table III Equipment Supplied by the U.S. Army Forces (by Fiscal Year)⁵²

Equipment \ FY	1950	1952	1954	1956	1958
Small arms	78,601	38,895	64,401	19,000	-
Mortars	155	703	1,036	-	-
Rockets	720	4,655	1,662	111	6,066
Artillery	-	308	889	0	314
General vehicles	-	111	13,655	594	0
Combat vehicles	-	644	322	431	152
Aircraft	-	35	201	190	150

(3) Other activities

Following the establishment of MAAGJ on June 7, 1954, the advisory group also assumed the role of maintaining an inextricably linked relationship with the Defense Agency and the three forces of the GSDF, MSDF, and ASDF. It was natural for the U.S. Army Forces and the JSDF to have an inextricably linked relationship, given how all of the past U.S. military advisory groups—from CASA through MAAGJ—spearheaded Japan’s rearmament effort within the framework of the Japan-U.S. security arrangements and made it the primary mission of the advisory group to strengthen the military strength of Japan. Moreover, with the advent of the Eisenhower administration in January of the previous year, the U.S. Government increasingly adopted a policy of attaching importance to Japan as a Western ally. As a result, MAAGJ needed to modify its advice and guidance to Japan’s “National Safety Force” and its successor the “JSDF.”⁵³

Ever since the MSA assistance issue arose, MAAGJ’s roles extended beyond the military and began to diversify to political diplomacy, economics, and society. MAAGJ’s activities are summarized as follows.

First, the newly formed MAAGJ coordinated with the U.S. Embassy in Japan on MAAGJ’s standing in Japan. The USAFFE Command disagreed with the administrative order of placing MAAGJ under the direct control of the Embassy, supporting instead the instruction of the Department of Defense of placing MAAGJ under the USAFFE Command, similar to SAGJ. The U.S. Embassy in Japan explained the following reasons as to why MAAGJ should be placed under the Embassy rather than the USAFFE Command: (1) On political grounds, MAAGJ must be entirely different from past advisory groups during the occupation, and Japan should maintain a sustainable relationship with MAAGJ through the U.S. Embassy following the gradual withdrawal of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan; (2) Japan is studying the status of U.S. military assistance advisory groups (MAAGs) in other countries and wants MAAGJ to have the same standing as the MAAGs in other countries; and (3) Such accommodation is necessary in view of Japanese domestic politics; Japanese leaders have interest in freeing the general public from military constraints. The U.S. Embassy thereby convinced Gerald J. Higgins, MAAGJ Chief, and other members of the U.S. Army Forces to ultimately transfer MAAGJ from the USAFFE Command to the direct control

⁵² Compiled by author based on *ibid.*, pp. 224-227.

⁵³ Masuda, *Jieitai no Tanjo*, p. 94.

of the Embassy, just as the Embassy had urged.⁵⁴

Secondly, MAAGJ had the role of heightening Japan's awareness about its defense responsibilities in preparation for the establishment of the JSDF, and thereby, realizing the withdrawal plan of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan. Japan's insufficient commitment to self-defense was a source of concern for the United States. Chief Higgins put pressure on Japan, underscoring to the Japanese Government once again that the eighth Security Agency proposal dated March 10, 1954 calls for adding 51,245 ground troops and possessing 1,273 aircraft by FY1958, but this is insufficient. Chief Higgins said the Joint Chiefs of Staff's ultimate objective is to increase the ground force to 348,000 men in 15 divisions. At the same time, for Japan's Military Strength Development Program, Chief Higgins instructed the program and policy chief coordinator of the Chief's Secretariat to: (1) analyze the political, economic, and geographical effects on Japan's military buildup; (2) review issues concerning Japan's Ministry of Defense, the composition of the future staff office, Japan-U.S. joint functions, strategic capabilities, etc.; (3) conduct army studies; (4) conduct navy studies; and (5) conduct air force studies. On this occasion, Chief Higgins stated that the main objective of MAAGJ is to enable Japan to take over the military strength development goals, so that the U.S. Army Forces can be quickly freed from its Japan defense mission.⁵⁵

Third, MAAGJ had the role of putting Japan's private-sector defense production on track. Chief Higgins and others determined that the outcome of Japan's rearmament depended on the revitalization of the defense industry. From around the time of the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, the Japan Business Federation (Keidanren) recognized that the United States held the following views, namely that Japan needed to have its own self-defense capabilities and that the United States would make use of Japan's industrial capabilities for Asian security and reconstruction in return for Japan's efforts that lighten the direct burden of the United States. Following Japan's independence, the U.S. Army Forces procured finished weapons from Japan, primarily ammunition. This led to the Japanese business community's resumption of arms production. In August 1952, the Economic Cooperation Advisory Council was organized with the Defense Production Committee playing a central role. The MSA assistance from 1953 propelled Japan to start full-fledged arms production through U.S. offshore procurement.⁵⁶

In the meantime, the Defense Production Committee established an internal policy planning office. The office brought together Lieutenant General Masao Yoshizumi of the former Japanese Army, Lieutenant General Zenshiro Hoshina of the former Japanese Navy, and others to work on a rearmament plan. In February 1953, the office completed the Defense Buildup Tentative Proposal. The proposal set forth that Japan's defense force would include a ground force of 15 divisions comprising 300,000 men, a maritime force of 70,000 men and 290,000 tons of shipping, and an air force of 130,000 men and 2,800 aircraft. The cost of completing this in six years was calculated at 2.9 trillion yen. However, both the Government and the ruling party, including Prime Minister Yoshida, were critical of the large-scale rearmament plan. So as of February 1954, the proposal was halved to a ground force of 180,000 men, a maritime force of 145,000 men, and an air force of 1,000 aircraft. This revised proposal was secretly communicated to the USAFFE Command via

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 95.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 96.

⁵⁶ Masuda, *Jieitai no Tanjo*, p. 100.

Chief Higgins. Later, Japan's rearmament concept shifted to an autonomous defense production plan called the First Defense Buildup Plan (FY1958-1960). MAAGJ's most important role became to give guidance and procure equipment for the realization of this plan.⁵⁷

Comparing the Roles and Activities of the U.S. Military Advisory Groups to Japan and the ROK

Comparison of the creation processes of U.S. military advisory groups

Two major foreign policy goals motivated the United States to establish military advisory groups to dispatch to different countries: to establish a market-centered liberal economic order; and to contain Soviet expansion. The establishment of military advisory groups was part of the U.S. effort to assure economic development and security in regions that were directly locked in a standoff with communism. The United States spared no effort to extend assistance for developing the economic foundations for strengthening and maintaining the military capabilities of capitalist states. In particular, the United States started providing military assistance to areas outside of Europe in keeping with the 1947 Truman Doctrine. Military advisory groups were dispatched to countries receiving U.S. assistance in order to develop their military forces and facilitate the smooth execution of assistance. Accordingly, the United States dispatched U.S. Army Groups to Greece, Turkey, and Iran, and in August 1948, established PMAG in the ROK. In Japan, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 brought about a major shift in policy from demilitarization to remilitarization. The subsequent establishment of the National Police Reserve led to the launch of a military advisory group at GHQ's CASA for the organization, training, and control of this National Police Reserve.

In the case of the ROK, the country was initially under U.S. military rule when the ROK gained independence from Japanese control. It was under U.S. military rule that the Constabulary, the predecessor of the ROK Armed Forces, was established. When the ROK Government was inaugurated in August 1948, the ROK Ministry of National Defense was established, along with the ROK ground, maritime, and air forces pursuant to the Armed Forces Organization Act. Accordingly, the United States and the ROK concluded a bilateral military agreement, and PMAG was set up to assist with the organization, education and training, and equipment of the ROK Armed Forces. When the withdrawal of the USAFIK was completed in the end of June 1949, PMAG was formally re-launched and conducted activities as KMAG. In this light, it can be said that KMAG's establishment was directly linked to the issue of the withdrawal of USAFIK. As North Korea to the north of the 38th parallel steadily built up its armaments assisted by the Soviet Union, the withdrawal of USAFIK represented an issue directly concerning the security of the ROK. The United States therefore decided to strengthen the Constabulary and provide economic and military assistance to the ROK in order to ensure its security, while proceeding with the withdrawal of USAFIK. At first, the ROK Government was opposed to the USAFIK withdrawal policy. However, as soon as the troop withdrawal became a fait accompli, the ROK Government immediately made efforts to obtain firm defense commitments and further military assistance from the United States. The strengthening of the Constabulary and the establishment of KMAG were the results of such efforts.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

In the case of Japan, there were discussions on Japan's rearmament from around 1948 in the United States, but no concrete progress was made, in part due to USAFFE Commander MacArthur's opposition to Japan's rearmament. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the Korean War led to the sudden establishment of the National Police Reserve, which in turn led to the quick establishment of a military advisory group. Under the Constitution of Japan, in which Japan pledges never to be armed and have a military, the United States, in order to create a National Police Reserve that was "more than a police but less than a military," could not employ a conventional military advisory group that it customarily dispatched to other countries. Thus, the United States placed the military advisory group under CASA, an organization that attached importance to politics.

The U.S. military advisory group to Japan underwent several name and structural changes. Nonetheless, throughout all of these changes, the advisory group consistently guided and supervised only the establishment of ground forces – from its days as the National Police Reserve to the National Safety Force and to the Ground Self-Defense Force. The maritime force was established due to the Korean War, similar to the National Police Reserve. However, it was set up with the assistance of the U.S. Naval Forces Far East, based on a highly autonomous and unique navy reconstruction concept established by former Navy members under the leadership of the Y Committee. Furthermore, the ASDF was created through the collaboration of the members of the former Imperial Japanese Army Air Force and U.S. Air Force authorities. In this light, it can be said that the U.S. military advisory group played a "behind-the-scenes" role in the development of the ground force.⁵⁸ After the JSDF were established, the military advisory group changed its name to MAAGJ and was re-organized into a body that provided military guidance and advice to all three units—the GSDF, MSDF, and ASDF. MAAGJ's roles were not limited to the military and were diversified to political diplomacy and society.

By comparing the transformations of the U.S. military advisory groups to Japan and the ROK, it can be said that in both Japan and the ROK, the U.S. military advisory group from its inception played a proactive role in creating a military organization from step one. In this regard, it is not an overstatement to say that the U.S. military advisory group created both the ROK Armed Forces and the GSDF. There are, however, differences between the two countries. The ROK Armed Forces proactively welcomed the U.S. military advisory group to replace the void left by the withdrawal of the U.S. Army Forces. This was done in order to establish a regular military in the ROK based on the Armed Forces Organization Act. In Japan, on the other hand, rearmament was debated in the context of its Constitution. So that the presence of many U.S. military advisors does not give an impression to the Japanese people that occupation was continuing, Japan did not actively accept the military advisory group following Japan's independence from U.S. military rule. For example, Japan requested reductions in the number of U.S. military advisors.

Comparison of the U.S. military advisory groups' involvement in developing the founding principles

It can be said for both Japan and the ROK that the founding principles of their forces strongly reflect U.S. influences. Specifically, both Japan and the ROK advocated the building of a free and democratic state under the guidance of the United States. Both countries strove to develop

⁵⁸ Masuda, *Jieitai no Tanjo*, p. 12.

founding principles for their armed forces and self-defense forces that resonate with the values of freedom and democracy. For instance, the founding principles of the ROK Armed Forces set out that they would intensify the liberal democracy spirit and anti-communist spirit, and have as its mission, protecting the lives of the people based on an “elite troop system” as a military that receives the love of the people. Likewise, the preamble of “The Ethos of SDF Personnel” and its Paragraph 1, “Awareness of Mission,” identify that securing Japan’s peace and independence based on freedom and democracy shall be the mission of the JSDF. The U.S. military advisory groups thus proactively encouraged Japan and the ROK to adopt common founding principles.

As to the differences between the two countries, it can be said that while both U.S. military advisory groups were involved in the development of founding principles that suited Japan and the ROK based on their respective domestic situations, the ways in which the two advisory groups were involved were different. In the case of the ROK Armed Forces, as not only the military but also the nation itself had been absorbed into Japan due to Japanese colonialism, the ROK placed the anti-Japanese struggle principle at the heart of the founding principles. In order to secure the historicity and legitimacy of the new armed forces, the ROK sought to have the Liberation Army, which was active primarily in China during the Japanese colonialism period, serve as the rightful successor of the history and traditions of the armed forces. By actually organizing the ROK Armed Forces around military personnel who were active in the Liberation Army, the ROK Armed Forces gained standing as a newly formed military which succeeds history that has existed since the dawn of history. And the U.S. military advisory group permitted this. The military advisory group actively employed former members of the Liberal Army as military personnel and had them play leading roles in developing the founding principles of the ROK Armed Forces. In the case of the JSDF, the founding principles focused on how to separate and cast off the military ideas, principles, and organizational structure of the former Imperial Army, due to remorse over its intervention in politics based on the pretense of the “independence of the supreme command” – one of the reasons attributed to Japan’s loss of the Pacific War. The U.S. military advisory group was indirectly involved in the development of founding principles suited for the new self-defense forces, such as by giving advice to the National Police Reserve.

Comparison of the organizational makeup of the U.S. military advisory groups

As Figure 1 “KMAG Revised Table of Distribution” shows, the U.S. military advisory group in the ROK, similar to a general military, consisted of a general staff office and a special staff office underneath the Chief, who was the commanding officer. The general staff office was comprised of the personnel section (G-1), intelligence section (G-2), operations and training section (G-3), and supply section (G-4). The special staff office included Adjutant General, Signal, Ordnance, Engineer, Quartermaster, Medical, Judge Advocate, Finance, Special Services, Inspector General, Provost Marshal, and Troop Information and Education. KMAG’s activities were not limited to the organization and equipment procurement of the ROK Armed Forces. Activities also included the provision of direct guidance and supervision regarding the schooling and training of ROK Armed Force units, as well as support for their operations against North Korean guerrillas. It is believed that for this reason, KMAG had an organizational makeup similar to that of a general military command.

Furthermore, KMAG’s composition and makeup shown in Figure 1 was efficient for

facilitating the smooth implementation of the “counterpart system” that KMAG implemented on a massive scale. This was because under the counterpart system, a KMAG advisor was assigned to work with the Minister of National Defense, Army Chief of Staff, members of general and special staff sections at Army headquarters, heads of technical and administrative services, division commanders, regimental commanders, and battalion commanders of the ROK Armed Forces, respectively, to help with their efficient execution of duties. With advisors working and carrying out activities alongside the personnel of the ROK Armed Forces, the counterpart system allowed for mutual agreement and the giving of advice.

The U.S. military advisory group to Japan underwent several transformations since starting off as CASA. The makeup of MAAGJ, the military advisory group that existed after the establishment of the Defense Agency and the JSDF, is as shown in Figure 2 “Organizational Chart of the Headquarters of MAAGJ.” While there was a Chief of Staff, a Ground Force Section, a Maritime Force Section, and an Air Force Section under the Chief, MAAGJ did not have staff offices like the field army command of the ROK. It is deemed that this was because the weight of the duties and roles of MAAGJ gradually shifted to more advisory duties and roles, whereas during the inception phase of the National Police Reserve, CASA took command of the National Police Reserve, dispatched U.S. Army Force advisors to National Police Reserve camps throughout Japan, and was directly in charge of the formation, management, and training of the National Police Reserve. In particular, with caution being exercised following Japan’s independence from the United States, the main duty of the advisory group became assisting and advising the training and equipment of Japanese forces. From 1954, arranging the procurement of equipment supplied under MDAP and giving advice pertaining to the use and maintenance of this equipment became a key duty of the advisory group.⁵⁹ MAAGJ was therefore designed to facilitate the execution of such duties. This observation is supported by the actual changes in the number of advisors as illustrated in Table 2 “Changes in the Number of Advisors.” Whereas there were 726 advisors during the training of the National Police Reserve in September 1951, the number of advisors dropped to approximately two-thirds this number to 465 in September 1954, soon after the JSDF’s establishment, and was further halved to 210 in 1960.

Comparing the organizational makeup of the U.S. military advisory groups to Japan and the ROK reveals that significant differences existed between the two organizations. Its main reason was that the military advisory groups were formed on the basis of coordination with the Japanese and ROK Governments. In other words, the advisory groups were the outcomes of the two countries’ political requests, constraints, and pursuits of an optimum organization for achieving the duties of a military advisory group.

Comparison of the activities of the U.S. military advisory groups

The U.S. military advisory group to the ROK initially placed focus on guiding the trainings of the ROK Armed Forces and helping them fight unconventional wars. KMAG in large part supported the training of the ROK Armed Forces through the establishment and enforcement of systematic training programs for each division, giving guidance via the establishment of military schools, and arranging the overseas military studies of ROK officers. In conjunction with assisting the

⁵⁹ Kowalski, *Nihon Saigunbi*, p. 314.

operations of the ROK Armed Forces, KMAG had direct and indirect impacts on the ROK Armed Forces' fighting of unconventional wars and on the development of the defense programs of the ROK Armed Forces. In particular, in the field of unconventional wars, KMAG supported the ROK Armed Forces in all aspects of the winter anti-guerrilla campaign that was conducted throughout the ROK in the winter of 1949-1950, from the establishment of operation plans to unit operations. When the Mutual Defense Assistance Act entered into force in the United States in 1949, KMAG was placed in charge of not only the organization and training of the ROK Armed Forces, i.e., duties unique to military advisory groups, but also of supporting the U.S. Ambassador to the ROK on the implementation of the MDAP. In connection with the MDAP, KMAG was furthermore tasked with arranging the details of the additional military assistance for the ROK and securing this assistance.

In Japan, on the other hand, the U.S. military advisory group initially focused on guiding the training of units as well as leasing and procuring the equipment of U.S. Army Forces. At the inception of the National Police Reserve, the U.S. military advisory group offered executive and technical courses at various schools, along with trainings at various camps based on the direct instructions of U.S. Army Force officers. Gradually, advisors began to move away from giving overall guidance, to providing assistance and advice at the respective units, schools, and other entities. In addition, the military advisory group arranged trainings at U.S. Army Force facilities, offered training at the U.S. Infantry School, and provided practical training at U.S. Army Force bases in Japan. After MAAGJ became the military advisory group, training programs began to place a greater weight on the ASDF. From FY1956, the military advisory group gave advice to the GSDF only through observations of units and other approaches.

As for the lease and procurement of U.S. Army Force equipment, U.S. military advisors loaned equipment, such as carbine rifles, to Japanese personnel on an individual and case-by-case basis when the National Police Reserve was just founded. When the MSA Agreement entered into force on May 1, ownership of loaned property was allowed to be transferred to the Japanese Government at no cost pursuant to the Agreement. Japan and the United States consulted on military equipment Japan deemed it needed, including tanks, and the equipment were supplied as needed. When MAAGJ became the military advisory group, equipment was supplied to the JSDF through MDAP. In turn, MAAGJ's most important job became giving advice on arranging the acquisition of, managing, and appropriately utilizing the equipment supplied under MDAP.

Following MAAGJ's establishment, the military advisory group's roles extended beyond the military and began to diversify to political diplomacy, economics, and society. Its new roles and activities included: (1) coordinating with the U.S. Embassy in Japan on the standing of the newly formed MAAGJ in Japan; (2) heightening Japan's awareness about its defense responsibilities in preparation for the establishment of the JSDF, and thereby, realizing the withdrawal plan of the U.S. Army Forces in Japan; and (3) putting Japan's private-sector defense production on track.

Comparing the duties and activities of the U.S. military advisory groups to Japan and the ROK shows that while the units of the two countries differed in such aspects as their organization, makeup, training, equipment procurement, and mature training, the two advisory groups had virtually similar duties and activities. For both countries, this was their first time receiving U.S. military-style training. It can be observed that both the ROK Army and the GSDF developed rapidly into U.S.-style units by receiving training in U.S. military tactics, fighting methods, and

equipment, as well as receiving studies in the United States and trainings at the bases of the U.S. Army Forces.

A big difference between the U.S. military advisory groups in Japan and the ROK is that one was actually involved in military operations and the other was not. In the case of the ROK, the penetration of North Korean guerilla forces forced the ROK Armed Forces to mount an anti-guerilla campaign. Under such circumstances, it was logical for the military advisory group to assist the ROK's anti-guerilla operations. A closer look at this operational assistance reveals that the U.S. military advisory group, with the cooperation of the U.S. Embassy, attempted to appropriately govern and control the ROK Government and ROK Armed Forces, rather than provide "assistance" *per se*.

Conversely, in the case of Japan, following the suspension of the Korean War, the JSDF did not face a tense situation where it had to immediately fight a war, and therefore, the U.S. military advisory group was not required to provide operational assistance. However, as was discussed earlier, caution was paid to ensure that the military advisory group did not infringe on the right of command of Japan following its independence from the United States. As such, the focus of the activities of the U.S. military advisory group to Japan was on giving assistance and advice pertaining to training and equipment.

Conclusion

This paper conducted a comparative study of the activities and roles of U.S. military advisory groups to Japan and the ROK pertaining to the establishment of their military organizations. The paper then shed light on the similarities and differences between the two military advisory groups. Overall, it can be said that the U.S. military advisory groups grasped the differences in political circumstances, national character, culture, and other aspects between the ROK and Japan. Furthermore, it can be said that the military advisory groups guided and advised the establishment of military organizations using approaches and methods that matched each country in order to minimize friction as much as possible.

Previous sections examined the activities and roles of U.S. military advisory groups from the perspective of the military advisory group. Based on memoirs and other sources, this paper concludes by giving examples of how the ROK and Japan viewed the U.S. military advisory groups, that is, how the U.S. military advisory groups were perceived in the eyes of the host countries.

The following is an illustration of how the U.S. military advisory group was perceived in the ROK. In a memoir, General Paik Sun-yup, who held the vital posts of division chief, corps chief, and army chief of staff during the Korean War, explains how he appreciated what he learned from the U.S. military advisory group. Paik Sun-yup writes, "In a short period of time, a number of divisions and corps were established, and the 1st field force command was formed to replace the U.S. 8th Army headquarters. I keenly appreciated the fact that we had the U.S. Army Forces as our wonderful teacher. (Abridged) From these world-leading teachers, we learned intensively about everything, including operation doctrine and tactics, unit operations and training program, command and staff procedures, and supply and quartermaster activities. We were schooled using the exact same materials that the U.S. Army was using. Compared to Japan that learned about the military by inviting Lieutenant Commander Meckel from the Prussian army in the immediate

aftermath of the Meiji Restoration, I believe we were lucky as lucky can be.”⁶⁰

However, during the ROK Armed Forces’ initial years as the Constabulary, when U.S. military personnel were still the commanders, considerable conflicts existed between U.S. and ROK military personnel. For instance, Harutaka Sasaki, in his book, *Chosen Senso/Kankoku-hen (Jo Kan)*, testifies that the attitude of the U.S. advisors was overbearing and discriminatory and that this caused antagonism between the ROK military personnel and advisors. Sasaki writes, “From his disdain for Orientals that the Japanese people underwent time and time again after the end of the war, (Chief of the 1st Regiment) Lieutenant Colonel Marshall forced the U.S. military style upon everything, without understanding the sentiments and customs of the Korean people, and stoked the resentment of officers and soldiers.”⁶¹ Sasaki also writes, “The American lieutenant that was assigned as commander naturally tried to judge everything by the standards of the U.S. Army Forces. It was thus to be expected that opinions would differ on every matter. (Abridged) And he too had disdain towards Orientals, common among U.S. Army personnel at the time. Regarding those times, many ROK generals and others bitterly recollect and describe their dissatisfaction towards the unfounded indignity they received from American commanders.”⁶²

Conversely, the following passage illustrates an example of what Japanese personnel thought about the U.S. military advisory group, in particular, members of the National Police Reserve that received command and guidance directly from the advisory group. *Jieitai Junenshi* contains a section entitled, “Memories of the Establishment of the National Police Reserve,” featuring a conversation between Keizo Hayashi, superintendent of the National Police Reserve, Keikichi Fukuhara, commissioner of the National Police Reserve, and Yozo Kato, personnel chief of the National Police Reserve. In the conversation, the three individuals discussed as follows:

Fukuhara: So much happened, but generally speaking, all of the U.S. military personnel who worked with the advisory group, including the enlisted men, did a real good job.

Hayashi: Around 95% of them were outstanding. Even if this was their mission, I was impressed by how they could work with such good wishes and passion with people from a different country.

*Kato: They are truly remarkable people for working with us with such understanding and compassion given that Japan was under occupation at the time.*⁶³

These members of the National Police Reserve highly appreciated the military advisory group. Similar to the ROK, there are testimonies in Japan indicating that during the inception of the National Police Reserve, some reserve personnel had ill feelings towards the military advisory group because U.S. military personnel served as commanders. However, as the advisory group’s role gradually shifted to an advisory role, Japanese personnel began to appreciate its activities

⁶⁰ Paik Sun-yup, *In Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the 6.25 War: Memoir of Paik Sun-yup—War and Peace*, Winners, 2010, p. 334.

⁶¹ Harutaka Sasaki, *Chosen Senso/Kankoku-hen (Jo Kan): Kengun to Senso no Potpatsu Mae made* [Korean War/ Republic of Korea (Vol. 1): Until the Military Formation and the Outbreak of the War], Hara Shobo, 1976, p. 120.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶³ Defense Agency, *Jieitai Junenshi*, p. 47.

and measures. This observation is supported by the memoir of Frank Kowalski cited earlier, which states that in Japan, in order to stamp out the corrupt practices from the Imperial Army era, the military advisory group treated individual personnel with dignity, was committed to developing a democratic organization, and the advisors themselves refrained from adopting overbearing attitudes.⁶⁴

The ROK Armed Forces and the JSDF which were established through such activities of U.S. military advisory groups now have a history of over 60 years and have built up strong relations with the United States. Nevertheless, how many people are aware of the activities of U.S. military advisory groups at the time of the establishment of the ROK Armed Forces and the JSDF? Although some analysts describe that Japan-ROK relations are currently at their worst level of the postwar era due to the territorial dispute, history issue, among other factors, many exchanges between the JSDF and the ROK Armed Forces continue at a variety of levels. In order to ensure that these exchanges are fruitful, it is vital that we fully understand the history of the establishment of the ROK Armed Forces and the JSDF, including the activities of the U.S. military advisory groups, and recognize their similarities and differences.

⁶⁴ Kowalski, *Nihon Saigunbi*, pp. 252-256.