

and will postpone action and final consideration waiting the instructions from the United Kingdom and from the U.S.S.R., otherwise, unfortunately, there will be no food paper because I am sure, from my consultation with my own Government, that is the only change that they will agree to.

MR. VESUGAR: Mr. Chairman, do I understand now that the proposal is this, that FEC-026/12 be accepted with the addition of that sentence in paragraph 2 of that paper?

GEN. MCCOY: Yes. That is, that is for your further consideration until we receive--

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, just to make clear one point. Since this paper ~~is~~ now is under the consideration of the Soviet Government, and I believe the Government pays important attention and consideration to the positions of other governments mostly directly affected with this paper and food shortages in the Far East, could we hear the opinion--maybe personal opinion of other members whether this proposal of this paper is now acceptable to them or not, if it is possible, in order to make it clear for our Government?

GEN. MCCOY: That is a reasonable request, I think.

MR. VESUGAR: May I request that you read that insertion once again?

GEN. MCCOY: In paragraph 2 after the word "area", comma, and the insertion of the following words: "...many of which suffer shortages of food largely due to Japanese aggression..." comma. I would hope that that might be acceptable, otherwise we just fail, after a year's effort, to get any paper that embodies the broad state-

ment of Sir Carl Berendsen, in an attempt to meet at least in part your expressed wishes. We might, to meet the Admiral's suggestion and help him in discussing it with his own Government, ask your position about this insertion.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, if this is in any way embarrassing, I wouldn't press for this.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I don't think it is embarrassing. I think it is a very good idea and I think all of you probably desire to have some food paper, and on the part of my Government it has been endeavoring for a year to find something that my Government will approve of.

MR. VESUGAR: I think it is a good idea.

GEN. MCCOY: All the time having your wishes before them.

MR. VESUGAR: Mr. Chairman, we appreciate your efforts. I would like to point out one or two things in this suggestion made by you. One is that the addition now proposed applies only, as it stands now, to liberated area--"peoples of any Allied Power or liberated area". Now that is a drafting point and could be cleared up, I dare say. That is one thing. The other thing that is not brought out and which is essential is this, that the diet of many of these people, people in these areas, is inferior to the diet now enjoyed by the Japanese people, even without such help. It would be, I feel, important to convey that to the Japanese people. That is the second thing. The third is a general statement which I would like to make with your indulgence and that is this, that our principal objective, in insuring that people who have suffered from

Japanese aggression should not be worse fed than the Japanese people, is the one that we wish to put across. Now, General Hilldring, when he was good enough to explain the views of your Government in great detail to us I think three meetings ago, remarked that it was very difficult for several people, especially in the Government of the United States, to understand why there was this resistance on the part of other nations or delegations to supply food to Japan when it is being paid for by the United States Government. Now there are two reasons: One is, as I have explained, primarily that food is wanted and food is more justly due to other areas than to Japan. That is the primary one--overriding one. But I would also like to correct the statement that supplies sent to Japan are entirely paid for by the United States people or the United States Government. Any supplies so sent will be chargeable against reparations due from the Japanese people and inasmuch as a certain part of the reparations available for distribution will be cut down by that amount, to that extent, therefore, all nations are contributing to the supply which we consider is unjust if it gives the Japanese people a better diet than people who have suffered from Japanese aggression. Thank you.

MR. CRAVES: That is roughly what I said last week, Mr. Chairman. I shall, of course, pass on this amendment which was suggested a moment ago to my Government. Speaking just personally for a moment, may I say that the wording of it appears to me to refer too much to the past--"...and many which suffered shortages of food..." The fact is that there are countries which are suffering

from a dire shortage of food. They are suffering at the present moment, and I don't think that the wording which would make it appear in the due paragraph 2 that this was a past condition would be acceptable to us nor does it disclose the fact that the diet of many people is inferior at the moment to that of the Japanese.

GEN. MCCOY: "...many of which suffer..." I will read it again since it was not correctly understood. After the word "area" comma. The new wording inserted: "...many of which suffer shortages of food largely due to Japanese aggression..."

MR. GRAVES: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That does refer then to the present. But it doesn't seem to me to cover the second portion of 1 b (1), namely that the diet of people being at the moment inferior to that of the Japanese. That, I think, as Mr. Vesugar said, is a fact which should be brought out.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, to get the help that the Soviet representative has spoken about, I will ask each one if they are agreeable to accepting the United States paper in the modified form. The Philippines--

MR. CORONEL: Mr. Chairman, if the United States were willing to go to this extent of proposing this compromise solution, would it go a little bit further and include the last part of the sentence that the diet is inferior in other countries? That would make it a little more acceptable to my Government.

GEN. MCCOY: Sir Carl, how do you feel about it?

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Well, Mr. Chairman, I have never said that I would support the American paper, but to the utmost extent to which I have gone I wouldn't

feel it necessary to oppose it. If I wouldn't feel it necessary to oppose the paper as it was I wouldn't feel it necessary to oppose the paper as it is now proposed it should be altered. But I must make myself very clear. I am in the very forefront of those who believe that it is wicked--wicked, to supply a higher ration of food to those who caused this infinite misery than to those who suffered from it--wicked and quite indefensible. The only possible excuse for doing so, and I agree that it is a valid excuse up to a point, is the necessity of caring for the safety of the occupying forces. With that one exception I must make myself perfectly plain-- I am strongly and violently opposed to supplying more food to the Japanese than to their victims. But, if it comes to a question of getting nothing at all, I am bound to say that on the whole I am willing--not to accept but not to oppose the proposals put forward by the United States in the proposed amendment. I would very much prefer--I have said this before; I will say it again-- I would much prefer the document produced by the committee. I think that is a sound and good and a wise document. I have been shaken off that only by the perfectly reasonable point of view taken by General Hill-dring. He explained the domestic difficulties. We all know there are domestic difficulties, the art of politics is making the best possible arrangement you can make in circumstances as they are. I can never be brought to vote for the document and produced and even as altered. I still wouldn't oppose it but I think it is so eminently necessary, so urgently necessary to have some policy on food and not let this dreadful situation drift as it is. I accept it as a fact, and if there is anybody

here that is of the opinion it is not a fact, I think it is his duty to say so. I accept it as a fact that the Japanese are being fed better than their victims. If that is a fact, there is only one excuse for it and that is the safety of the occupying forces. Nobody here can decide where the balance falls in the matter. But if it is a fact that the Japanese are being fed better than their victims, then I will take no part in that, except to that limited extent--for the safety of the occupying forces, and I will never eliminate that feeling.

MR. REUCHLIN: Mr. Chairman, I fully indorse the words that have been spoken by Sir Carl. We still prefer the original paper and we think that that paragraph 1 b (1) contains a statement of fact, the truth of which nobody denies. But, out of respect for the internal difficulties of your Government, Sir, we are prepared also not to oppose the paper with the amendment which you have just read out to us.

MR. VESUGAR: Mr. Chairman, I have already said what I intended to say in support of the line we have taken consistently all along. I would like to produce evidence here--at the 49th meeting of the Steering Committee, that was 28 January, Mr. Egekvist made this remark: "On the other hand, those of us who are working in SCAP do not, except from what we read in the newspapers, know what is going on." This was in reference to when he was pressed about the other countries in the world who have been subject to Japanese aggression being worse nourished than the Japanese themselves and also when he was pressed about the general food shortage all

over the world. That was the remark that he made, and I feel that if people working in SCAP do not know this, I am certain that the Japanese don't know this and we should devote every effort to bring it to their notice. Now, it is for that reason that I do not want to press, if it in any way upsets our getting on with this paper, this matter in this paper itself, as long as we have some assurance that this matter will be brought to the notice of the Japanese people in no uncertain terms.

GEN. MCCOY: It will be, in this form.

MR. VESUGAR: In this form it does not include that the diet of people who have suffered from this aggression is even now inferior to that of the Japanese people without such imports.

MR. LACOSTE: Mr. Chairman, the suggestion that you have made is an improvement on the paper in its last form, but the French delegation did prefer the paper as it came out of the committee and still thinks so. It will certainly not oppose this paper, especially as slightly improved by the addition you have proposed.

DR. KOO: I appreciate the spirit in which you have made this proposal, evidently in the desire to meet the points raised by a number of our colleagues including myself. And also we appreciate very much the ^{responsibility} ~~response~~ apparently of the Supreme Commander to safeguard the security of the occupation forces. From that point of view your proposed amendment is a great improvement. It meets one of the two points, namely, one is that the other countries do suffer from food shortages mainly because of Japanese aggression. It, of course, does not make very clear the second point that the peoples of the countries, some devastated by Japanese aggression,

have a diet inferior to that of the Japanese. Of course, between the two the second point seems to us much more important than the first one. If we merely say that the other people suffer--it is true, but we leave the Japanese at most in a state of doubt as to how much the other people suffer. They may suffer more or suffer less than the Japanese, and in their present situation they may very well conclude the other people can not be suffering as much as they do--they suffer less, which is a point that we would like to see brought out. For that reason, while the proposed amendment does meet one of the points, it leaves the second point out. But I appreciate that it is not only an improvement; it is also a concession on the part of the United States delegation, and therefore I would like, before I form a conclusion as to the position I would take, to take an opportunity of consulting my delegation and possibly my Government, and I hope this would not inconvenience the Commission since today we are not called upon to take a decision on this question.

MR. COLLINS: I would like to indorse Dr. Koo. I appreciate the efforts made by the United States Government in attempting to meet the wishes of the other members of the Commission, and, while I can't say officially what our position is on it, I do not think that my Government would oppose the paper in its present form if that is the best we can get under the circumstances. I also find it rather difficult, however, to understand why, if the United States Government is willing to make this concession in inserting a factual statement as a bit of explanatory background in the

paragraph, it is also unable to make a complete statement of the facts as they obviously are.

MR. MAKIN: I would not at this stage, Sir, say that I was unfavorable to what has been proposed, but I would certainly like ~~it/it~~ a further opportunity to consider a bit what you have suggested.

This I would like, however, to say. It is rather a circumstance of great concern to me and one which my mind is inquiring upon, why this solicitude for the mind of the Japanese and are we not exercising ourselves in a way that gives a complete misunderstanding to these people regarding what the position of the world is in which they live, and furthermore, their own part in the contribution which has brought such grave and perilous conditions to so many peoples?

I remember, Sir, at this moment the experiences that my own fellow countrymen went through as a result of the savage and brutal conditions that they imposed upon them, many of whom have perished by reason of these most brutal forms of treatment, and yet these are the people that we are seeking to show some form of consideration as to their feelings, possibly. Why shouldn't they be told of the sufferings that other people have gone through? The tragedies of all that lies behind in the wake of these people is something that ~~it/it~~ ^{they've} got to be constantly reminded about. And I'm possessed of as much grace and goodwill as any man can possess but I am not indifferent to what is the real soul of these people as it has been expressed in their very actions. And I hope that this great country will at least remember the treacherous nature of even their attack

upon those institutions which we have all regarded as being a sacred condition upon which men and nations have related themselves one to the other. And, Sir, I feel that in regard to these matters these people shall be made to understand the place that they occupy in the great scheme of things--that they are not going to be allowed to enjoy favors even if it is at the endeavor of trying to win back good relationship and friendship. They have got to understand that they have imposed intolerable burdens upon other people and even visited conditions which can never be repaired. And, as I think of the sufferings that my fellow Australians were required to go through in that country of Burma and who have been subject to the vilest expressions of cruelty, why should I wish to repair the ways of life? I want it to be understood that we still register a very strong feeling in regard to these matters and only time and the good works of these people will repair and remove from the memory of my people. That being so, Sir, I do hope that your country will keep in mind these circumstances when we approach this matter.

And, actually coming now to what you suggest, I ask myself as to what obligation there is upon the Supreme Commander to make this known in view of the text that is actually written here. I am not convinced that it really imposes that obligation upon the Supreme Commander even to tell the Japanese people about it. Well, that can hardly be regarded as a satisfactory thing, and all I would say is this.

I did make a suggestion which I thought was quite

reasonable. It was a bit of course to be able to meet whatever objections were raised. You have not, Sir, or thought it wise at least to give to us some explanation as to the reason why my suggestion could not be accepted. If we knew that we might be able possibly then to set our minds to a more complete understanding and engagement in trying to meet what might be a very good and sound reason for not being able to accept the suggestions made. But, in view of just the indication that that view and suggested amendment is not acceptable, well, if we knew the reason why it wasn't acceptable, it might possibly have aided us to have expressed in words that of which we could find as a complete reconciliation of the whole views of those of this Commission. I wish mainly to express at this moment that registering of strong feeling about the tender way in which it seems to me that we try to consider people who have shown themselves as well--not very tender and considerate in their outlook and their view and their actions and who have got to be taught the ways of life in a way that will at least bring them to fully understand that their own depredations and cruelties have largely and forcibly brought worse suffering than ever they will experience, for the Allied Cause would never visit upon them such brutalities. But let us at this moment, while seeking to effect whatever relief we can, make them thoroughly conscious of the part that they have taken in no unmistakable way to visit untold suffering upon other peoples. That is all I wish to say, Sir.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, Sir, I agree with you and completely agree with your statement. But I don't think

that under the circumstances it is out of consideration for the Japanese people. They are having a very rigid occupation of their country. We are following the Declaration of Potsdam; we are following our Terms of Reference, and we are not in any way tempering the whim of the shorn lamb of Japan. This is based on other considerations entirely than the Japanese people. It is expressly stated "...except to the extent as the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers should determine that imports into Japan are essential for the safety of the occupation forces." I fully agree with you and I think that the Supreme Commander has been very rigid in his having that same point of view that you have. He is faced with a condition and has to meet it in many ways that, taken by themselves are not always understood. It is quite a problem that he has on his shoulders and I can assure you that he's been most meticulous in following the instructions that have come not only from the action of all of the Allied Powers but also the policy papers from this Commission. Well, at any rate, Mr. Ambassador, you have had your wish to hear the expressions from around the table. I hope that it will help you and the United Kingdom to--

ADM. RAMISHVILI: May I say a few words, Mr. Chairman, just to express my opinion? I fully sympathize, Mr. Chairman, with the opinions expressed by my colleagues here, mostly the countries which directly suffered from Japanese aggression and food shortages, and I fully sympathize also with the very ably expressed opinion of His Excellency the Australian Ambassador. Speaking of the opinions of the Indian, Chinese, and

New Zealand representatives, I gather that they want to make the Japanese people know that other countries are suffering--not only that but know that they are sometimes fed inferior than the Japanese themselves. May I limit myself, Mr. Chairman, to this opinion, because it was very ably expressed by other members. I couldn't do better than they. All opinions, Mr. Chairman, expressed here will be duly reported to the U.S.S.R. Government. In connection with this I want to say ^{that} the original paper drafted by the committee was almost acceptable to my Government except for one small change. That is that the Supreme Commander give an opportunity to the Allied Council to hear and express its opinion and that the Supreme Commander hear its advice on this important question. However, since the paper was completely changed, not completely but another paper, we submitted it to our Government and after receiving the instructions I will be able to submit our point of view on this question. Thank you.

GEN. MCCOY: I think it ought to be understood that the paper of the Commission is not acceptable to the United States Government. There is only one food paper now. I am sorry to be so insistent but this has been considered for a year past in the Commission and all these opinions have been considered.

ADM. RAMISHILI: Just what I said, Mr. Chairman, but you said there are two papers. I think there is only one paper under consideration.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I would assume that the paper now under your consideration is the modified paper, and the only one that will be acceptable to my Government.

MR. VESUGAR: Mr. Chairman, may I have your indulgence to leave. I've got to catch a plane. Especially will you allow me to express my gratitude for the way I have been treated here because this will be my last appearance before the Commission. As you know, we have an Ambassador now in Washington. He will shortly be taking his seat on this Commission, and as I am leaving for London in a little while I do not know whether, on my return from London, I will be able to take part in this Commission. It has given me great pleasure, and more than that I have learnt a lot from the way we have worked and progressed--maybe slowly but nevertheless steadily, to our common goals, Sir. Thank you.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, it is with great regret, I am sure, on the part of all of us, and I assure you on my part and the American group that it has been a great privilege to have you represent your Government here so much of the period that we have been meeting. We will welcome the new Ambassador of course. Possibly you could give us, in his absence, some little information about him and his background and former experience in India that would be interesting. Could you give us a little Who's Who about the new Ambassador?

MR. VESUGAR: Well--our Ambassador is in India a very well-known political figure. Ever since his qualifying in law he has taken particular interest in the progress of India. He's extremely interested at the moment in our physical as well as spiritual progress. We have had the lag of centuries to make up. The whole world is on the march and he feels very much, and rightly, that India is on the march too, and I am sure you will

find him a very energetic and very capable indeed in putting forward our country's view, and seeing that what he considers as India being on the march is accomplished.

GEN. MCCOY: How do you pronounce his name?

MR. VESUGAR: Mr. Asaf Ali. I would also like to say that before taking up his present appointment, Mr. Asaf Ali was Member for Rice and Communications. He gave up that post to come here as Ambassador. For many years he was leader of the Congress Party which at that time was the opposition party in the Indian Assembly which corresponds here to the House of Representatives. Mr. Asaf Ali will be helped here by Mr. Sen who is accredited here as a minister under him. Mr. Sen's large work before coming over here was in connection with food and he has been Secretary for some time to the Food Department and it is one subject on which he is an expert. He will probably feel even more strongly on these food matters than I have because he has seen the misery at first hand. He's had to work for this. He's had a record to be proud of in the rationing system which we have worked in India, which I may say is inferior to none, and by which we have gone along a very great way--practically averted widespread famine and devastation by forethought and by being able to carry on at 1200 or 1300 calories when we are trying here to discuss the Japanese conditions at 2000 calories. I am sorry to introduce this point again but possibly Mr. Sen will have even a lot more to say than even I had on this subject. So, with your indulgence may I leave?

GEN. MCCOY: Well, I must say that we regret very

much to have you leave us, but I am encouraged from this who's who that you will continue to be well represented here. Don't leave us unless you have to.

MR. VESUGAR: I've got to catch a plane, Mr. Chairman.
(Mr. Vesugar departed the meeting at 12:13 P.M.)

ITEM 7 - PRESS ARTICLE RELATIVE TO THE FAR EASTERN COMMISSION POLICIES ON THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION (FEC-103, MI-075)

GEN. MCCOY: I am unable to say anything to the Commission as to Item 7 as yet, but I can inform you that it is still being considered and there will be a definite reply as soon as I can get it on the subject of the press release on the review paper.

MR. MAKIN: Mr. Chairman, may I just make this one point in regard to it. I don't want to appear to be at all impatient, Sir, or unreasonable, but I would just like to draw your attention to the fact, and I know you will in turn bring this to the notice of the State Department, that, if we are to have the advantage of being able to make this statement prior to the election in Japan, we will require to have a fairly early decision upon it, for I think that the elections are scheduled for some time in April. Now, as has already been indicated, we missed one opportunity--possibly at the time of the promulgation--to make the statement. Now, if we miss this opportunity at the election, it is going to be rather an embarrassing position to know when is the moment that it can actually be made known to the Japanese authorities. And I would hope that it is possible for the United States to see its way clear to agree so that it can be done in time to be able to synchronize with the election in Japan. I think that

there are advantages that can be gained by reason of that and it is that view, Sir, of just bringing that to mind that I would ask that if you can in any way have a decision registered, that would help to meet that position, I know that Australia would be very grateful and I believe there are other members who have supported Australia in regard to this view who would feel equally as happy at such a result.

ITEM 8 - THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION (FEC-105/2, SC-049/2)

(The discussion was off the record)

ITEM 9 - REPORT ON JAPANESE EXTERNAL ASSETS (FEC-072)

(There was no discussion of this item.)

ITEM 10 - OTHER BUSINESS

GEN. MCCOY: If there is no other items of business that require our consideration, the Secretary General has an announcement.

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Chairman, there is a meeting ~~of~~ of a special subcommittee of the Steering Committee called to deal with the Secretary General's annual report which is to meet tomorrow, Friday, at 9:30 A.M. here in this room.

GEN. MCCOY: Gentlemen, we stand adjourned.

(Whereupon the meeting adjourned at 12:20 P.M.)

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Transcript of Forty-Ninth Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission,

Held in Main Conference Room, 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.

Thursday, March 13, 1947

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REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, USA (Ret.), Chairman	(United States)
Major J. Plimsoll	(Australia)
Mr. R. E. Collins	(Canada)
His Excellency Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo	(China)
Mr. Francis Lacoste	(France)
Mr. B. R. Sen	(India)
His Excellency Dr. A. Loudon	(Netherlands)
His Excellency Sir Carl Berendsen	(New Zealand)
Mr. C. Coronel	(Philippines)
Rear Admiral S. S. Ramishvili	(U.S.S.R.)
Mr. H. A. Graves	(United Kingdom)

SECRETARY

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

Reporter: R. Holtz, Department of State

(The meeting convened at 10:30 A.M.)

GEN. MCCOY: Good morning, gentlemen, the session is now open.

ITEM 1 - APPROVAL OF THE MINUTES OF THE 48TH MEETING

GEN. MCCOY: I ask your consideration of the minutes of the last meeting. Are there any corrections desired or comment on the minutes? There seems to be none so they will be made a matter of record.

The Commission, I think, has been notified of the replacement of our Friends, Sir Girja Bajpai and Mr. Vesugar, who bade us goodbye at the last session. The new Ambassador, unfortunately, is having a slight tour in the hospital and his alternate, Mr. Sen, is now sitting in representing India. I present him to the Commission with a warm welcome.

I have received two letters from the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Novikov, in substance, dated March 10th:

"Dear General: I have the honour to inform you that the Minister-Counselor of the Embassy of the USSR in the USA Mr. Tsarapkin S.K. is appointed to be the Deputy of the Representative of the USSR in the Far Eastern Commission....." and a further letter/ announcing that in connection with his departure, that is Mr. Novikov's departure for Moscow on the instructions of his Government, the duties of the Representative of the USSR ~~at~~ in the Far Eastern Commission will be carried on by Mr. Tsarapkin S.K., the Deputy of the Representative of the USSR in the Far Eastern Commission.

By the way, the agenda has been corrected. Two were circulated and the only change, I believe, was Item 5 and it is covered in a sheet entitled revised

agenda. So, in looking at your agenda, please use the revised agenda.

ITEM 2 - ALLIED TRADE REPRESENTATIVES IN JAPAN
(FEC-088/1; FEC-088)

GEN. MCCOY: FEC-088/1 was unanimously approved by the Steering Committee on March 4th. At the last Commission meeting consideration was deferred pending receipt of instructions by the French representative.

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, I am now in a position to give the approval of my Government to this paper, on the understanding that, first, it is a temporary measure and second, that it is a starting point for the establishment of free channels of trade in Japan. The point that is in the mind of the French Government is the fact that at the present time, owing to circumstances, it is quite natural that certain exceptional measures are to be adopted for trade in Japan. But the fact that the trade representative shall have the status of representing his government is a very exceptional move and we accept it as a temporary measure only, and we hope that in the near future a free procedure of foreign trade in Japan will be established.

GEN. MCCOY: Do you wish that made a matter of record in the minutes?

MR. NAGGIAR: Yes, in the minutes. Thank you very much.

GEN. MCCOY: Is there any objection to this reservation recorded in the minutes on the part of the French representative? Is the Commission ready otherwise to adopt the paper before them as recommended by the Steering Committee? If there are no objections it

will be made a matter of record and action with the usual procedure.

ITEM 3 - RECOMMENDATION OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE FOR DISPOSITION OF THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL (FEC-200/6; FEC-200)

GEN. MCCOY: You will remember that the Secretary General submitted what might be called an annual report of the functioning of the Commission during the past year, which was referred to the Steering Committee and by them to an ad hoc subcommittee, and the report of that ad hoc subcommittee was approved by the Steering Committee this week, this past session. Dr. Blakeslee, will you state what that report was by the subcommittee of which you were Chairman?

DR. BLAKESLEE: Mr. Chairman, in making the report the subcommittee acted under instructions from the Steering Committee and those instructions provided a request of the Secretariat that the Secretariat should provide for the consideration of the Commission a report of a factual nature which the Commission should consider with a view to publication. In making this report the ad hoc committee had in mind that the Secretariat was undertaking the preparation of this report and that therefore no mention need be made of that fact in the report. Due to certain differences of opinion, which are normal, the ad hoc committee presented the following recommendation which was approved by the Steering Committee:

"The Far Eastern Commission decides that no further action should be taken in regard to the First Annual Report to the Far Eastern Commission submitted by the Secretary General. It notes the Secretary General's

invitation to the members of the Commission to submit suggestions for changes and additions of a factual nature."

GEN. MCCOY: Under those innocent sounding words I think there is nothing more to be done other than to make a matter of record without further remark, unless such further remark is desirable on the part of any individual delegate.

ITEM 4 - SUPPLY OF FOOD FOR CIVILIAN RELIEF IN JAPAN (FEC-026/12, -/14, -/13; -/10)

GEN. MCCOY: We now go back to the food paper, Item 4. The Steering Committee agreed on the 28th of January to forward FEC-026/10 to the Commission for consideration. The United States alternative proposal (FEC-026/12) was submitted to the Commission on the 20th of February. In the light of the discussion by the Commission on both the last two meetings, the United States representative sought the further views of his Government, and at the meeting on March 6th offered the amendment shown in FEC-026/14 now on the table or now before the Commission, in an effort to meet the viewpoints which had been expressed by other representatives. No recommendation as to the press release is included in the paper and this question should be raised at the time of its adoption. My remembrance of our, in summing up our discussion from the point of view of the United States representative, is that non-concurrence with the Far Eastern Commission paper was announced on behalf of the United States and a substituted paper with a certain deletion and a certain insertion, which was explained explicitly at the last meeting, was left

before you and there was quite a discussion and many suggestions and recommendations made by individual members of the Commission which I have presented to my Government, and they are still receiving due consideration. But at the moment I stand as I did at the last meeting as representing the United States. Is there any further comment or any motion as to the paper in question?

MR. SEN: Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a few general remarks. I have not been able to study all the papers on the subject but there are one or two points on which I feel I shall be in a position to make some contribution to the discussions in this Commission.

GEN. MCCOY: Pardon me. I might interject here that I am informed that Mr. Sen has been the responsible official in India, having to do with the broad and importance and tragic food condition in India, and has been the administrative official administering the food problems there. Am I correct in that, Sir? Please proceed.

MR. SEN: Yes Sir. The point on which discussion has been directed, I understand, in the last two meetings is whether we should not provide in this policy paper that the Japanese people should be informed about the conditions in some of the countries which have suffered from their aggression. There is no doubt but that that is an important point, but to one who has been in executive charge of a country which has now about 180,000,000 people under rationing, a more important point seems to be this provision in the policy paper that no imports of food should be permitted which would

have the effect of giving priority or preferential treatment for the Japanese over the requirements of the peoples of any Allied Power or liberated area. Now we have had a report from an observer, before us, and from that report it appears that the food that the Japanese people are getting is in the region of 1800 to 2000 calories a day. I think the members are aware that the calorie value of the food which has been given to the Japanese people over the last few months is in the region of 1800 to 2000 calories. Now this, to my mind, is a much higher ration than that which has been given to other countries. India, which is one of the countries which has suffered from this war, as it must have been known to the members of this Commission, suffered from a famine in 1943. Since then we have tried to stabilize the food position of the country, but at no stage have we been able to give to the people of India more than 1200 to 1300 calories per day. Now, the reason why I am bringing this point up is that within the next few weeks it is very possible that all over Europe the ration will have to be cut. The shortage over the next four months is going to be very acute, and it seems to me that at this stage the Far Eastern Commission should apprise themselves of the food situation in other countries and see what is the value of the food which has been given to the Japanese people. If it is within the region of 1800 to 2000 calories, it seems to me that we should have some say in the matter. The report which was submitted by Mr. Hoover the other day showed that in Germany the calorie value of the food is about 1500. If that is so, I don't

see any reason why we should allow, under this provision, food of the value of 1800 to 2000 calories in Japan. And I think that this is a far more important point for us to consider at this stage than the one around which discussions have centered, namely, whether we should tell the Japanese people that the other countries are suffering from shortages. I do not know whether it is possible in this policy paper to include a reference to this particular point, but it seems to me that it is a point so important at the present stage that some consideration should be given to it.

There is another point I might mention that ~~the~~ it appears from the previous discussion that it was said that the United States Government paid for the food sent to Japan and therefore it was not a matter of consequence to other countries. But that seems to be a very unrealistic way of looking at the whole food problem. The question today is that there is a severe shortage all over the world and we should see that the incidence of that shortage is actively distributed. Payment is a matter of comparative unimportance. We have to see that the shortage from which the world is suffering is distributed equitably all over the world. That is all, Sir.

GEN. MCCOY: I take it there is no desire on the part of the Commission, then, to adopt FEC-026/14. For the present there seems to be no action desirable on the part of the Commission on that particular paper. I will still keep it before the Commission.

ITEM 5 - REPORT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON ATTENDANCE OF FAR EASTERN COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVE AT SESSIONS OF UNITED NATIONS FAR EAST WORKING GROUP ON DEVASTATED AREAS (FEC-202/2; FEC-202 Series)

GEN. MCCOY: Mr. Secretary General, will you make such report as seems advisable?

MR. JOHNSON: The report, Mr. Chairman, is before the Commission and Mr. Eichler, who attended these meetings, is here in case anyone wishes to question him.

GEN. MCCOY: That has been distributed? We also have sitting with us today, Mr. Eichler, who has attended two meetings of this group, and the results are before you by distribution. Are there any questions that you wish to pose to Mr. Eichler? He will be available at any time for your consultation and will also be present at any time if you wish for questioning on matters of interest. My attention has been called to two paragraphs for your interest. Paragraph 5, the observations of the representative of the Secretariat, suggests that the primary interest of the working group in the work of the Far Eastern Commission appears to relate to the reparations program for Japan and the effect it might be expected to have on the economic reconstruction of devastated areas of the Far East. Interest was also expressed in the progress of economic reconstruction in Japan itself and in the pattern in which the peacetime Japanese economy will eventually assume. Under paragraph 7 the following specific requests were submitted by the working group: Would the Far Eastern Commission permit a qualified representative of the Economic and Social Council to attend as an observer those of its meetings which might be pertinent to the work of the

Economic and Social Council? Is there any--with your permission I will give an invitation to that Group to be represented here when they wish. Is that agreeable to the Commission? The next question is, can permission be granted for a qualified representative of the Economic and Social Council to attend as an observer the meetings of the Inter-Allied Trade Board? We will refer that request to the Board of which Mr. Whitman is Chairman. Will the Far Eastern Commission forward a set of its press releases on the Interim Reparations program to the Secretary of the Working Group for the information of members. That has been done and will continue to be done, if there is no objection. That seems to be the only points for us to act on.

MR. GRAVES: Mr. Chairman, may I go back to a? I think that a member of this Working Group would get a very incomplete picture if he came to meetings in which we are discussing reparations or economic reconstruction of Japan. I wonder whether it is not a little bit too early for members to attend our meetings. We are still in the process of rather heated discussion on both the problems.

GEN. MCCOY: We will go back to the first request that the Far Eastern Commission permit a qualified representative to attend as an observer of those of its meetings which might be pertinent to the work of the Economic and Social Council. Mr. Graves, representing the United Kingdom, feels that it would not be wise-- am I correct?

MR. GRAVES: Well, I am just asking the question, Mr. Chairman, glancing back at paragraph 5 which says

that the primary interest appears to relate to reparations program of Japan and the effect it might be expected to have on the economic reconstruction of devastated areas of the Far East. Interest was also expressed in the progress of economic reconstruction of Japan itself. We have not yet decided on a policy for the economic reconstruction of Japan, and I think while we are in the preliminary status I wonder whether it would be wise to invite anyone to listen to what we are saying in the formative status. Would it not be wiser to wait until we are nearer policy making?

DR. KOO: Mr. Chairman, as a general principle we have no objection to the closest cooperation promoted between international bodies. The Economic and Social Council is an international body and so is this one. But, in connection with the particular work of this Commission, there is one point to consider. As a general rule our meetings are closed meetings, and so far as the public is concerned the Commission has to take a decision from time to time as to what decisions are to be released. Now, in the case of the Economic and Social Council I understand their rule is that all its meetings are public unless otherwise decided, and as we know the Council is composed of eighteen representatives of countries. Probably a greater part of the countries are represented on both bodies but there are also a number of countries not represented on this Commission. But their meetings, as I say, are open to the public. Now, if we should invite a representative of the Economic and Social Council as an observer, he will have to report to the Council at one of the meetings and it is very

likely that his report will be presented at a public meeting which might affect our policy of having or following closed meetings. That is one point to consider. And the second point I would like to bring up is that since the request says for the Council to send a representative at those of its meetings which might be pertinent to the work of the Economic and Social Council--of course, they are not in a position to know which of our meetings would be pertinent to their work. That necessarily must be left to the Commission and would it not be a wise step now to leave the matter open until we come upon some questions which, in the opinion of the Chairman and the Commission, would be particularly useful to the work of the Economic and Social Council and at that time the Chairman could bring up the question and we have an exchange of views or have a decision taken as to whether or not to invite a representative of the Economic and Social Council to attend our meetings. For the present I would suggest that we leave the matter open and give further consideration to the first point--namely, the fact that our meetings are closed and the bearing it might have on the publicity of our work.

GEN. MCCOY: I might change the attitude then to meet these points and have him present on invitation.

DR. KOO: That would represent my viewpoint.

MR. GRAVES: I would support that approach.

GEN. MCCOY: Any further comment on this point?

Well then I will instruct the Secretary General to take up the particular subjects that may interest them with the Chairman, to be a question then of invitation for

particular meetings. That will be put before the
Commission.

ITEM 6 - PRESS ARTICLE RELATIVE TO THE FAR EASTERN
COMMISSION POLICIES ON THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION (FEC-103, MI-075)

GEN. MCCOY: To go back to another long-standing matter of importance in connection with the review paper, I have been given a considerable period of grace by the Commission in taking this up with my Government, and I think everything that has been said here and in particular the express remarks of the Australian Ambassador and the letter which was put before the Commission and which was addressed to me by the Australian representative, Major Plimsoll, was also considered with the whole subject at our highest levels. I am now informed by my Government of this decision. The statement of the United States policy toward announcement of the provision for the review of the new Japanese Constitution is: "The United States Government withdraws its objection to the publication outside of Japan of the policy decision contained in FEC-031/41 and will not oppose a motion in the Far Eastern Commission to publish the decision outside of Japan, provided the release of the decision to the press by the Far Eastern Commission will not be made until forty-eight hours after receipt of notification from SCAP of the receipt of the Far Eastern Commission's decision.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Mr. Chairman, could you elaborate that a little and say how you think the Supreme Commander will act from then on? Does he intend to release it in Japan?

GEN. MCCOY: I don't know. That is a matter of his responsibility. I am informed that he has issued it to the Japanese Government and that full consideration was

given to the whole subject as presented here and also after continued discussion with the Supreme Commander. And I now present this position and decision of my Government.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, will you kindly make available your statement? Thank you very much.

MAJOR PLIMBOLL: I feel, Mr. Chairman, that this decision is very pleasant in that it is to be published, but I think that unless we clear exactly what it means we are going to get ourselves into further difficulties. The Commission's decision would be to agree to publication outside Japan and we don't know quite whether it is intended it should not be publication in Japan or otherwise. Now, I feel if it is published outside it is going to get into the newspapers. That is the contention, and it is going to be broadcast. So it is inevitably going to be heard in Japan, and I really can't see what the point is in reserving the question of publication in Japan. I think we ought to be clear exactly what the implication of that is before we adopt this policy decision.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, if you wish to defer your action, I will have this distributed to the Commission.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I might have a moment or two. I had determined not to say one word at this meeting. I have determined that on many occasions but I always fail to maintain silence, and I regret that as I am sure my colleagues do. I do most warmly appreciate this decision, which, so far as it goes, is one that will be most acceptable, I think, to the members of the Commission. But, I must say I am

extremely confused as to what the intention is and as to what the effect may be. It was in the mind of many of us around here that the first and primary necessity was to tell the Japanese people the decision of the Far Eastern Commission. As I gather now the United States Government has taken a large and very welcome step forward, but I am not at all clear as to ^{what} the result is going to be. The decision namely is to be published outside Japan. As our Australian colleague says, it will be put into the press. Possibly it will go on the air. It will then inevitably be published in Japan unless, and this does give me cause for apprehension, that publication is censored in Japan--unless active and definite steps are taken to prevent the information reaching the Japanese people. I have not the slightest intention of being offensive, but that, I think, would be a deplorable state of affairs that we should come to a decision as to the Japanese Constitution which does bear most directly on the Japanese people and on the election which is to take place very shortly, and that decision is to be prevented from reaching the knowledge of the Japanese. I am only assuming that that is a possibility. If that were so I should think that that is an extremely unwise course to take. One does realize that the Supreme Commander, who is of course in a much better position to judge the affairs in Japan than we are here, has consistently opposed the publication of this decision. Indeed, I think he probably opposes the content of the decision. It seems to me that this decision, welcome as it is, does on the whole beg the question, and it will be wise on all our parts

if we carefully analyze what the result would be of a publication outside of Japan without publication in Japan. At the moment, and speaking offhand and without giving the matter the consideration it deserves, I should think that that would perhaps be worse than not publishing it at all.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: If it means, Mr. Chairman, that the Supreme Commander will decide how he is going to publish it, if your intention is that the method of publication is for his implementation, I will be quite agreeable there. I question at the moment as to exactly what it does mean.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, I take it to mean that the Commission is authorized, on agreement, to publish it here. That is what we are concerned with. The decision as to when it will be published in Japan is a matter of implementation on the part of the responsible commander. I don't know when he will do it. He has accepted the policy decision and presented it to the Japanese Government as representing the Japanese people. The Commission is now in a position where I am authorized to withdraw my objection to the publication insofar as it is covered by this matter, and the implementation of it is left to the Supreme Commander. And that goes back and is consistent with the original passing of the paper where it could only be passed with that provision, which was accepted by the Commission. These things get forward step by step and we've gotten two steps forward now, first, the policy decision and now the publication in part.

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, as regards the press

release of the Far Eastern Commission, I understood that we decided that from time to time we will have a press conference and will explain to the press what we have done on certain points. That seems to me to prove that the question of publication of our decision is settled on the condition that the publication is made on the spot here in Washington. So it seems to me that the proposal of the American Government does not take into account a question of fact that we have no means to have any publication made in Japan. We could publish it here, but we have no practical means to have our decision made public in Japan because we have no representation of the Far Eastern Commission in Japan. We are sitting in Washington and when we take a decision and we reach the decision that it be made public, the only way we have to make it public is to release it in Washington. Therefore, the problem of publication in Japan seems to me to be outside our practical means of action. So, if the American Government is willing to have our decision published in Washington, I think it is already a progress on the stand that has been taken up to now, and for myself I will be satisfied with your proposal to have the publication made here. The only point, it seems to me, why make the publication in Washington subject to a delay of forty-eight hours after it has been received at SCAP and that he has taken notice of our decision? I don't understand why we have to wait forty-eight hours.

GEN. MCCOY: Well that is our normal procedure and it has been carried out in all our policy papers.

MR. NAGGIAR: It has already been accepted?

GEN. MCCOY: Yes. We discussed that a year ago--

to give SCAP an opportunity to prepare, in case he has to make some preparation there for it. This is the normal procedure.

MR. NAGGIAR: Does it mean we may wait longer than forty-eight hours? Perhaps he will never give notice that he has received our information.

GEN. MCCOY: Of course we do sometimes have delays in reply. But this is the normal procedure of our publication.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Mr. Chairman, I think we may be differing over a point that really doesn't exist. To clarify it maybe this would be in accord with your Government's views just expressed if the Commission passes a decision, that the Far Eastern Commission release the review decision to the press forty-eight hours after receipt of notification from the Supreme Commander of the receipt of the Far Eastern Commission's decision to this effect. Is that the intention of that? I think probably it is.

GEN. MCCOY: How about the normal procedure on that?

MR. JOHNSON: Well that is the normal way to do it.

MR. GRAVES: Mr. Chairman, I wonder whether your advisers of the text have the motion in mind? What I am getting at is whether the motion is simply that a statement that the policy decision would be published or whether it is in contemplation that there will be some prohibitory clause? Normally we just say that the policy decision will be published and we don't go into questions whether it will be published outside Japan or inside Japan. Inside Japan normally is taken care of by the Supreme Commander. The normal procedure in this

would simply be to say that our policy decision has been made and is published.

GEN. MCCOY: That has been passed on by SWNCC in this particular way at this time. Now I don't know what caused them to--they have emphasized that normal procedure.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Probably, Mr. Chairman, we may be merely discussing a verbal inadequacy. On the whole I think that is the case, but a normal interpretation of words would lead to this decision, to this conclusion or to this interpretation--that the United States Government, by specifically withdrawing its objection to the publication of this decision outside Japan, reserves an objection to the publication of the decision inside Japan. That I think is the normal interpretation of this clause. If it is not the case, then we are just pushing a straw man.

DR. KOO: Mr. Chairman, it might bear another interpretation as I read it, that while publication outside of Japan is entirely agreeable, insofar as publication in Japan is concerned, that is not precluded, and, judging by the fact that the releases here should not be made until forty-eight hours after receipt of notification from SCAP of the receipt of the Far Eastern Commission's decision, would mean that there is a possibility that SCAP may, after receiving our policy decision, also release it--may take steps for publication in Japan. But that is to be left to SCAP, which would seem to be an understandable and a reasonable course because there, of course, he assumes the primary responsibility for the state of occupation.

GEN. MCCOY: This was a consistent following of the original review paper where ~~it~~ ^{the} proviso was explicitly made that it should be left up to SCAP as to the publication.

DR. KOO: So that then I perhaps understand correctly that so far as publication in Japan is concerned, that is not at all excluded but it is left to the discretion of SCAP to decide whether or not to publish a given policy decision.

GEN. MCCOY: When and how he wishes to do it as I understand it.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: If that is what it means, Sir, I don't think anybody around this table would have the slightest objection. That is a very normal course to adopt--that the Supreme Commander should decide when, within reasonable limits, and the manner. We have always taken that line. It is a very reasonable, normal, and proper line. But there are other implications that can be taken from this form of words, and all we are trying to do now is to clarify what is in the thought of the United States delegation.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Mr. Chairman, to clarify the issue I will move my motion. I am not suggesting that you necessarily put it to a vote but so that we can talk on a concrete matter--"That the Far Eastern Commission release the review decision to the press forty-eight hours after receipt of notification from the Supreme Commander of receipt of the Far Eastern Commission's decision to this effect." That is that forty-eight hours after the Supreme Commander is told of this we release it to the press.

MR. COLLINS: I second that.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: That would be quite satisfactory to me.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Outside of Japan?

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: We release it to the press and that is all our job is. I think myself the Supreme Commander would be very wise to publish it when he gets it because it is certainly going to be known in Japan very quickly, if only our own troops get to know it, and from foreign broadcasts which will be picked up in Japan, no doubt. I think, Mr. Chairman, there is a difficulty about adding the words "outside Japan". It is not that I oppose the release outside of Japan but I think it is going to create a great deal of difficulty for the Supreme Commander and there may be charges then that we have broken faith. We can take the situation in Australia, my own country. We release it to the press. It is published in the newspapers. It is broadcast over the wireless, and we've got Australian troops up in Japan who will listen in to the wireless and they will hear that and they will talk about it and it will go through the Japanese at a very quick rate. They will know that this decision has been put into effect. Well, will the Supreme Commander say that by allowing our wireless stations to broadcast this we have broken faith with him? We can't prevent the wireless stations broadcasting it, and I don't think that our governments can agree to putting in the words "outside Japan" because then it places upon us the moral obligation to prevent the information going to Japan from our own countries. Our troops are

getting newspapers every day from Australia and the American forces are in the same position. I think the insertion of the words "outside of Japan" are going to give a lot of difficulty and it is not what it means.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I have no doubt the Supreme Commander has some reason for it percolating that way rather than making any announcement himself.

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, why not instead of the words "outside Japan" use the following words: "at the seat of the Far Eastern Commission". Our seat is here in Washington and if we make any release to the press it has to be made in Washington at the seat of the Commission. Then we don't know what becomes of our release. It may be sent all over the world or not. It is not our affair.

GEN. MCCOY: I am ready to accept the change suggested by the French Ambassador.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Mr. Chairman, I would be prepared to accept that too. Once it is released in Washington it is released to all our countries. So that would be quite acceptable.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, may I say a few words. As I understand it the question of publication is divided into two parts--first, namely as we always did without any reference to Japan or Washington. It always meant that everywhere where there are newspapers and press and everything. The United States proposal-- I might be completely wrong--but as I understand it, divides this question. As I understand it the United States Government reserves its right concerning the

publication of this paper in Japan. So I think that we shall take this proposal as it is, bearing in mind that the United States Government does not want so far, by some reasons, to publish this decision in Japan, and give our complete and clear answer, attitude to this proposal without playing the ostrich on anything, because we mention on it or not mention--if you mention Washington everybody asks how about Tokyo. So we must say publish outside of Japan. I am not proposing this, and I am ready, Mr. Chairman, to vote for this. But I would imagine if somebody makes such a motion it must be clearly said outside of Japan. And then maybe in the same proposal, in the same decision, something must be said about Japan--whether the Commission reserves its right to consider this question again or not, because the main reason for publication was to make this decision known to the Japanese people. I don't think that it will be advisable to play--I am sorry--ostrich on this matter. It would be better to say in exact words what is meant. That would have some progress. If the United States wants to publish this decision outside Japan, I cannot understand how it can prevent publication in Japan, at least over the radio. But the question is divided. We have to give comprehensive answer and opinion on this situation. If we say that it will be published in Washington, well immediately the question comes how about Tokyo, Moscow, or any other place. I think, Mr. Chairman, that we have to think it over--maybe postpone the consideration of this question or discuss it today and make it more clear.

DR. LOUDON: Mr. Chairman, may I ask--has any decision of the Far Eastern Commission ever been published in Japan?

GEN. MCCOY: I don't know.

DR. LOUDON: I am just asking the question.

GEN. MCCOY: We will adjourn at the request of one of my colleagues for consideration off the record. I will declare a recess for ten minutes.

(The meeting recessed at 11:35 A.M.)

(The meeting reconvened at 11:50 A.M.)

GEN. MCCOY: Gentlemen, we will open the session again.

MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, could I suggest that we follow the original Australian wording, which would be the normal form of a decision for a press release perhaps with an appropriate reservation read into the minutes by yourself to cover the United States position on it. I think that might be acceptable to both sides.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, I was prepared to accept some provision of that sort, but I understand that the Soviet representative has asked for time to receive instructions on the matter. So that being the case I shall postpone action for the present.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, would it not be advisable to hear the proposal in order to make a definite proposal?

GEN. MCCOY: Well, under the circumstances I will not change my position. I was ready to change it if we could act. But if it is held up pending your request, I will not go further than to give you the United States position.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, I did not make any statement about any reservation.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I just understood that you wished--

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Let me hear the proposal officially and then let me state my position.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I will be very glad to let Major Plimsoll and Mr. Collins make their proposal.

MR. COLLINS: My proposal was that we follow the original Australian wording which would simply be "that the Far Eastern Commission release the review decision to the press forty-eight hours after receipt of notification from SCAP of the receipt of the Far Eastern Commission's decision to this effect", and that at the same time the United States representative read into the minutes a statement that this is accepted by the United States on the understanding that publication in Japan is a matter of implementation by the Supreme Commander, which would be the normal situation on any such publication.

MR. GRAVES: I second that, Mr. Chairman.

GEN. MCCOY: Are you ready to accept that provision?

ADM. RAMISHVILI: As a decision, Mr. Chairman, yes. But your reservation would mean that it would be worthless because if we don't publish this in Japan is the difficulty, Mr. Chairman.

GEN. MCCOY: If you can accept this proposal of Major Plimsoll and Mr. Collins, I am ready to put it to a motion and announce that the United States will accept it now. But if it has to be delayed, why then I stand on my announced proposition.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: I can vote for that proposal without any reservation.

GEN. MCCOY: Will you make the motion then, Major?

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Yes. I move that the Far Eastern Commission release the review decision to the press forty-eight hours after receipt of notification from the Supreme Commander of the receipt of the Far Eastern Commission's decision to this effect.

MR. COLLINS: I second that.

GEN. MCCOY: I will announce the acceptance of that with the privilege of reading into the minutes that the United States Government accepts this decision subject to its understanding that the question of publication within Japan is a matter of implementation by the Supreme Commander.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: This is not implementation.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, I say on this motion that I will accept it provided I can make this statement in the minutes.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, then may I make the statement that as we understand this proposal we agree with --that means that we don't make any reservation concerning any country and that we understand all countries including Japan.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I can't accept that.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: We cannot agree. You have your reservation and I have my reservation. It would be a very bad resolution, Mr. Chairman. Let's think it over and maybe by next meeting we can agree on it.

GEN. MCCOY: With your agreement I will postpone action and stand on my original proposition while it is pending.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: All right.

ITEM 7 - REPORT ON JAPANESE EXTERNAL ASSETS (FEC-072)

(There was no discussion of this item.)

ITEM 8 - THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION (FEC-105/2, SC-049/2)

GEN. MCCOY: I may state that as a result of these other sessions certain suggestions, recommendations, and criticisms have been made which I have embodied in a formal letter to my Government, requesting their action that I can put before the Commission.

ITEM 9 - OTHER BUSINESSa. Request from Supreme Commander for Authorization to Open Deposit in the National City Bank of New York

GEN. MCCOY: I have a statement to make from my Government as a matter of information and for your consideration. General MacArthur asked permission to make a deposit in the National City Bank of New York as depository for proceedings for certain Japanese exports which were informally approved by my Government. The United States Government has approved General MacArthur's request, but wishes the Commission to know about it and in the light of this statement to General MacArthur by my Government. The paper otherwise is administration but they make this statement:

"It is considered, however, that the proposal to establish such an account with the National City Bank of New York, which it appears is made largely because of its position as the only American bank licensed to operate in Japan, would temporarily at least give that bank a virtual monopoly over dollar financial transactions relative to Japanese foreign trade with non-United States areas. Since no particular bank in the United States should be given a preferred position over other banks in the United States or in other of the United Nations, it is considered advisable that in authorizing SCAP to

open an account with NCB, New York, for the purpose in question, it be understood that SCAP will utilize the facilities of other qualified American and foreign banks when the need for additional commerce banking services in connection with Japanese foreign trade arises and it is practicable to do so.

"It is concluded, a. that SCAP's proposal to open an account with the National City Bank of New York has been approved subject to the understanding in paragraph 6 above. Appropriate publicity should be given to the circumstances under which the account in question is being established and to the intent to establish similar accounts with other American banks and foreign banks when the need therefor arises." I will have copies of that--it only came to me this morning--furnished to all concerned.

b. Discussion of Developments on the Subject of Reparations

GEN. MCCOY: We will go into informal session.

(The following discussion was off the record.)

GEN. MCCOY: I forgot to talk to you, Major Plimsoll, before this suggestion that I make now. I have had report from the American representative on the Reparations Committee of some very interesting discussions there on the general subject of percentages for the nations involved, and I thought that you, as Chairman, might summarize that discussion that was had last week, I think, in which there were certain proposals made. I thought it was of such importance and it brings up some vital questions. I thought it would be well just to discuss it around the table and make sure that we are exploring every way of tackling this rather important and vital subject.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Mr. Chairman, the Reparations Committee several weeks ago began to consider a paper submitted by the United States Government for advance transfers of reparations. That paper proceeded to say that thirty percent of the interim program or the assets made available under the interim program should be distributed immediately to all countries which are most urgently in need of relief--China, the British territories in the Far East, the Philippines, and the Netherlands Indies. That paper met with approval from a number of countries but it was opposed by several others on the ground that all countries should be included in the paper, and not merely countries that were most urgently in need of relief. From that the Committee got on to a discussion of the whole question of percentages and we have made some attempt to arrive at an agreement as to what percentage, even fifty percent of the program, could be allotted to the different countries. Now I think it is too early to say that we are either going to reach agreement or we are going to fail, but I think we have gotten further than we have done before. We have broken the ice. All countries have not yet got instructions and the Committee has not yet made up its mind as to the best procedure. One suggestion was that every country should table a list of percentages for all countries of reparations--that you should take these eleven lists and average them and discuss them and use these lists as a basis of discussion whereupon we might get agreement. The general idea of most countries is that no country is prepared to table a list of percentages for all countries unless every country is prepared to do so. There have

been other suggestions. One suggestion is that each country should table the percentage that it thinks it should get itself. There are a number of objections to that. I think every country is likely to overstate its hand and perhaps the figures would be very much larger than they should be in relation to reality. But they have discussed reparations along those lines for the last two or three weeks now, and we will have more discussions tomorrow morning.

GEN. MCCOY: Some time ago, in fact it was at least almost a year ago, one of my colleagues proposed to me, as Chairman, faced with this very trying problem of our reaching an agreement on percentages for the respective countries, proposed a very interesting way of beginning to cut the Gordian knot, and I am very sorry myself that I wasn't able to accept it at that time. However, I thought it would interest you, in furtherance of this very discussion that was had in the committee, and proposed in a little different way. It was proposed to me that I, as Chairman, making myself as objective as possible, not considering myself as the United States representative for the time being, put before the Commission a list or schedule that I, as an objective Chairman, could put before the Commission without commitment on the part of anybody. I took it very seriously and considered it very carefully at the time and with my Government's representatives, and while I was doing that it occurred to me that to make it even more objective than the human being does as a rule I make myself a robot, as it were, and call on the delegates to the Commission to submit what might be called a secret ballot. That is, a schedule from each one of the whole

from their point of view without commitment on their point or without signing the paper--just submit a list and that I would then, as the robot, take these lists and average them up and throw them back to the Commission as a bone of contention, you might say. In trying to follow that through there were certain objections to both and it seemed to me that the robot would have to cease to be a robot at a certain point and try to doctor up the averages possibly--not from the point of view of any one country but to get a composite picture that might be even a little more reasonable than the purely mechanical picture. I discussed that with my assistants several times during last spring and then we were caught in the midst of our consideration of that by the effort, outside of the Commission, to try to reach agreement in a diplomatic sense, so that I dropped this very interesting proposition, and it has now occurred to me again, after hearing the comments and the suggestions before the committee, and I just put it now before you to think over and see if there is any virtue in acting as a robot and trying to give you a composite picture as a beginning without commitments on anybody's part, either the ones who submit the list to me or I, as Chairman, simply what might be called a mechanical effort to give a composite picture based on a number, on the whole eleven lists. Now, it is a new idea and new ideas are always interesting and possibly it might result in a practical approach and cover the points that came up in these discussions before the committee where I think you, Mr. Graves, felt that, although you were ready to submit a list, you would only feel that you could do it if all the others would submit lists. Now this puts it in a little different

way to get over your objection for the moment, and also hoping to appeal to the Soviet representative where he wouldn't be committing his Government in any way, and where I would accept the eleven lists, you might say blindfolded, without any knowledge of where they came from. I just have eleven lists before me. So that it seemed to me that it would be consistent with the general ideas expressed and might meet some of the objections. So I put that before you just to consider without any ~~real~~ real effort to propose it. It is simply one for your consideration as a way of starting the ball rolling where nobody would be committed and nobody would know what the other fellow suggests.

MR. GRAVES: Mr. Chairman, may I say that what you have just said is most encouraging. Should we be permitted to report that you would be willing to undertake the task?

GEN. MCCOY: Not until I have heard some discussion of what the general opinion is. Personally I played with it and thought about for months off and on and when anybody would listen to me on the subject. But I didn't get any particular encouragement until I heard this comment around the table of the Reparations Committee. These would apply only to the assets within Japan.

MR. GRAVES: Well that puts rather different a complexion on it, Mr. Chairman, so far as we are concerned. That was not Lord Halifax's original proposal. When he made the proposal he was speaking of over-all percentage which included both internal and external assets.

GEN. MCCOY: Well it is an interesting idea and I put it before you for discussion and throw the ball back to you on the Reparations Committee, Major Plimsoll.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Yes. I think myself, if we could once get a table of figures for all countries as a basis of discussion, we are well on the way of getting some solution. Part of the troubles/^{is}that we are still shadow boxing. We've got no figures. We can't find any way to start off with any figures. No country is prepared to commit itself. Everybody is watching everybody else to some extent. And if we could only get some figures to start our discussion, I think we might have a better chance.

MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, I think your suggestion is the most helpful one that has been presented yet and is the one that is most likely to get some table for us to begin with. Until we've got that we can't even begin to talk about the substance of the issue

MR. SEN: Is your suggestion that these percentages should be secret?

GEN. MCCOY: That is they would be sent to me without signature in the form of what you might call a secret ballot.

MR. SEN: It might make some one a little bit irresponsible in that situation. They might demand much more than they would otherwise demand openly.

MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, I think it is worth a try. I think we might be able to count on the governments concerned to exercise a certain degree of discretion and responsibility in approaching this problem. It's a very important problem. We have been kicking it

around for so long now.

GEN. MCCOY: Well it is important for all of the nations involved and we are conscious of the fact that when you come to discuss reparations selfish interests are naturally the basis of every one of our responsibilities, and to get something started it might be worthwhile. So that if it seems interesting and important enough from your points of view, I would like to ask the Reparations Committee in its further discussions on this very point that has gotten for the first time to some definite probabilities. Now this makes the probability, if--it is so vague in my own mind that I would like to have it now considered by the Reparations Committee with their expert knowledge and their continuing interest in the subject. So that if there is no objection I will ask the Reparations Committee to consider that proposition, not only as I put it but as it might even be improved, and no doubt it can be, as a starter. At least it will be another idea to further the propositions already discussed in the last three meetings.

DR. KOO: Mr. Chairman, we, on behalf of the Chinese Government, have always been urging an early discussion and settlement of this reparations question. I need not dwell upon that point now. Our attitude is clearly known to all and we regret very much ~~that~~ the indefinite delay which seems to have taken place. Now, because of that delay I understand the question of reparations is divided in two stages. The question of internal removals has been brought up once or twice and now, I think, it is before this Committee on Reparations.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Advance deliveries question.

DR. KOO: Advance deliveries, and that idea has been put forward in order to obviate the undesirable effects of this continuous delay. We look upon that project as of most urgent importance because it is designed to meet the urgent needs of our country and certain other countries as a matter of relief really. Now, Mr. Chairman, if I understood your suggestion correctly, your point refers to the whole question of reparations and, of course, that is really the principal question. If we could settle the whole question in a short time, that would of course be preferable. But, judging from the course of the discussions that we have had in the past, extending over a rather long period, this question may again take some time. So I hope that the project of the advance deliveries will still be pushed as rapidly as possible, the more so because that is understood not in any way to prejudice the final determination of the percentages for the various countries. As I said, it is in the nature of relief measures and as such I hope very much that a settlement could be reached very quickly. I mean a settlement of the advance deliveries. So what I am particularly anxious about is that this question of the interim removals should not be in any way further affected by our discussion of the whole question of reparations. That is one point.

Now as regards the general question, the whole question of reparations, I am fascinated by your suggestion. In view of the difficulties and impediments which appeared to stand in the way of several other suggestions, the questions of the relative merits of

different suggestions for making a start or for starting the ball rolling, I suppose the Americans would say, I wish to indorse your suggestion because it seems to me that it presents a real possibility of having something to discuss as sort of a basis of discussion without committing any of the delegations. Yet we would be able to start a practical discussion of the question. A beginning could be then made whereby we may be able to reach a final settlement. So far as we are concerned we wish to support your suggestion. That is to say, if I understand correctly, that each delegation sends in a list of the complete percentages of all the countries to divide the available reparations assets inside of Japan without committing any government and giving really not only authority but really asking the Chairman to be good enough to put them all together and try to produce one paper on the basis of the eleven papers. Then we will have one paper, either as a basis of discussion or as a paper to start with, so that we could carry on our discussion in a practical way and thereby make progress. So we favor that and I hope that others would likewise find it possible to approve the suggestion so that at least some start could be made on this whole question of reparations.

GEN. MCCOY: I think the Committee is empowered to follow through on the thing. I had in mind preparing a blank for the eleven countries with a heading or preamble showing these points, so that there would be no commitment. That is giving an express preamble on each blank along the lines we have indicated here. That is, that it is an effort to reach a composite picture

based on eleven papers that are submitted, and each one take a blank and submit it without any signature. Just turn it in. That is what I had in mind, something of that sort. But the technique of it or the procedure will no doubt receive careful consideration in the committee, and certainly it would be an effort and a new idea and a new approach and nobody would be committed in any way. Possibly, Major Plimsoll, you could give us a little information as to the status of the advance reparations paper.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Well, the advance reparations paper--all governments have now replied with the exception of the United Kingdom, which will probably reply this week. Of the other governments the Australian Government is opposed to the paper. We believe that relief is not a proper criteria and that all countries should be included. The Canadian Government accepts the paper. The Chinese Government accepts the paper. The French Government does not accept the paper. The French Government believes that all countries that have been devastated should be included in the paper. The Indian Government takes the same position that the Indian Government cannot accept the paper unless India is included. The Netherlands Government accepts the paper. The New Zealand Government, I understand, accepts it. The Philippine Government accepts it. The Soviet Government cannot accept it in its present form. It desires that the Soviet should be included or preferably that all countries be included in the paper. So that at the moment we have not taken a final vote because all instructions are not in. But, as I say, we

have these disagreements. We have as a root of this disagreement got on to this new approach where we are getting to percentages.

GEN. MCCOY: Well this paper was not to be prejudiced. I in no way want to prejudice that paper and the consideration of it by this approach for the overall percentages for all concerned. We still consider that paper a relief paper and an urgent paper.

Gentlemen, we stand adjourned.

(Whereupon the meeting adjourned at 12:25 P.M.)

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Transcript of Fiftieth Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission,
Held in Main Conference Room, 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Thursday, March 20, 1947

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REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy USA (Ret.), Chairman	(United States)
Major J. Plimsoll	(Australia)
Mr. R. E. Collins	(Canada)
Dr. S. H. Tan	(China)
Mr. Robert Douteau	(France)
Mr. P. A. Menon	(India)
His Excellency Dr. A. Loudon	(Netherlands)
His Excellency Sir Carl Berendsen	(New Zealand)
Mr. C. Coronel	(Philippines)
Rear Admiral S. S. Ramishvili	(U.S.S.R.)
Mr. H. A. Graves	(United Kingdom)

SECRETARY

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

Reporter: R. Holtz, Department of State

(The Commission convened at 10:40 A.M.)

GEN. MCCOY: Gentlemen, we have a nice morning to have a short session. With your permission we will open for business.

ITEM 1 - APPROVAL OF THE MINUTES OF THE 49th MEETING

GEN. MCCOY: We will consider the routine minutes of the last meeting and make the inquiries as to our wishes as to corrections or changes. There seem to be none. If there is no objection we will make the minutes of the last meeting of record.

ITEM 2 - ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE NO. 3:
CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL REFORM (FEC-206/4)

GEN. MCCOY: The Steering Committee this week unanimously approved the recommendation of Committee No. 3 that Mr. B. R. Sen, representing India, be elected as its chairman. If there is no discussion desired or objections the report of the Steering Committee will be accepted and Mr. Sen will from now act as chairman. Do we address Mr. Sen as Mister or Doctor?

MR. MENON: Mr. Sen, sir.

ITEM 3 - REQUEST FOR CONSULTATION WITH THE SUPREME
COMMANDER RELATIVE TO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ELECTION LAW (FEC-210/1; FEC-101/1,
C3-009, MI-007)

GEN. MCCOY: This was set up by the committee and approved by the Steering Committee. If there is no objection this query will be communicated at once to the Supreme Commander on the lines indicated.

ITEM 4 - REPLY TO CABLE FROM PRIME MINISTER OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC RELATIVE TO REPARATIONS FROM JAPAN (FEC-095/4; -095)

GEN. MCCOY: Item 4 is before you, proposed Reply to the Prime Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic, which was unanimously approved by the Steering Committee. If there is no objection the attached letter for the signature of the Secretary General, representing the Commission, will be forwarded in reply to the personal cable sent to me.

ITEM 5 - SUPPLY OF FOOD FOR CIVILIAN RELIEF IN JAPAN (FEC-026/12, -/14, -/13; -/10)

GEN. MCCOY: I won't go into once more as you know the long background to this food paper or the two food papers before the Commission, the one of which my Government was unable to concur in and I submitted a substitute which deleted a paragraph which was not agreeable to most of the members here, and it resulted in very thorough consideration of the question on the part of my Government of the statements and suggestions and recommendations of the various members. At the last meeting I was able to go far enough to accept a change in meeting in part the desires of the majority of the Commission, but, in view of the further statements, I once more took it up with my Government and all the points in question have been thoroughly considered. I might almost say painfully. So that I now once more am in the position of stating that I would accept a motion for the paper as amended by my suggestion at the last meeting. I state that the United States Government has considered the views expressed by the members of the Far Eastern Commission and that it adheres

to its previous position. That is, it will accept the change to the paragraph in which it was part of the suggestions were accepted but beyond that I am stating that my Government cannot go. So that if the Commission feels that they can accept the United States paper with the amendment proposed, I am ready to receive a proposal and concur on the part of the United States. Otherwise we would have to non-concur with the former paper. Is there no proposal? Both food papers then fail to pass.

ITEM 6 - RELEASE TO PRESS OF COMMISSION POLICY
DECISION ON REVIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION
(FEC-103, -/1; FEC-031/41, MI-075)

GEN. MCCOY: This is another controversial paper. FEC-103 has remained on the agenda awaiting the views of the United States Government. A statement of the United States position was presented to the Commission at the last meeting and still is before you.

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Mr. Chairman, I should like to move the following motion: that the Far Eastern Commission release to the press outside Japan its policy decision on provisions for the review of the new Japanese Constitution, FEC-031/41. I've got some copies here which I will circulate, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, the wording of this motion is unusual and I am not very happy myself at the position, but I am accepting it because I think half a loaf is better than none. In doing so I am taking the understanding which we reached at the last meeting of the Commission that news of this decision would inevitably reach Japan both by broadcasts from Allied stations and through newspapers sent to the troops in Japan and possibly

any other newspapers that reach Japan. There is therefore no breach of faith on the part of any Allied government if news does reach Japan in that way, and Allied governments are under no obligation and as far as we are concerned we do not have the legal power to do it. We have no obligation to censorship of anything going to Japan either by mail or by broadcasts.

We don't know what the actions of General MacArthur will be. That is left to him as a matter of implementation. My personal hope is that he will make a public statement on the review of the Constitution. I think that will be the best from all points of view. He has, of course, the power to use his powers of censorship and he may do that, and I think it will be very unfortunate if he does. The Japanese people will know that he is doing it and it will leave the impression that there is a conflict between the Commission and the Supreme Commander. We don't want that impression to arise. But General MacArthur has got those powers, and in accepting this paper we know that he might exercise them.

My Government has always felt that it is important that the Japanese themselves should know about this review decision. We have hoped and we still hope that the Japanese will know officially that they have the power to review the Constitution. We hope that they will know that before they vote at the coming elections. If they know that I think we can be much more happy that the review exercised by the Diet is one that represents the free will of the Japanese people.

Mr. Chairman, as I say, I am not happy about all

any other newspapers that reach Japan. There is therefore no breach of faith on the part of any Allied government if news does reach Japan in that way, and Allied governments are under no obligation and as far as we are concerned we do not have the legal power to do it. We have no obligation to censorship of anything going to Japan either by mail or by broadcasts.

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Mr. Chairman, as I say, I am not happy about all

the implications of this. I accept it because half a loaf is better than none, and I am glad that the Allied peoples at any rate will know of this decision. And in saying that, Mr. Chairman, I should like to thank you personally because I know that you have taken a personal interest in seeing that some decision of this nature has been reached.

I, therefore, move formally that the Far Eastern Commission release to the press outside Japan its policy decision on provisions for the review of the new Japanese Constitution, FEC-031/41.

MR. GRAVES: I second that motion, Mr. Chairman.

GEN. MCCOY: The motion has been made and seconded, that the Far Eastern Commission decides to release to the press outside of Japan its policy decision on provisions for the review of the new Japanese Constitution, FEC-031/41.

I will at this time make a statement for the minutes, that release will take place forty-eight hours after receipt of the notification from SCAP of his receipt of the Far Eastern Commission's decision to this effect.

Are there any further comments on this paper and its effect? Is there any objection to this publication as stated?

ADM. RAMISHVILI: May I say a few words, Mr. Chairman? Mr. Chairman, I am not happy about this resolution which I feel, and I am quite sure that everybody around this table feels, does not entirely and completely answer our original intention--to make known this decision to the Japanese people. From this point of view I believe

that this decision is somewhat a departure from our original position. This decision, Mr. Chairman, without expressing any opinion and hope about future implications of this decision, but I think that it must be perfectly clear that this decision will serve its one hundred percent purpose if it will be in some way made known to the Japanese people later and if the United States Government or General MacArthur himself does this. Without this, Mr. Chairman, this decision of course is half-way. Of course, it does not decide the whole question entirely as we wanted to decide originally. Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, since the majority of the Commission, I believe--I don't know what is the opinion of members today--but I believe everybody wants to pass this decision and release to the press in Washington, outside of Japan. The Soviet delegation does not feel it necessary to object to this decision since everybody wants this and this is some step forward, though we think that it must be done--some other steps to make known the decision to the Japanese people. For the purpose of cooperation with other members we are willing to vote for this resolution, Mr. Chairman.

Further, what I wanted to say in connection with the publication of this decision in Japan, or in other words to make it known to the Japanese people, that we reserve our right, of course depending on circumstances and further developments, if we find that this question raises again in further circumstances of real action or other events--we reserve our right, Mr. Chairman, and I believe that this is a right of the Commission, to

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raise this question again.

So far as your provision, Mr. Chairman, about forty-eight hours, there is no objection to that of course, but I wanted personally, and I believe maybe other members want, to make known to the Commission the deadline of this forty-eight hours. I mean we be informed that the decision was received, as your proposal indicates, was received in Tokyo and notification had been received, and saying the start of the forty-eight hours--not after forty-eight hours but possibly before. I mean as soon as the notification has been received. That is all I wanted to say, Mr. Chairman.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Mr. Chairman, I don't feel happy about this at all. I wouldn't obstruct any decision that the Commission is prepared to take but I have serious misgivings about the whole matter.

As you know, sir, and as my colleagues know, I have been throughout the whole course of our existence in favor of the widest possible publicity. But I am not at all sure that this resolution is wise or the action that we propose to take is wise. I am not concerned to any particular extent with publication of this decision outside Japan. The only effect it could possibly have is to interest those who retain any interest in the activities of this Commission. I am concerned with publication inside of Japan, and there I recognize the Commission appears to be in conflict with the views and desires of the Supreme Commander, the views and desires which every member of the Commission would desire to respect. But I would not myself feel that we've accomplished anything. Indeed, I am not sure

that we are accomplishing half if we publish outside Japan while no publication takes place inside Japan. My apprehension is that the Japanese people might feel that here's a fundamentally important decision taken as a matter of policy by the Far Eastern Commission and they are not informed about it. I think it is wrong. I think that is entirely wrong, and if they learn, as they may well learn, of this highly important decision through the backstairs, so to speak, through press messages coming from other countries, then I should think the Japanese will feel that proper candor has not been exercised. I am not at all sure that it is wise to publish at all if we are not going to publish in Japan.

Now, nobody knows what the view of the Supreme Commander is though we are under the impression he doesn't agree with publication. Nobody knows what the view of the Supreme Commander will be when he is told this decision has not only been taken but is to be published in forty-eight hours. If he then decides in those circumstances he should publish in Japan, well and good. But if he should decide that even in those circumstances he will not publish in Japan I think it's a bad situation. From that point of view I think I should have to refrain from voting on this motion. I don't like it.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, I think that we've handled this paper with that effort to meet differences of opinion which have been for a long time before us. Of course, you remember that it has had a very long career in the Commission, and to get the original review paper through, started by I think Dr.

Evatt last summer, my Government, in its desire to cooperate, finally did accept the review subject to the one provision as to the publication. The review paper has been issued to the Japanese Government, and on this further effort we have tried once more to cooperate and I have gone as far as it is possible to do and I think that the Commission is acting properly and quite within its bounds for having it published. I will not go into the particulars that have been before you through the months and only express the hope that this effort to cooperate as far as possible will have the effect eventually that you desire. So that if there is no further discussion and no objections, the resolution as presented by the Australian representative and seconded by the United Kingdom, and with the statements of myself, representing the United States, and the Admiral, representing the Soviets, I will declare adopted without objection and without, as I understand it, you full vote.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I should like my abstention recorded.

GEN. MCCOY: Which will also be included with those of the Admiral and myself.

MR. DOUTEAU: Mr. Chairman, I would like the remarks made by Mr. Naggiar at the last meeting made again this time, that we would prefer this policy decision to be published at the seat of the Far Eastern Commission.

GEN. MCCOY: That will also be made a matter of record.

ITEM 7 - REPORT ON JAPANESE EXTERNAL ASSETS (FEC-072)

GEN. MCCOY: Item 7 will be continued on the agenda.

ITEM 8 - THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION (FEC-105/2,
SC-049/2)

(This item was discussed off-the-record.)

GEN. MCCOY: We will declare the Commission open for informal discussion on anything in the way of other business. I don't know whether I told you, Sir Carl, that I had made a formal presentation of your statement that came up from the Steering Committee and the added comments and suggestions, principally with regard to liaison, to my Government in a formal paper, and we will get, as you wish--you have expressed to me that you would like to have views of the United States Government on our discussions and our paper, and that will, I hope, be before you shortly.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Thank you very much.

GEN. MCCOY: In the meantime I think we can be conscious that the Government is trying to meet the liaison subject which is of continued importance. A good deal has been accomplished in that and a statement of those accomplishments will also be made.

The table is open for a talk on cabbages and kings--

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: And ships and shoes and sealing wax--

GEN. MCCOY: Have you anything to bring up today, Mr. Secretary General?

MR. JOHNSON: No, sir.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I wonder--has anybody got any views on the Supreme Commander's recent statement about an early peace treaty and withdrawal of the occupation?

GEN. MCCOY: I know that that is a matter in England also with the Field Marshall and the Government.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I wasn't referring to that aspect of it.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I think it was a very interesting statement.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: It certainly was.

GEN. MCCOY: And it gives food for thought. I have been watching the editorials of the papers about it and they are all taking cognizance of it, and that is the kind of publicity, I think, that the Commission is concerned about. You will remember, Sir Carl, and those who were present in Japan, that the Supreme Commander was very early in having some broad ideas and opinions on that very subject, that he presented to the Commission last year when we were there, very much as appeared in public print. Any further remarks or interest in the Supreme Commander's personal views?

ITEM 9 - OTHER BUSINESS

GEN. MCCOY: There seems to be nothing further this morning. If there are no objections we will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon the meeting adjourned at 11:15 A.M.)

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

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Thursday, March 27, 1947.

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REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, USA (Ret.), Chairman	(United States)
His Excellency Norman J. O. Makin	(Australia)
His Excellency Hume Wrong	(Canada)
Dr. S. H. Tan	(China)
His Excellency Mr. Paul E. Naggiar	(France)
His Excellency Mr. Asaf Ali	(India)
Dr. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino	(Netherlands)
Colonel G. R. Powles	(New Zealand)
Mr. C. Coronel	(Philippines)
Rear Admiral S. S. Ramishvili	(U.S.S.R.)
Mr. H. A. Graves	(United Kingdom)

SECRETARY

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

Reporter: Mr. R. Holtz, Department of State

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(The fifty-first meeting of the Far Eastern Commission, 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., was called to order at 10:35 A.M., 27 March 1947, by Major General Frank R. McCoy, USA (Ret.), Chairman.)

GEN. MCCOY: The session is open. I wish you all good morning. I was about to suggest a postponement of the meeting today as the original circulation showed there wasn't much to consider. But, in the meantime, I find that a certain background has been smoothed out with regard to one of the important papers, the educational paper, on which very much good work has been done, and there seems to be an opportunity of having final action on that. So I have continued the habit of meeting with that point in view.

MR. ASAF ALI: Before we proceed any further, Mr. Chairman, I should just like to invite attention of all the representatives present here to the simple fact that I should like the circulation of the agenda to be a little better than this. The circulation of the agenda, as far as I can make out, did not begin but about twenty-four hours ago. I received it only about twenty-four hours ago. Now I recognize the fact that those who have been attending the Commission have got out the background. But, supposing there happens to be a new-comer like myself, may I not have a little more time to consider the various matters which you have been considering? If it is possible I would urge that the agenda be circulated well in time to enable persons like myself to be fully seized of the subjects which are going to be considered.

And number two. You just now referred to the educational paper. I don't find it here. I don't know which

paper reference is being made to. On the agenda I find only six items and certainly the education paper is not there.

GEN. MCCOY: Well, we have a revised agenda due to this late addition of the educational paper.

MR. JOHNSON: Sir, do you have the revised agenda there? It was only distributed this morning.

MR. ASAF ALI: I have the agenda - "Item 1 - Approval of the Minutes of the 50th Meeting; Item 2 - Policy for the Revision of the Japanese Educational System." I invite your attention to the fact that such short notice is hardly consistent with the consideration of serious matters. This is not a simple matter. We must have full notice of all these affairs before we can give any opinion. At least, I am not in a position to give any opinion on the subject. If I receive notice on the agenda of a certain paper the moment I come to the Commission table, do you expect me to offer any opinion?

GEN. MCCOY: Of course, there has been long consideration of this paper at which your representatives were present. This paper was held up at the request of my own Government until yesterday, and rather than defer it for a considerable period, if there was no objection, we would consider it finally. But, of course, if you have objection it can be postponed.

MR. ASAF ALI: I am entirely in your hands, sir, and in the hands of the representatives present here. If it suits others to exclude my consideration of this particular paper, by all means go ahead with it. Otherwise I would like you to give me some time to consider it.

MR. MAKIN: I think possibly, sir, as a consideration

to the Ambassador from India, the matter might possibly stand over until next meeting.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I was just mentioning that fact. We will take that up after we pass on the minutes.

ITEM 1 - APPROVAL OF THE MINUTES OF THE 50TH MEETING

GEN. MCCOY: Are there any corrections or changes in the minutes?

MR. GRAVES: Mr. Chairman, may I refer to Item 5, the Supply of Food... It is on page 1. At the last meeting I had a slight misapprehension as to which two papers had failed to be accepted. I thought that the ones which had failed were FEC-026/12 and FEC-026/14, but I find, on reading the minutes, that it was policy matter that obviously referred to FEC-026/10 and FEC-026/12 and I see they are not on the agenda. We are very anxious to have some policy on food. I would like, with your permission, to revert to the subject when we get to Other Business.

GEN. MCCOY: Are there any other remarks on the minutes? If not they will be a matter of approval and record.

ITEM 2 - POLICY FOR THE REVISION OF THE JAPANESE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (FEC-092/1)

GEN. MCCOY: Now, Item 2, the educational policy paper, Policy for the Revision of the Japanese Educational System, FEC-092/1. This proposed policy decision was postponed by the Steering Committee at its last meeting pending formulation of the final views of the United States Government. Members of the Steering Committee had informally approved the paper, and in the light of notification that the paper meets with United States approval, the Secretary

General has placed it on this agenda pursuant to agreement between the Chairman of the Commission and the Chairman pro tempore of the Steering Committee.

It was, you might say, that the United States was delaying the paper. There was no delay on the part of India or of the other nations, and we now have been able to clear--and we were hoping that, since the subject is before the Japanese Diet, we could get this paper out as soon as practicable so that it would have its due effect before the Japanese Diet acts. However, we put it before the Commission for your consideration and any discussion that may be desirable.

I think that you are in the unfortunate position of being here for the first time.

MR. ASAF ALI: And I haven't got the paper before me. I had no idea about it.

GEN. MCCOY: But your representatives have been concerned as the paper has approached the table.

MR. ASAF ALI: If it suits the convenience of the other members present, I should be the very last person to hold up anything which ought to go through. If it is very urgent and if others feel that they have nothing further to say about it, I recognize the fact--

GEN. MCCOY: It is an important paper and has had very thorough consideration.

Before we proceed to further discussion or consideration, the Secretary General has some typographical errors to call attention to and some punctuation to propose as corrections to the paper before you. I don't think they are matters of substance but matters purely of good English.

MR. JOHNSON: On page 5 of this paper, FEC-092/1, in paragraph 23, apparently it has gone through all stages here with punctuation marks that make that paragraph almost without meaning. At the end of the words "parent-teacher's associations" on line 3 the comma should be a semi-colon, and after the words "in a democratic Japan" in the fifth line that period should be a comma and the capital "S" should be a small "s", thus bringing the clause beginning with "Such" into the sentence.

GEN. MCCOY: In view of the statement of the Indian member, and these corrections, which I don't think alter the substance or the intention of the Commission, I will declare a recess so that the members will not be rushed in the consideration of this paper, and give the Indian member an opportunity, if he wishes, to have time to see what it is all about and whether he wishes to have the paper considered at another meeting.

MR. ASAF ALI: I thank you, sir.

GEN. MCCOY: It will me false on this in the sense that it has been the United States Government that has held up the paper so far after it has had thorough consideration in the working committee and in the Steering Committee. So that our only hopeful anxiety is that we could get it out as soon as practicable in view of the fact that it is now the subject or is now being considered by the Japanese Diet. I will declare a recess so that you will have an opportunity to familiarize yourselves with the changes mentioned by the Secretary General and also to give the Indian member an opportunity to consider the thing.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, may I say a few words

before you declare a recess? I fully appreciate, Mr. Chairman, your decision to put this question in the agenda today and I believe that everybody understands the necessity for the adoption of this paper. But, if the Indian member is not ready, though I don't propose to postpone this question, but if His Excellency finds himself unable to discuss this question today, I will be quite ready to postpone it. It will be very, very nice and very proper to do--respecting his position.

MR. ASAF ALI: I am grateful to you for the procedure which you have suggested, Mr. Chairman, in deference to my wishes perhaps, but I would not like to stand in the way of the Commission for one second and therefore I propose a way out. Let the Commission provisionally adopt the paper if they feel like it, leaving me only just a little liberty to comment on it in case I find something which may be considered later. Supposing I find the paper absolutely acceptable, then there is nothing further to be said about it. It is adopted. But, if I find that there is something which ought to be considered, I will bring it up and perhaps you will allow me to ask for a reconsideration of that specific matter and no more. I think that is a fair way out. It is quite possible I may find it perfectly acceptable. But I want to reserve to myself the right to bring to the Commission's notice anything which strikes me to be worth reconsidering. I think that is a fair way out. That holds up no one.

GEN. MCCOY: I shall declare a recess and give myself an opportunity to consult away from the table with the Ambassador and the representative of the United States who has had to do with this paper.

I wasn't conscious until this moment that the

Ambassador of India was with us. I would like to call attention to the members that India is now represented by the new Ambassador, and we give you welcome.

MR. ASAF ALI: Thank you, sir.

GEN. MCCOY: I will declare a recess so I can have an opportunity of talking with you about ~~the~~^{it,} pending further consideration. We stand in recess.

(The meeting recessed at 10:55 A.M.)

(The meeting reconvened at 11:20 A.M.)

GEN. MCCOY: Gentlemen, we will come into session again. I have had an opportunity to talk the thing over with the Ambassador, and I would like to have him state, as a matter of discussion, points of view that were interesting and pertinent to the general paper.

MR. ASAF ALI: Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you for having allowed me this opportunity to discuss things in conference with you and your educational adviser on the subject. I would not like to take up the time of the Commission on this paper. I find that it is a most excellent paper, drafted by those who know the subject. They have taken all relevant questions into consideration and have dealt with them as well as they could in the circumstances. When I say in the circumstances I mean that Japan today represents, along with some of the others whose fate is being dealt with elsewhere, a country and a people who unfortunately were a little too excessive in their ambition. They were carrying out their ambition in a form which had become a menace to the world, which menace fortunately has now been conquered. And now we must be very concerned that that menace is not revived in any shape or form anywhere--

not merely in Japan but elsewhere too. If the world is to preserve peace, and if humanity is to grow along lines of peaceful prosperity, then these tendencies have got to be restrained wherever they may be found. That is the object behind this paper and I am entirely in agreement with it. But there are one or two little points which have occurred to me after a superficial reading of this paper in the short time I have had at my disposal, and which I have mentioned to the Chairman. With the help of his advice my doubts have been more or less satisfied for the time being. But it is only relevant that I should mention these points to you now so that you may also bear in mind how my mind is moving.

Now, if you look at page 1, paragraph 2, the opening sentence runs as follows: "Those teachers and other educational officials whose record shows them to have been pronounced exponents of ultra-nationalistic, militaristic, or totalitarian ideas, should be forbidden to teach or engage in other employment..." Please mark the word "employment" there, "...or engage in other employment connected with education." Now, supposing, for instance, little children are being taught in schools and some of these men are available for supplying, shall we say, milk to the children, which is possibly a connected activity. After all we must see that the children are brought up properly, and we supply them with milk. You know what the manpower shortage is like all over the world. Supposing these people can be employed in that particular activity, which will still be connected with education but not education itself. I want to know whether this will bar them. If so, I think we are drawing rather

heavily upon our resources of manpower. That is one doubt. I don't know whether that doubt has been completely resolved, but I do not wish that little point to become a hindrance in the passage of this paper.

Paragraph 7, relating to text books, curricula, and teaching methods, says: "Teaching of ultra-nationalism, State Shintoism.....should be eliminated from the educational system." Now I fear that the expression "State Shintoism" infringes upon a principle, a fundamental principle, not that I for one second desire Shintoism to be revived anywhere in that form, because after all Shintoism has certainly proved a very dreadful thing as far as Japan is concerned. I have not the slightest doubt about it and nobody would like it to be revived in that form. But it is a question of a people--I am going to the fundamentals--claiming a teaching to be religious. Are we today sanctioning that principle? Are we telling anyone today that religion in any shape or form or in any particular form shall not become State religion anywhere? What about Christianity? There are certain countries where Christianity is State religion. The United Kingdom has a form of Christianity as a State religion. Later on you may find it difficult, after having laid down a law or a principle like this, you may find it difficult to defend it. I am only warning you. That is about all. It is quite possible that somebody may come up afterwards and say no religion shall ever be taught anywhere as a State religion. Personally I may be quite prepared to subscribe to it because religion and State should never be confused. It is a wrong thing to do. But it is a point for you to consider. It is easy for us to lay down certain rules and

fundamentals in a hurry and then find later on that they become halters around our necks. This is a doubt which I have expressed. But, if it does not in any way suggest itself to you in the same form, please rule it out and let the paper go through. That is all, Mr. Chairman, that I have to say.

GEN. MCCOY: Are there any other comments or matters of discussion?

MR. MAKIN: Yes, Mr. Chairman, I wish to make a few observations. I thank the Ambassador for the expressions he has made and the opinions, I am sure, will be very valuable to the consideration of this paper. I feel indebted to him for the points that he has raised this morning.

The Far Eastern Commission has not laid down in any detail in paragraphs 16, 17, 18, and 19 of FEC-092/1 how the Japanese educational system is to be decentralized. It has been felt that the Commission should do no more than lay down general policy, in order that the Supreme Commander will have the greatest possible degree of discretion in determining what is most suitable in the light of current circumstances. The Australian Government fully agrees with this, and has complete confidence in General MacArthur. However, the Australian Government would like to state formally its more detailed views, and to ask that these be sent to General MacArthur for his guidance in the degree and timing of decentralization, the Supreme Commander of course retaining full discretion as to the extent to which he follows these lines.

It is believed that comprehensive educational reform is likely to be most effectively handled by a cen-

tralized Government department. Therefore decentralization of administration is not recommended for general policy planning, finance, appointment of teachers, conditions for teachers, provision of buildings, planning of educational standards, and the over-all conduct and planning of research programmes. However, the carrying out of details of administration should be decentralized. This decentralization might be accomplished most effectively by placing local administration of education under district superintendents of education, appointed by the Japanese Government, who should be educationalists of standing. It is believed that the schools and teachers should not be under the control of the prefectural administrations. In determining curricula, a central authority should make general suggestions for all subjects and should specify requirements of standards; however, within those limits, decentralization should occur, and is recommended particularly for social studies, biological sciences and vocational subjects in which local conditions should play an important role.

It is not considered that the Japanese people, particularly in rural and remote areas, are yet fitted to undertake the responsibility of local supervision of education through educational committees or boards elected under local franchise. Nor is it considered that the teaching body as a whole is fitted to accept immediately the freedoms in determining curricula and teaching methods implied in a decentralized system. The process of decentralization should take place gradually over a period of some years and should keep pace with the progress of development of democratic thought among teachers and parents.

Any sudden change-over from central control to complete decentralization might result in chaos, in giving too great control in remote districts to reactionary and ignorant elements of the population, and in making difficult the Supreme Commander's supervision and inspection of educational reform.

Those, sir, are the viewpoints that the Australian Governments thinks necessary to bring to the notice of the Commission this morning, and asks that those views might also be made available to General MacArthur for his guidance in regard to the thoughts we hold upon this matter.

GEN. MCCOY: Are there any other points on the part of any of the representatives here?

MR. ASAF ALI: May I ask a question?

MR. MAKIN: Yes, sir.

MR. ASAF ALI: You have referred to decentralization of education. Does it refer to primary, secondary, or higher education--or all together?

MR. MAKIN: Essentially the primary.

MR. ASAF ALI: Primary?

MR. MAKIN: Yes, for if you will remember I indicated that with respect to certain subjects--social, biological, and others--that the circumstances of the local surroundings should determine the basis of what curricula was really accepted for that.

GEN. MCCOY: Would it meet with your ideas, Mr. Ambassador from India, if your remarks would be treated in the same way as that of the Ambassador of Australia and sent as a matter of record of your opinions to General MacArthur with the broad general paper?

MR. ASAF ALI: It would be perfectly consistent with

the situation as I find it today because there is a certain amount of urgency as far as this paper is concerned. So, the sooner we get it through the better. I entirely appreciate it.

GEN. MCCOY: If it is agreeable to the other members of the Commission, the paper is put before you in general lines of policy, with the particular corrections as to commas and trend of the last paragraph as corrected by the Secretary General in paragraph 23. If that is agreeable to the Commission I shall assume your approval of the paper as modified, and as the Ambassador of India has stated and the Ambassador from Australia has stated. That will be made a matter of record and sent in a covering letter to the Supreme Commander with the directive. Is that satisfactory to you, sir?

MR. MAKIN: Yes, it is, sir.

MR. ASAF ALI: I thank you.

GEN. MCCOY: Do I have the general approval of the Commission along those lines? The paper will be handled in that way by the Secretary General.

Thank you very much for the added opinions that will be helpful to the Supreme Commander.

ITEM 3 - REPORT ON JAPANESE EXTERNAL ASSETS (FEC-072)

GEN. MCCOY: Item 3 is continued on the agenda.

ITEM 4 - THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION (FEC-105/2, SC-049/2)

(There was no discussion of this item.)

ITEM 5 - OTHER BUSINESS

GEN. MCCOY: I will drop to Item 5, Other Business, as the representative of the United Kingdom has a proposition

to put before us with regard to the food paper or papers.

MR. GRAVES: Mr. Chairman, may I revert to this food paper for one moment. We are fully conscious of the objections of the United States Government to paper FEC-026/10, and so we do not propose, of course, to reintroduce that paper in the same terms. We are thinking out some modifications which you will find in a new version of that food paper, and when those have been submitted to the Government and approved, then I think I shall be under instructions to lodge a new paper. I haven't those instructions at the moment, and I am just speaking rather in advance of them. But, assuming that we do get instructions, then I shall introduce a new paper and send it officially to the Secretary General who will, no doubt, direct what should be done to it.

GEN. MCCOY: The food paper, as you notice, is not on the agenda and was dropped by my express decision at the last meeting, subject, however, as always, to reconsideration at the request of any member. The United Kingdom has now done that and, if there is no objection, the paper will come up anew at the instigation or initiation of the representative of the United Kingdom. Is that satisfactory to you?

MR. GRAVES: Yes, quite.

GEN. MCCOY: Is that agreeable to the other members of the Commission? It is so ordered. Mr. Secretary General, have you any announcement?

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Chairman, I want to announce to the members of the Commission that policy decision on provisions for review of the new Japanese Constitution, FEC-031/41, passed by the Commission, will be released to the press at 6:00 P.M., this evening, Washington Time.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Mr. Chairman, I have a question to be raised before the Commission concerning reparations deliveries. My Government has expressed interest concerning the list of plants and establishments to be delivered for reparations which were designated by the Supreme Commander. According to the orders of the Supreme Commander filed with the Commission, which we have received, it is indicated that some plants, and some of them military establishments, were excluded, probably for some reasons. But, since in these papers the reasons are not indicated, we are instructed, Mr. Chairman, to ask, through you, some clarification of this question from the Supreme Commander, or if your advisers here are able to furnish us with this information we will be very glad. If not, we will ask the Commission to send some routine consultation paper to the Supreme Commander.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, if you will allow me, since Mr. Korobochkin as a member of Committee No. 1 is more familiar with these questions and the statement which was just drafted in Washington--this question, and the interpreter will translate this later on-- Maybe the question can be referred to Committee No. 1 or as the Commission disposes.

GEN. MCCOY: As I understand it, you are not ready to submit--

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Yes, we are ready verbally to submit our request, and then we send to the Secretariat a formal paper for the consideration of the Committee or subcommittee or Commission itself, as will be decided here today. But if you will permit--

GEN. MCCOY: Will you make the statement, please?

(Mr. Korobochkin made the following statement through an interpreter.)

MR. KOROBOCHKIN: In accordance with the policies laid down by the Far Eastern Commission the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers has selected as per the original reparations removal lists, agreed upon in June-August, 1946, 1090 plants as subject to removal on account of reparations. However, as a consequence of several reconsiderations of such programs with reference to the groups of aircraft plants, arsenals, laboratories and other facilities, 156 plants were excluded therefrom in the same year, 1946.

From the Supreme Commander's directives to the Japanese Government, available in the Far Eastern Commission, concerning the exclusion of facilities or their substitution, it does not seem possible to judge by what motives and purposes the Supreme Commander was guided when issuing the said directives, nor is it possible to judge whether such exclusions and substitutions contribute to the degree of reduction of the Japanese industrial war potential or to the degree of security of the Allied Powers against a rebirth of Japanese aggression.

In view of the above, it would be desirable to obtain from the Supreme Commander a detailed elucidation of the following:

a. The reasons and purposes of the exclusions undertaken by him from the original reparations removal lists of facilities in general, and of war industries in particular.

b. More detailed information on all the facilities that have been excluded and on the newly-selected ones, of their nature from the viewpoint of

the type of production in which they were engaged in war-time, of the degree of their damage, and also the balance value of these facilities.

GEN. MCCOY: Is it agreeable to you, Admiral, to refer this query or series of queries to the Reparations Committee to see if our representatives can answer them as far as practicable, and such questions as may not be satisfactorily answered can then be made a matter of a message of consultation with the Supreme Commander?

ADM. RAMISHVILI: Yes. That is what I meant, saying the consultation, because it might not be necessary if these questions are answered and clarified here.

MR. MAKIN: Mr. Chairman, I presume that all members of the Commission will be supplied in memo with the queries that have been made by the representative of the Soviets and also their answers that will be given thereto?

MR. ASAF ALI: I support that.

ADM. RAMISHVILI: We will send this statement to the Secretariat, Mr. Chairman.

GEN. MCCOY: The query of the Soviet representative will be presented and circulated and also referred to the Reparations Committee, with the hope that we can answer most of the questions posed, and, if not, that later a consultative message will be sent on the ones not satisfactorily handled here.

Are there any other matters of query or interest before the Commission?

There seems to be none. We stand adjourned.

(Whereupon the Commission adjourned at 11:50 A.M.)

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Transcript of Fifty-Second Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission,

Held in Main Conference Room, 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Thursday, April 3, 1947

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

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Held in Main Conference Room, 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Thursday, April 3, 1947

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, Chairman	(United States)
Major J. Plimsoll	(Australia)
Mr. R. E. Collins	(Canada)
His Excellency Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo	(China)
Mr. Francis LaCoste	(France)
His Excellency Mr. Asaf Ali	(India)
Dr. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino	(Netherlands)
Colonel G. R. Powles	(New Zealand)
Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo	(Philippines)
Rear Admiral S. S. Ramishvili	(U.S.S.R.)
The Honorable Sir George Sansom	(United Kingdom)

SECRETARY

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

Reporter: R. Holtz, Department of State

(The fifty-second meeting of the Far Eastern Commission, 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., was called to order by its Chairman at 10:30 A.M., 3 April 1947.)

GEN. MCCOY: Good morning, gentlemen. It is very pleasant to see you around the table, in a sense that I hadn't hoped to see the Chinese Ambassador. I thought he was off to the United Nations. And Sir George comes back, I am happy to say, for a short time after too long an absence. And I welcome General Romulo back from a long flight. When did you arrive, General?

GEN. ROMULO: The day before yesterday.

GEN. MCCOY: Well I think you look very fresh after such a journey.

Mr. Ambassador, have you met everybody at the table now?

MR. ASAF ALI: Yes, Mr. Chairman, I have. Thank you.

GEN. MCCOY: The session is now open.

ITEM 1 - APPROVAL OF THE MINUTES OF THE 51ST MEETING

GEN. MCCOY: The minutes of the previous meeting are before you for any correction or change or comment.

MR. ASAF ALI: May I seek permission, sir, to point out a little typographical error? On page 2 of the minutes, paragraph 2, line 11, what I really said was: "But it is a question of a people" and then there should be a parenthetical dash not a full stop. "I am going to the fundamentals" again dash, and then I go on and say "...claiming a teaching to be religious."

GEN. MCCOY: Are there any other corrections? There seems to be none. The correction by the Ambassador from India will be accepted.

ITEM 2 - ADVANCE TRANSFERS OF JAPANESE REPARATIONS
(FEC-201/1, FEC-216)

ITEM 3 - REPARATIONS ALLOCATIONS PROCEDURES FOR INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES IN JAPAN (FEC-211/3, FEC-211/4)

GEN. MCCOY: Yesterday I had sent to you a decision of the United States for your information, in view of the fact that there are before us items 2 and 3 which are in themselves, from the point of view of the United States, companion papers and should be considered together. I will give the background for those members of the Commission who were not familiar with the action in the Reparations Committee, and Major Plimsoll, will you watch carefully and I will ask you to comment if I don't have it correctly.

Item 2 is the Advance Transfers of Japanese Reparations, FEC-201/1 and FEC-216. FEC-201/1 is forwarded to the Commission directly from Committee No. 1, pursuant to arrangements between the Chairman of Committee No. 1 and the Chairman of the Steering Committee. It is forwarded without recommendation. The Soviet member opposed the motion to forward, and the Australian, French, Indian, and United Kingdom members abstained from voting. FEC-216 is a United States statement on an interim directive covering advance transfers and was circulated late yesterday afternoon.

The companion paper is Reparations Allocations Procedures for Industrial Facilities in Japan, FEC-211/3 and FEC-211/4. FEC-211/3, a United States proposal for a policy decision on the subject, is forwarded by Committee No. 1: Reparations, without recommendation, for consideration by the Commission, pursuant to arrangements with the Chairman of the Steering Committee. The Committee reports

FEC-211/3 has been forwarded by request of the United States member, that consideration by the committee has not been completed, and that certain members have not yet received instructions on the paper. The committee action was opposed by the Soviet member. The French and United Kingdom members abstained from voting, and the Canadian member was absent at the time of the vote.

FEC-211/4 is a revision of the cover page of this paper.

That sounds a little bit complicated, but it is not necessarily so in the sense that it is not my intention to call for a vote on these papers this morning but simply to bring them to the attention of the Commission in view of the decision of the United States. Major Plimsoll, as Chairman of the committee have you any remarks to make?

MAJOR PLIMSOLL: Well nothing as Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Chairman. The committee was unable to agree on the first paper, and a number of countries opposed it, and it has been forwarded to the Commission for consideration there. The second paper on procedures we have had before us only a very short time and a large number of governments have not got instructions on that paper. So, our discussions are not in any way complete, but both papers were forwarded to the Commission at your request in order that the Commission might consider them and take any action that you would like to say as the spokesman of the American Government. That is all I would like to say as Chairman, Mr. Chairman.

GEN. MCCOY: I might add that last autumn, when the general subject of an interim or emergency directive under the Terms of Reference was considered and the representatives were consulted about it as a way of cutting the

Gordian knot and getting movement in the difficult subject of reparations, especially when pressed by the nations who had suffered the most and need the reparations the most, it was stated at that time that, should the United States issue such an emergency directive, the delegates would be consulted and note made of their majority opinion so that the emergency directive would as far as possible meet the wishes of the majority of the delegations. That has been done. In the paper before you there have been, after, I am informed, months of most thorough consideration of the paper in the Commission itself in the way of discussion, without the delegates being able to take authoritative action due to the fact that the paper was not yet acted upon by their governments, a very intelligent and helpful discussion which the United States has accepted in the changes that you will note in the paper before you. Although the United States takes the responsibility under the Terms of Reference of issuing an interim directive, it has consulted and has accepted the results of that consultation as far as practicable.

The general subject of reparations is now before you for discussion on any point or every point.

SIR GEORGE SANSON: Mr. Chairman, I have obtained the instructions of the United Kingdom Government on the paper FEC-201/1 which, I take it, must be regarded as superseded by FEC-216, the announcement of the intention of the United States Government. So I am in something of a procedural difficulty because I really am speaking of FEC-216, which is not the directive but a statement of the intention of the United States Government.

But I think it may be of some interest to yourself

and to the other members of the Commission if I were to state what His Majesty's Government's views were on the proposal which is now superseded. My Government says they are in sympathy with the general objective of the plan as an emergency measure for the purpose declared in the plan--that is to say, for relief and rehabilitation, but they have one or two suggestions to offer which they hope, or hoped, even at this late date might be accepted.

For one thing they would feel unable to agree to any extension of allocations on the basis of relief and rehabilitation beyond that provided in the plan, subject to some amendments which I shall presently set forth. My Government wishes paragraph 2 to be extended to cover all British territories occupied by the Japanese. That means that instead of the words "...and the United Kingdom, for Burma and Malaya..." the phrase should read "...and the United Kingdom, for Malaya, Burma, Hong Kong, and Borneo...", and I think I am right in saying that the opinion of the working committee was generally in favor of this. So we should have wished to have an amendment made in FEC-201 had it come before the Commission.

My Government also attached considerable importance to the extension of the plan to cover the territories of New Guinea, Papua, and *NAURU* since these areas, in their view, have a claim to consideration as valid as any of the territories covered in the original United States plan for emergency advance transfers.

My Government also is of the opinion that the allocation proposed for British territories - five percent - is too small, and they would ask for a higher percentage.

Those are the three points which we should have

wished to make on the original paper.

You are also aware, Mr. Chairman, that I have frequently represented my Government's view on external assets, and I am instructed to reiterate the view that external assets must be included in the pool of assets available in the final reparations settlement. The absence of information on this important matter has made it extremely difficult for us and I presume for other governments to arrive at an equitable view as to shares. His Majesty's Government has felt embarrassed and would, had matters not proceeded as they have, have wished to make some reservation on percentages.

I must ask the indulgence of my Chinese colleague if I give an example--a proposal which we might have made or which we might have asked to be considered, and which is not due to any desire not to give the most generous treatment to the Government of China, because we have already assured that Government that this was our desire. But, it arises out of a doubt as to the whole problem on the lines that I have mentioned as the lack of information on external assets, and we might have asked ~~it~~ in other circumstances, for instance, that the fifteen percent allocated to China should provisionally only be reduced to ten percent with the five percent left in abeyance for consideration in the light of information on the subject of external assets in general. I felt obliged to say this frankly although the question doesn't arise now in the same form. I hope that the Chinese Ambassador will accept my assurance that this is not a proposal which has any particular implication of a desire not to be generous towards China.

One final point is that my Government is very

firaly of the opinion that whatever percentages are now agreed upon or decided upon in the advance transfer scheme, those should not be taken as in any way creating a precedent for the percentages to be allotted in the final division of shares. That is all I have to say.

GEN. MCCOY: I thank you very much. That is a very interesting and valuable contribution to our information, and might be considered in the light of my former statement as to the desire to consult my colleagues on the points of view of their governments. Of course, this emergency directive will be promptly returned to the Commission for review.

DR. KOO: Mr. Chairman, I wish to welcome warmly your statement embodied in FEC-216, which is now, I understand, before the Commission as an announcement of the intention and decision of the United States Government to proceed with the issuance of an interim directive for advance transfers. We welcome it because, as you know, Mr. Chairman, we of China have always been urging an early and prompt settlement of the reparations question. I think, as you have so rightly stated, the matter has been engaging the attention of the Commission for over a year now and still we have not reached agreement to bring about or even to start in any effective action. My country, which has suffered terribly from Japanese aggression, has been hoping and expecting that some prompt action would be taken so that, in connection with reparations, some relief could be obtained for the very ^{dis-}stressing economic needs which confront China. We feel that the circumstances where so much delay has occurred is not only to the detriment of the countries which have suffered and which are expecting some relief from reparations