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people would be to the programs of the parties. No one expected the Communists to get more than 6 seats, especially in view of the fact that most people were afraid of the position of the Communist Party with respect to the Emperor.

General McCoy asked about the influence of women in the election. Major Roest said that could not be predicted. All the political parties were organizing counterparts for women.

General McCoy reported the view that was prevalent in the States, that women's suffrage had been forced on the Japanese by SCAP, and asked for comment on the view. Major Roest said that had not been so because there had been a movement for women's rights for decades in Japan, but the movement had never been able to make any headway. It was true that these rights had never been demanded by the majority of women. He mentioned that there were some women's groups today which advocated non-participation in government until education had been opened to women. He said that the problem could not be answered until the women themselves had spoken at the election.

General McCoy asked where the initiative had come from for the women's suffrage. Major Roest said that the left wing parties, the Communists and the Social Democrats, had made this demand of the government.

Mr. Sanson asked if the program of the Social Democrats had been modelled somewhat on the recent British Labor Party's program. Colonel Kades said this was true, and that General MacArthur's recent report had made this point.

Mr. Sanson asked if the leader, Sengaka, was a new man or the old one of that name. Mr. Norman said that he was a new man.

Mr. Sanson asked if there was any indication that the Communist Party was receiving funds from the outside. Major Roest said there were none and that this had been vigorously denied by the party. Mr. Sanson said that a denial in itself was not sufficient evidence. Colonel Kades said that the Communist Party published in the Red Flag complete statements of the sources of its income. Mr. Sanson referred to the report that the Communist Party had bought a good printing press very early in the game. Major Roest said that Hatoyama had accused the Communists of receiving money from the USSR in order to buy the press. Major Roest gave this story to Shiga who had laughed at it and said that the press had been given to the party by a man who knew his business better than politics.

Mr. Sanson asked how the parties got their funds. Major Roest said that the Social Democratic candidates each put in 200 yen in order to run. The rest of the funds came from their own pockets



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or from friends, and there were large numbers of small contributors. Mr. Sanson suggested that the organization of funds would be a powerful lever in the coming elections. Major Roest said that the election law carefully prescribed what funds could be used. He mentioned one loophole which needed plugging and said that the Government had been asked to pass appropriate legislation. The loophole was as follows: whereas the campaign expenses of the candidates were given a ceiling, there was no ceiling on the expenses of third parties which supported a candidate if there was no formal commitment to the candidate. Therefore SCAP had requested that third parties not be allowed to campaign for a candidate except with the approval of the candidate. Thus the third party would have a formal connection and the additional funds would be subject to the same ceiling.

Mr. Sanson asked if there was any split among the parties in themselves of urban-rural appeals. Major Roest said there was none, and that all the parties appeal to both sections. General McCoy commented that this meant there had been no split on agrarian policy as yet.

Mr. Norman commented on the question of the acquisition of a printing press by the Communist Party. He said that the owner of a very conservative publishing house had offered to print the Red Flag at cost, and had made this same offer to other political parties.

Mr. Norman asked about liaison between the Government Section and the Diet. Commander Swope explained that, before the last session of the Diet, the Government Section had received advance information on all the proceedings. The Legislative Bureau of the Diet had given them advance copies of all bills coming up for legislation, which had been circulated to the various GHQ sections for conferences and study. The progress of the bills had been followed with interim reports by the central liaison office. When a bill had been passed it was then studied by GHQ before it was promulgated.

In the course of this procedure, Commander Swope said, it was learned that the Diet was meeting in secret. GHQ insisted that it be opened to the press. When Hirohito read his imperial rescript in the opening session the press gave him a typical movie star treatment with Kleig lights and all the fixings. Allied representatives were allowed in the galleries. All committee meetings were open to the press as well as meetings of the House of Peers.

Mr. Yang inquired about the House of Peers. Commander Swope said that the Peers had complete power together with the House of Representatives, on all legislative matters and Mr. Yang inquired the relationship of political parties with the newspapers. Major Roest said that few papers favored the conservative parties, but most supported the left wing. No paper was owned outright by a party.



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Mr. Forsyth asked if any new Peers had been appointed. Colonel Rowell said that there had been no new appointments, but 8 replacements. Mr. Forsyth asked on what grounds the replacements had been made. Colonel Rowell said that they had been made upon Japanese initiative, without any influence from GHQ, and that the replacements were men of science and education.

Mr. Lacoste asked about the traditional loyalty to the old parties, the Minseitō and the Seiyūkai. Major Roest said that the Progressive Party had taken over the active organizations of both the old parties. He said that the effect of the new system and the directives would be to force new men to candidacies and into office.

Mr. Confesor asked if there was any plan for a new overall system of government. Colonel Kades said that that was not a problem for the Government Section, but for the whole of GHQ. The job of the Government Section is to see that Japan is demilitarized and to get rid of the badpockets. Studies were being made of important problems, but there was no overall study of the government so far as he knew. He said that that was a job for the FEC. Mr. Confesor inquired how these changes worked. Colonel Kades said that the structure of the constitution was being changed actually day by day although there had been as yet no changes in the written constitution. Mr. Confesor said that the effect of these daily changes should be incorporated in the constitution itself. Colonel Kades said that, for example, a change had been made with respect to women's suffrage and there had been no change in the written constitution.

Mr. Lacoste asked if the new assembly would have any special constitutional powers. Colonel Kades said that it had no more than any ordinary Diet session. Mr. Lacoste said that it was for the Emperor to make any change in the functions of the Diet. Mr. Confesor said that the change in the Office of the Privy Seal, for example, would have to be a part of the new constitution in order to have the effect of the law. Major Tilton said that the constitution did not provide for the composition of the House, and suggested that the election law was instructive. The present election law had been passed by the Diet and stood firm. The abolition of the Privy Seal had been by an Imperial Ordinance and its functions had been transferred to the Cabinet. Therefore there was no worry about the legality of the change.

Mr. Confesor said that there were then two types of ordinances, one by the Diet and one by the Emperor. Colonel Kades agreed that the Emperor still had legislative power.

General McCoy said that SCAP obviously had found that there was a great deal of government structure and a great many institutions in the government. Therefore the main job had been to clean out the fictions.



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Colonel Cosgrave asked whether a new constitution was to be drawn up. Colonel Kades said that the Government Section had not studied the constitution as such, but only the internal structure of the government. The Government Section had merely observed what other groups had done with respect to the written constitution.

General McCoy referred to the Konoye Incident and his attempt to revamp the constitution. He asked why Konoye had started that. Colonel Kades said that according to the Japanese press the Emperor had asked him to make that study. General McCoy referred to local gossip that General MacArthur had had a talk with Konoye during which he had mentioned that there was a need for governmental reform and the interpreter had misunderstood and said "constitutional reform". Colonel Kades said that that was news to him. Major Tilton said that Konoye spoke excellent English and obviously would know the difference between "constitutional" and "governmental".

Mr. Lacoste asked whether fundamental changes in the constitution could only be made by the Emperor. Major Tilton said that only the Emperor could initiate such changes, but the Diet could promulgate them. The process was that there would be an Imperial command to the Diet proposing that a certain change be made. He reminded the Commission of how, in the United States, many amendments had been offered but only a few had hit the books.

General Whitney, Chief of the Section, entered the meeting and was introduced at 11:30 A.M.

Mr. Forsyth asked if any other groups were studying the constitution. Colonel Kades said that there were no such studies, being made in SCAP, but that there were groups of citizens working. General McCoy said that these were patriotic groups comparable to those in the United States. Colonel Kades said that all these references were to a revision of the written constitution. Actually, he said, the Government Section considered that the day to day changes were really changes in the constitution. General McCoy said that it might be well to get the complete reform in this step by step fashion, instead of by the standard U.S. practice of formalizing the process with a document. He spoke of the comparable evolutionary process in England where offices and functions were gradually changed.

Mr. Sanson returned to the subject of the approaching elections, which he said were bound to have a certain unreality. The various parties make many promises but they were in no position to say what they could do about food, industry and other matters. Consequently their platforms were abstract. He asked for comment on this observation. Colonel Kades said that there was a vast area in which the Japanese government was permitted to function and where SCAP encouraged initiative on their part. There were many possibilities for real issues in this area. As an example he mentioned that the



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Social Democrat party advocated the construction of low-cost houses, a proposal that no other party had. There were substantial differences in the planks on agrarian reform. It was true, he admitted, that in industry the parties could effect no qualitative changes.

Mr. Sanson said that elections were fought out on very concrete issues. He referred to the recent British elections and the concrete promises that were made there. He had felt a certain unreality about those promises, he said, and the unreality seemed greatly multiplied to him in Japan. General McCoy commented on the United States system where platforms often served for nothing more than election purposes. Mr. Sanson said that in Japan it was not so much a difference in kind, but a difference in percentage - of unreality. Colonel Kades said that the issues were sharper in Japan because the present government had not yet done anything in the way of social reform. Mr. Sanson said that they did not have the wherewithall to take action. Colonel Kades said they could take steps with respect to minimum wages, rationing, and distribution of food. All these matters were responsibilities of the Japanese government, but no moves had been made.

General McCoy mentioned some other gossip: that when you asked a Japanese what the trouble was, his answer was that SCAP had not yet indicated the objectives of the occupation beyond the broad terms and that the Japanese did not know how long the occupation would last. Consequently the Japanese saw many "niggers in the woodpile" and did not know how long they would be safe with respect to the duration of the occupation. General McCoy said that all the Allies had responsibility in laying down their objectives as to the time and the effort. He suggested that the Commission itself might even have to formulate the ultimate peace terms before it could take any position on such matters.

Mr. Sanson said that, when he put himself in the position of the Japanese he felt that he would vote for the most efficient party and would put principles in the background. He could not see what other matters might govern the decisions of voters. The question for the Japanese government was how it could get the most out of its limited resources. The only answer to this question was that stringent measures would have to be taken; and this gave rise to the danger of a strictly controlled and centralized authority.

General McCoy felt that Mr. Sanson's remarks were very pertinent and that the Commission would probably call on SCAP for information from time to time. He suggested that the FEC might eventually ask the Government Section through SCAP for a statement of the ultimate objectives in preparation for the Peace Conference, whether the Peace Conference would be within the U.N.O. or a special one. Sooner or later, he said, it would be necessary to build for that Conference, and he asked General Whitney to take a look in this direction.



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General Whitney said that SCAP was as much in the dark on these matters as the FEC. The Potsdam Declaration and the surrender terms were known. SCAP had sought to impose these terms on the Japanese and to leave as much as possible with their authority in order to get them to put their own house in order.

He said that one could not expect the Japanese to reach a point of perfection in government which was found nowhere in the world. SCAP had suggested no changes in the election law for it had been felt that that should be a Japanese affair. The Japanese had been left alone, if what they were doing was reasonably within the terms of the Potsdam Declaration and the surrender terms. Direction had been given only when needed.

Mr. Berendsen asked if the Japanese would get a liberal government whether the House of Peers could nullify this government. Commander Swope said that under the constitution the House of Peers had equal power with the House of Representatives. The Japanese leaders, however, knew that there was a need for change in the House of Peers. There had been some suggestions in Japanese newspapers that if the House of Peers refused to pass a bill which had already gone through the House of Representatives the bill might then be returned to the House of Representatives for passing again over the veto. General McCoy said that sounded somewhat like ancient history.

Mr. Berendsen said that was a long-range affair, and he assumed the SCAP was not obstructed now by any constitutional difficulties. He inquired if there had been any general screening of judges. Colonel Kades said that the one case he had mentioned was an isolated one. The judges would be screened, however, according to the directive, and would be required to answer questions on March 4th. Colonel Howell said that the Ministry of Justice was planning a complete re-organization. It had recently received the resignation of all judges and was making a complete report to GHQ before it took action. GHQ was awaiting voluntary action on the part of the Japanese before any recommendations were made.

Mr. Berendsen admitted the desirability of allowing the Japanese to conduct the election, but inquired whether precautions were being taken to insure the secrecy of the ballot. General Whitney said that the provisions were as adequate as they were in the United States. He mentioned some of the items and referred to a sample ballot. General McCoy requested, and General Whitney agreed, that the Commission be supplied with a copy of this study and with a sample ballot.

Mr. Berendsen asked who compiled the registration rolls. Major Tilton said they were compiled by the mayors and head men



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of the city and that the rolls were based on the recent census. Major Roest said that the census had been taken as of November 1st and announced as of November 20. The census included age, residence, and name, and had been taken in order to determine eligibility. The rolls were to be published in time for complaints to be made as they had been posted.

General McCoy said that the conference had been a very valuable one and that the Commission might ask the Government Section to return.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon.



The Chairman opened the meeting at 9:40 A.M., and the Commission held a closed session at which the following informal business was discussed:

a. Memorandum for Information. General McCoy called the attention of the Commission to an article in the current issue of Time on the subject of Japan and the Far Eastern Commission's trip to Japan. He suggested, and the Commission agreed, that the excerpt should be circulated for the information of the members.

b. Edwards Commission General McCoy inquired if the Commission would care for a brief conference with the Edwards Commission, which was currently in Japan to make a study of the Zaibatsu for report to the United States Government. The Commission agreed to have a conference with the Edwards Commission some morning the following week between 9:30 and 10:00 A.M., and instructed the Secretary to make the appropriate arrangements.

c. War Crimes. It was suggested, and the Commission agreed, to have a similar brief conference some morning the following week with Judge Keenan, Prosecutor for the War Crimes Commission.

d. Disarmament and Demobilization. Colonel McCormack reported that Colonel Cooper of GHQ was prepared to make a brief report on the subject of disarmament and demobilization at the convenience of the Commission. The Commission agreed to have another similar brief conference on the subject some morning the following week.

1. Government Section, SCAP. General McCoy introduced Colonel Kaddes, Chief, Public Administration Branch, Government Section, SCAP, who introduced his staff and described the organization and functions of the Government Section in the absence of his Chief, General Whitney.

The work was described in detail of the Public Administration Branch and its two divisions, the Planning Group and the Operations Group, the latter being divided into the Judicial Affairs Unit, the External Affairs Unit, and the Internal Affairs Unit.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon.



**FAR EASTERN COMMISSION  
U.S.S. MOUNT MCKINLEY (AGC-7)  
Care of Fleet Post Office  
San Francisco, California**

January 23, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

TO: General McCoy  
Subject: Eleventh FEC (J) Meeting, January 17, 1946  
Enclosure: Confidential Minutes of Eleventh Meeting

The enclosure, confidential minutes of the eleventh  
FEC (J) Meeting, is forwarded herewith.

Respectfully,

Hugh D. Farley  
Executive Officer  
Secretariat

Note: See  
pages 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,  
11, 12



CONFIDENTIAL

ENCLOSURE

Eleventh Meeting, FEC (J), January 17

The Chairman opened the meeting at 9:40 A.M., and the Commission had a preliminary closed session.

General McCoy spoke of an article in the current issue of Time which described the occupation in Japan and the visit of the Far Eastern Commission. He suggested, and the Commission agreed, that the article be mimeographed and circulated by the Secretariat.

General McCoy also proposed that complete files be maintained of the various biographical sketches and other data distributed at the meetings, as well as newspaper clippings.

General McCoy said that the Edwards Commission was currently in Japan and making a study of the Zaibatsu for a report to the State Department. It was proposed, and the Commission agreed, to meet with the Edwards Commission during the preliminary 9:30-10:00 A.M. hour some morning the following week.

General McCoy said that Judge Keenan, the Prosecutor for the War Crimes Office, was also a man the Commission might be interested in seeing. The Commission agreed to have a similar early meeting with him. General McCoy inquired if there were any others.

Colonel McCormack said that he had investigated the question of securing information on disarmament and demobilization and had learned that Colonel Cooper of GHQ was prepared to give a lecture to the Commission using the same information that he had given the Secretary of War the preceding week. The lecture would take only 15 minutes and Colonel McCormack suggested that a half-hour schedule to include a question period would be adequate. The Commission agreed to meet Colonel Cooper during the initial half-hour period some morning the following week.

The Chairman then introduced Colonel Kades of the Government Section, who, in turn, introduced the following members of his staff:

Commander Swope  
Lieut. Col. Rowell  
Commander Hussey  
Major Roest  
Major Tilton  
Captain Rizzo  
Lieutenant Esman  
Ensign Poole.



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Copies were circulated of a biographical sketch of the officers in the Government Section and of an organization chart of the Section.

Colonel Kades said that his chief, General Whitney, was at a GHQ staff conference and would come to the meeting later.

The Government Section had been established on October 2 as a special staff section of GHQ, he said. He then described the initial directives for Korea and Japan and described the organization chart.

A Planning Group contained four officers and would soon be supplemented by twenty civilians who were being recruited by the Office of the Secretary of War. Eight of the civilians had already arrived and the balance were expected in a month. The Planning Group had to do with the long range policy of the occupation, whereas the Operations Group was concerned with the immediate job, which concerned the carrying out of directives which had already been issued. The Operations Group had nine officers in its three Sections. In support of the SCAP policy of using the Japanese Government, only minimum changes had been made, but various studies were going forward. As an example, Colonel Kades mentioned that the Japanese had proposed to abolish the wartime positions of governors-general. These had been purely war agencies and after studying the proposal the change had been approved. Colonel Kades said that the Greater East Asia Ministry and the Ministry of Munitions had been spontaneously removed by the Japanese. The Army and Navy Ministries had been transformed into civilian demobilization ministries. A good many important functions had been removed as a consequence of the October 4 directive from the Home Affairs Ministry which had long been a peace time agency. The changes it made had been mainly to revert to a pre-war status.

One of the most significant changes had been the abolition of the office of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal which had controlled all access to the throne and which had been in possession of the imperial seal. The powers and functions of this office, it had been suggested, should be taken on by the cabinet; and Colonel Kades thought that this would be a good move forward. All former military bodies had been eliminated.

No formal proposals for government changes had ever been made by the Japanese Government to SCAP, and it was not expected that any would be received except that it was anticipated that an overall change would be made jointly by SCAP and the Japanese Government.

The Government Section had assisted in drafting many directives for the immediate implementation of the surrender terms. Colonel Kades mentioned the October 4 directive which required the repeal of discriminatory laws.

On December 10 an order had been issued to remove a district court judge because he had failed to observe SCAP orders. His



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offense was that he had failed to give an adequate sentence to a soldier who had been caught with arms in his possession. The Japanese Government had objected to the order by SCAP, but SCAP had insisted upon the removal of the judge. The consequence was that all judges were now somewhat nervous about their positions.

Undesirable personnel were being removed by directives issued against categories rather than against individuals. The recent twin directives initiated a purge, first in the abolition of nationalistic and militaristic groups, and in the removal from office and elimination from candidacy for government office of all those persons who had been members of such organizations. Colonel Kades then read the various classes of officers covered by the directive, which further stated that all records of various organizations were to be made public.

Turning to a consideration of foreign affairs, Colonel Kades said that the Japanese had continued to have relations with neutrals after the cessation of hostilities. To permit this intercourse seemed inconsistent with the objectives of the occupation; so on October 25 the Japanese Government had been asked to recall all consular and diplomatic representatives and to turn over such property abroad to Allied representatives. A later directive had ordered the cessation of all relations between Japanese Government and neutral powers. Compliances with these directives had been checked both by the Japanese Government and by the State Department. All property and archives abroad were now in Allied hands. All communications had ceased, and Japanese diplomatic officers abroad were awaiting repatriation.

With respect to the separation of Japan from control over all islands and territories outside the four main islands, a memorandum of October 2 had ordered them to stop all administrative authority in Korea, as well as for all other areas, with the exception of the performance of certain limited functions which were helpful to SCAP. Prior to the issuance of this memorandum the Japanese had been attempting to increase the pay of their officers in Korea for example.

Colonel Kades said that the Government in Japan itself had become increasingly a matter of GHQ directives and less and less a matter of action by the Japanese Government on its own. This was in spite of the fact that there was every criticism of the Japanese Government by the press. The Government welcomed directives. The activity of the recent Diet session revealed its inertia. It was inevitable, Colonel Kades felt, that the officials of 1942, who were elected to do a war job, should be inefficient in 1945 after the defeat of their country.



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There have been two sessions of the Diet to date. The Great Japan Political Organisation had been dissolved. One group had submitted a list of 14 questions, all of which concerned the causes of Japan's defeat - not the causes of the war - but there have never been any answers given to the questions. During the second session of the Diet in early December, it had been under continual sharp criticism by the press. Still, Colonel Kades said that the Diet had passed 41 bills, 25 of them sponsored by the Government. Among these the three most important were:

1. An agricultural lands law which was now under study by GHQ;
2. A trades union law, which gave the rights of organization;
3. An election law which inaugurated a new voting system, lowered the age requirement from 25 to 20 years, lowered the eligibility of candidates' ages from 35 to 25 years, and gave women suffrage.

Turning to a description of the major political parties, Colonel Kades described first the Progressive Party, the name of which had been chosen because it sounded well in English. It was largely made up of remnants of the Great Japan Political Association and its leaders were professional politicians. It was a reactionary party and the recent directives would have a big effect on its future because the directives would eliminate many of its members from holding seats in the Diet. A recent Japanese newspaper report had indicated that there were two groups within the party who desired to move against their discredited leaders. The party had a very strong local organization, but it was hard put for candidates.

The Liberal Party, he said, had leaders who were old professional politicians, and was strong for the Emperor, and vitally anti-Communist. Its name would be much more descriptive if it were "Conservative". After the directive of January 4 the President of the party, on January 7, had criticized the Shidehara cabinet and demanded its resignation. Later on, when it became apparent that the cabinet would not resign, the Liberal Party continued its agitation for change of government.

The Social-Democrat Party had a great many proletarian leaders and a much more specific party platform than the other parties. It advocated a democratization of the constitution, the abolition of certain offices, the confiscation of war profits, the nationalization of certain public services, industries, and banks, the establishment of a new labor industry which had never existed in Japan, and a minimum wage law. Its agrarian program was weak - it called for reform but proposed no methods. This party, Colonel Kades said, offered the greatest hope and was attracting more



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genuine liberals than the other parties. It took no stand on the Emperor, but statements had been made that the party would go along with whatever a plebescite might decide. On December 27, the party had turned down a Communist proposal for a united front after a formal exchange of notes. The party was trying to organize local units and it stood a good chance of becoming the majority party. It was feeling itself strong now, as was indicated by the fact that just two weeks previous it had refused an offer to cooperate made by the Liberal Party.

The Cooperative Party, Colonel Kades said, had been organized by 25 former members of the Diet, the first time for an organization of this type in Japan. In its platform it advocated measures to meet both emergency and long range problems. It stood for preservation and democratization of the Imperial system and it proposed the re-organization of industry on cooperative plans. The party had tried to attach itself to the Social Democratic Party. Many of its leaders were barred from holding office by the recent directive. Colonel Kades felt that the party was somewhat unrealistic and naive in its approach to politics and that it had little strength. He felt that it depended on alliance for a future.

The Communist Party, he said, was led by Koichi Takuda, who had been released last fall after 18 years of confinement. The party advocated an interim period of democracy which would become Communism only in the distant future. It denied any direct connection with the USSR and was committed to the abolition of the Imperial institution. It had a program of 25 points, and Colonel Kades listed the various points in the platform. Nosaka Tetsu (Okana) had just arrived in Japan the past week, Colonel Kades said, and would bear watching, for he might have considerable effect on the party. He was described as a scholarly man who had a large following among the Communists and the labor groups with whom he had worked in earlier days. The chances of a popular front in Japan, between the Social Democratic Party and the Communists, were greatly improved by his presence. He was known and respected by progressive leaders, and he had spoken for a democratic front.

There were many minor parties, Colonel Kades said - some 60 in Tokyo and 30 in other areas. For instance there was the New Japanese Women's Political Party, the first women's party in Japanese history, headed by a 27-year old president.

Elections had been authorized for not earlier than March 15. The Government had been warned to give wide publication of the punishments for violation of voting laws and warned to uphold the secrecy of the ballot. Registry of all parties had been required, including the names and contributions of the main supporters. In this manner, Colonel Kades said, it was hoped that the parties would police each other.



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General McCoy asked if the Commission might have a memorandum on this lecture and Colonel Kades agreed.

Mr. Confesor asked about the financial administration of the Imperial Government. Colonel Kades replied that that was handled by the Financial Division of the Economic and Scientific Section.

Mr. Berendsen asked who would fix the date of the election. Colonel Kades said that the Japanese Government would name the date with the one limitation that it could not be before March 15.

Mr. Berendsen asked if there were any predictions. Colonel Kades asked Major Roest to answer that question, but General McCoy suggested a preliminary question before the answer. General McCoy said he had gotten the impression from Colonel Kades remarks that the Social Democratic Party had the dominant position. Colonel Kades said the Progressive Party had the most effective machinery and the big question was whether the Social Democratic Party could establish an effective organization by March 15. They needed time for this organization. Colonel Kades said further that SCAP desired a lapse of time before the election in order to allow for the operation of the various directives that had been issued.

General McCoy then drew a parallel to the conditions prevalent in Germany after the last war and suggest that Major Roest bear that parallel in mind when he answered Mr. Berendsen's question..

Major Roest said that no predictions could be made at this time and that all the parties had nothing more than wishes. Their expectations had all been based on their positions prior to the issuance of the directives and now their candidates were not known. Furthermore Major Roest said the temper of the people was not known.

General McCoy said that General MacArthur's recent report had stated that the people were apathetic. Major Roest supported that view and added that the people were not politically conscious. Before the war the people had voted strictly according to family traditions.

General McCoy inquired what had happened to the old major parties. Major Roest said that they had been absorbed into the Imperial Rule Assistants Association in 1941. The Progressive Party, he said, now had only about 100 eligible candidates. The old party margin had been upset considerably by the enlargement of the electoral districts and by the increase in the number of candidates to vote on. The only major difference, he said, between the Social Democratic Party and the Cooperative Party was that the former wanted socialism whereas the latter wanted the removal of state control and the building up of industry from the bottom on the basis of cooperatives. Outside of this one difference he felt there was a possibility of a united front between the two. He added that it was impossible to tell what the response of the



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people would be to the programs of the parties. No one expected the Communists to get more than 6 seats, especially in view of the fact that most people were afraid of the position of the Communist Party with respect to the Emperor.

General McCoy asked about the influence of women in the election. Major Roest said that could not be predicted. All the political parties were organizing counterparts for women.

General McCoy reported the view that was prevalent in the States, that women's suffrage had been forced on the Japanese by SCAP, and asked for comment on the view. Major Roest said that had not been so because there had been a movement for women's rights for decades in Japan, but the movement had never been able to make any headway. It was true that these rights had never been demanded by the majority of women. He mentioned that there were some women's groups today which advocated non-participation in government until education had been opened to women. He said that the problem could not be answered until the women themselves had spoken at the election.

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Mr. Sanson asked if the leader, Sengaka, was a new man or the old one of that name. Mr. Norman said that he was a new man.

Mr. Sanson asked if there was any indication that the Communist Party was receiving funds from the outside. Major Roest said there were none and that this had been vigorously denied by the party. Mr. Sanson said that a denial in itself was not sufficient evidence. Colonel Kades said that the Communist Party published in the Red Flag complete statements of the sources of its income. Mr. Sanson referred to the report that the Communist Party had bought a good printing press very early in the game. Major Roest said that Hatoyama had accused the Communists of receiving money from the USSR in order to buy the press. Major Roest gave this story to Shiga who had laughed at it and said that the press had been given the party by a man who knew his business better than politics.

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Mr. Sanson asked if there was any split among the parties in themselves of urban-rural appeals. Major Roest said there was none, and that all the parties appeal to both sections. General McCoy commented that this meant there had been no split on agrarian policy as yet.

Mr. Norman commented on the question of the acquisition of a printing press by the Communist Party. He said that the owner of a very conservative publishing house had offered to print the Red Flag at cost, and had made this same offer to other political parties.

Mr. Norman asked about liaison between the Government Section and the Diet. Commander Swope explained that, before the last session of the Diet, the Government Section had received advance information on all the proceedings. The Legislative Bureau of the Diet had given them advance copies of all bills coming up for legislation, which had been circulated to the various GHQ sections for conferences and study. The progress of the bills had been followed with interim reports by the central liaison office. When a bill had been passed it was then studied by GHQ before it was promulgated.

In the course of this procedure, Commander Swope said, it was learned that the Diet was meeting in secret. GHQ insisted that it be opened to the press. When Hirohito read his imperial rescript in the opening session the press gave him a typical movie star treatment with Kleig lights and all the fixings. Allied representatives were allowed in the galleries. All committee meetings were open to the press as well as meetings of the House of Peers.

Mr. Yang inquired about the House of Peers. Commander Swope said that the Peers had complete power together with the House of Representatives, on all legislative matters and Mr. Yang inquired the relationship of political parties with the newspapers. Major Roest said that few papers favored the conservative parties, but most supported the left wing. No paper was owned outright by a party.



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Mr. Forsyth asked if any new Peers had been appointed. Colonel Rowell said that there had been no new appointments, but 8 replacements. Mr. Forsyth asked on what grounds the replacements had been made. Colonel Rowell said that they had been made upon Japanese initiative, without any influence from GHQ, and that the replacements were men of science and education.

Mr. Lacoste asked about the traditional loyalty to the old parties, the Minseito and the Seiyukai. Major Reest said that the Progressive Party had taken over the active organizations of both the old parties. He said that the effect of the new system and the directives would be to force new men to candidacies and into office.

Mr. Confesor asked if there was any plan for a new overall system of government. Colonel Kades said that that was not a problem for the Government Section, but for the whole of G HQ. The job of the Government Section is to see that Japan is demilitarized and to get rid of the badpeckets. Studies were being made of important problems, but there was no overall study of the government so far as he knew. He said that that was a job for the FEC. Mr. Confesor inquired how these changes worked. Colonel Kades said that the structure of the constitution was being changed actually day by day although there had been as yet no changes in the written constitution. Mr. Confesor said that the effect of these daily changes should be incorporated in the constitution itself. Colonel Kades said that, for example, a change had been made with respect to women's suffrage and there had been no change in the written constitution.

Mr. Lacoste asked if the new assembly would have any special constitutional powers. Colonel Kades said that it had no more than any ordinary Diet session. Mr. Lacoste said that it was for the Emperor to make any change in the functions of the Diet. Mr. Confesor said that the change in the Office of the Privy Seal, for example, would have to be a part of the made constitution in order to have the effect of the law. Major Tilton said that the constitution did not provide for the composition of the House, and suggested that the election law was instructive. The present election law had been passed by the Diet and stood firm. The abolition of the Privy Seal had been by an Imperial Ordinance and its functions had been transferred to the Cabinet. Therefore there was no worry about the legality of the change.

Mr. Confesor said that there were then two types of ordinances, one by the Diet and one by the Emperor. Colonel Kades agreed that the Emperor still had legislative power.

General McCoy said that SCAP obviously had found that there was a great deal of government structure and a great many fictions in the government. Therefore the main job had been to clean out the fictions.



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Colonel Cosgrave asked whether a new constitution was to be drawn up. Colonel Kades said that the Government Section had not studied the constitution as such, but only the internal structure of the government. The Government Section had merely observed what other groups had done with respect to the written constitution.

General McCoy referred to the Konoye Incident and his attempt to revamp the constitution. He asked why Konoye had started that. Colonel Kades said that according to the Japanese press the Emperor had asked him to make that study. General McCoy referred to local gossip that General MacArthur had had a talk with Konoye during which he had mentioned that there was a need for governmental reform and the interpreter had misunderstood and said "constitutional reform". Colonel Kades said that that was news to him. Major Tilton said that Konoye spoke excellent English and obviously would know the difference between "constitutional" and "governmental".

Mr. Lacoste asked whether fundamental changes in the constitution could only be made by the Emperor. Major Tilton said that only the Emperor could initiate such changes, but the Diet could promulgate them. The process was that there would be an Imperial command to the Diet proposing that a certain change be made. He reminded the Commission of how, in the United States, many amendments had been offered but only a few had hit the books.

General Whitney, Chief of the Section, entered the meeting and was introduced at 11:30 A.M.

Mr. Forsyth asked if any other groups were studying the constitution. Colonel Kades said that there were no such studies, being made in SCAP, but that there were groups of citizens working. General McCoy said that these were patriotic groups comparable to those in the United States. Colonel Kades said that all these references were to a revision of the written constitution. Actually, he said, the Government Section considered that the day to day changes were really changes in the constitution. General McCoy said that it might be well to get the complete reform in this step by step fashion, instead of by the standard U.S. practice of formalizing the process with a document. He spoke of the comparable evolutionary process in England where offices and functions were gradually changed.

Mr. Sanson returned to the subject of the approaching elections, which he said were bound to have a certain unreality. The various parties make many promises but they were in no position to say what they could do about food, industry and other matters. Consequently their platforms were abstract. He asked for comment on this observation. Colonel Kades said that there was a vast area in which the Japanese government was permitted to function and where SCAP encouraged initiative on their part. There were many possibilities for real issues in this area. As an example he mentioned that the



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Social Democrat party advocated the construction of low-cost houses, a proposal that no other party had. There were substantial differences in the planks of agrarian reform. It was true, he admitted, that in industry the parties could effect no qualitative changes.

Mr. Sansom said that elections were fought out on very concrete issues. He referred to the recent British elections and the concrete promises that were made there. He had felt a certain unreality about those promises, he said, and the unreality seemed greatly multiplied to him in Japan. General McCoy commented on the United States system where platforms often served for nothing more than election purposes. Mr. Sansom said that in Japan it was not so much a difference in kind, but a difference in percentage of unreality. Colonel Kades said that the issues were sharper in Japan because the present government had not yet done anything in the way of social reform. Mr. Sansom said that they did not have the wherewithall to take action. Colonel Kades said they could take steps with respect to minimum wages, rationing, and distribution of food. All these matters were responsibilities of the Japanese government, but no moves had been made.

General McCoy mentioned some other gossip: that when you asked a Japanese what the trouble was, his answer was that SCAP had not yet indicated the objectives of the occupation beyond the broad terms and that the Japanese did not know how long the occupation would last. Consequently the Japanese saw many "niggers in the woodpile" and did not know how long they would be safe with respect to the duration of the occupation. General McCoy said that all the Allies had responsibility in laying down their objectives as to the time and the effort. He suggested that the Commission itself might even have to formulate the ultimate peace terms before it could take any position on such matters.

Mr. Sansom said that, when he put himself in the position of the Japanese he felt that he would vote for the most efficient party and would put principles in the background. He could not see what other matters might govern the decisions of voters. The question for the Japanese government was how it could get the most out of its limited resources. The only answer to this question was that stringent measures would have to be taken; and this gave rise to the danger of a strictly controlled and centralized authority.

General McCoy felt that Mr. Sansom's remarks were very pertinent and that the Commission would probably call on SCAP for information from time to time. He suggested that the FEC might eventually ask the Government Section through SCAP for a statement of the ultimate objectives in preparation for the Peace Conference, whether the Peace Conference would be within the U.N.O. or a special one. Sooner or later, he said, it would be necessary to build for that Conference, and he asked General Whitney to take a look in this direction.



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General Whitney said that SCAP was as much in the dark on these matters as the FEC. The Potsdam Declaration and the surrender terms were known. SCAP had sought to impose these terms on the Japanese and to leave as much as possible with their authority in order to get them to put their own house in order.

He said that one could not expect the Japanese to reach a point of perfection in government which was found nowhere in the world. SCAP had suggested no changes in the election law for it had been felt that that should be a Japanese affair. The Japanese had been left alone, if what they were doing was reasonably within the terms of the Potsdam Declaration and the surrender terms. Direction had been given only when needed.

Mr. Berendsen asked if the Japanese would get a liberal government whether the House of Peers could nullify this government. Commander Swope said that under the constitution the House of Peers had equal power with the House of Representatives. The Japanese leaders, however, knew that there was a need for change in the House of Peers. There had been some suggestions in Japanese newspapers that if the House of Peers refused to pass a bill which had already gone through the House of Representatives the bill might then be returned to the House of Representatives for passing again over the veto. General McCoy said that sounded somewhat like ancient history.

Mr. Berendsen said that was a long-range affair, and he assumed the SCAP was not obstructed now by any constitutional difficulties. He inquired if there had been any general screening of judges. Colonel Kades said that the one case he had mentioned was an isolated one. The judges would be screened, however, according to the directive, and would be required to answer questions on March 4th. Colonel Rowell said that the Ministry of Justice was planning a complete re-organization. It had recently received the resignation of all judges and was making a complete report to GHQ before it took action. GHQ was awaiting voluntary action on the part of the Japanese before any recommendations were made.

Mr. Berendsen admitted the desirability of allowing the Japanese to conduct the election, but inquired whether precautions were being taken to insure the secrecy of the ballot. General Whitney said that the provisions were as adequate as they were in the United States. He mentioned some of the items and referred to a sample ballot. General McCoy requested, and General Whitney agreed, that the Commission be supplied with a copy of this study and with a sample ballot.

Mr. Berendsen asked who compiled the registration rolls. Major Tilton said they were compiled by the mayors and head men



- 13 -

of the city and that the rolls were based on the recent census. Major Roest said that the census had been taken as of November 1st and announced as of November 20. The census included age, residence, and name, and had been taken in order to determine eligibility. The rolls were to be published in time for complaints to be made as they had been posted.

General McCoy said that the conference had been a very valuable one and that the Commission might ask the Government Section to return.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon.



12th  
(J)  
Mtg



RESTRICTEDRecord of  
Twelfth (J) MeetingFAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Twelfth (J) Meeting  
held in Conference Room, GHQ,  
on Thursday, January 17, 1946, at 2:15 p.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)

Sir George Sansom (United Kingdom)

General Chu Shih Ming (China)

Major J. Plimsoll (Australia)

M. Francis Lacoste (France)

Col. L. M. Cosgrave (Canada)

The Honorable Tomas Confesor (P. I.)

Dr. A. D. A. deKat Angelino (Netherlands)

Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)

Mr. R. R. Saksena (India)

SECRETARY GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERSEconomic and Scientific Section, Import-Export Division

Mr. Richard May, Chief of Division

Mr. Chandler M. Wright, Asst. to Chief

Mr. Sherwood M. Fine, Economic Adviser

Mr. S. H. Wright, Chief, Operations Branch



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THE CHAIRMAN opened the meeting at 2:25 p.m.

ITEM 1. CONFERENCE WITH EXPORT-IMPORT DIVISION, ECONOMIC AND  
SCIENTIFIC SECTION, SCAP

GENERAL McCOY introduced Mr. May, Chief of the Division, who in turn introduced the members of his staff.

Copies of the following documents were distributed:

- (a) Biographies of the members of the Export-Import Division
- (b) Outline of remarks of Mr. May
- (c) Organizational chart of Export-Import Division

MR. MAY and his associates explained the operations of their Division and answered questions.

The meeting adjourned at 4:45 p.m.



13th  
(J)  
Mtg



8  
Dr. BlakesleeRESTRICTEDRecord of  
Thirteenth (J) MeetingFAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Thirteenth (J) Meeting held  
in the Dai Ichi Building, Tokyo  
on Friday Morning, 18 January 1946, at 9:30 a.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Mr. Oscar Morland (United Kingdom)  
Lt. General Chu Shih-ming (China)  
Mr. W. D. Forsyth (Australia)  
M. Robert Douteau (France)  
Col. L. M. Cosgrave (Canada)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (P.I.)  
Dr. G. A. P. Weyer (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)  
Mr. R. R. Saksena (India)

SECRETARIAT

Mr. Hugh D. Farley

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERSEconomic and Scientific SectionIndustrial Division

Major Harry McGurk  
Major A. A. Rasmussen  
Major J. A. O'Hearn  
Lieut. Phil Roston  
Lieut. W. H. Smith, USNR  
Lieut. (jg) H. Gorham, USNR  
Lieut. Carl Ross  
Mr. Arthur Otis



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The Chairman opened the meeting at 9:40 a.m.

ITEM 1 Conference with Industrial Division, Economic and Scientific Section, SCAP

General McCoy introduced Major Mc Gurk, Acting Chief, Industrial Division, who in turn introduced the members of his staff.

An outline of the material presented, together with biographies of the officers conducting the conference, was distributed at the meeting.

Major Mc Gurk and staff presented the introduction to their conference and described the branches of their work which had to do with machinery and basic raw materials.

ITEM 2 Informal Business

(a) Meeting with General Mac Arthur

General Mc Coy announced that arrangements had been made for a meeting of the Commission with General Mac Arthur on January 29, 1946, at 11:30 a.m.

(b) Courtenay Movies

General Marquat inquired when and where the Commission desired to see Mr. Courtenay's movies. It was agreed that the Commission would view the movies on board ship at approximately 7 p.m., after dinner, Friday evening, January 18, 1946.

(c) News Release

Mr. Forsyth drew attention to an article on the Commission in the morning edition of Stars and Stripes, January 18. The article, Mr. Forsyth said, used the name of the Secretary General as a source, and consequently, might be interpreted as expressing the official views of the Commission. Mr. Forsyth took exception to some of the views expressed in the article.

In the absence of the Secretary General, General McCoy explained that the article was obviously a distortion



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of the release which Mr. Johnson had given the press and indicated that this type of distortion was to be expected. After some discussion, it was agreed that the Record of the Meeting should indicate that the article in question was a misrepresentation, and further, that the statements contained in it did not necessarily indicate the views of the Commission.

The meeting adjourned at 12 noon.



14th  
(J)  
Mtg



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Record of  
Fourteenth (J) Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Fourteenth (J) Meeting  
held in the Dai Ichi Building, Tokyo  
on Friday afternoon, 18 January 1946, at 2:15 p.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Mr. Oscar Morland (United Kingdom)  
Mr. C. Yun (China)  
Major J. Plimsoll (Australia)  
M. Pierre Sauvageot (France)  
Col. L. M. Cosgrave (Canada)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (P.I.)  
Mr. O. Reuchlin (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)  
Mr. R. R. Saksena (India)

SECRETARIAT

Mr. Hugh D. Farley

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERSEconomic and Scientific SectionIndustrial Division

Major Harry Mc Gurk  
Major J. A. O'Hearn  
Major A. A. Rasmussen  
Major W. L. Bunting  
Major Harold S. Tate  
Lt. Comdr. George E. Meyer  
Lt. Comdr. R. I. Wilson  
Capt. R. C. A. Purl  
Lieut. Phil Roston  
Lieut. V. A. Pierce  
Mr. Arthur Otis



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The Chairman opened the meeting at 2:15 p.m.

ITEM 1 Conference with Industrial Division, Economic and Scientific Section, SCAP (Cont'd.)

General McCoy opened the meeting with a question appearing on the morning's presentation.

The various staff officers of the Industrial Division completed their presentation on the subjects of shipbuilding, manufacturing and public utilities, textiles, and chemicals.

GHQ General Order No. 170, dated September 15, 1945, which was the basic directive for the Economic and Scientific Section, was distributed at the meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 5:15 p.m.



15th  
(J)  
Mtg



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Record of  
Fifteenth (J) Meeting

## FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Fifteenth (J) Meeting  
held in the Dai Ichi Building, Tokyo  
on Monday, 21 January 1946, at 9:30 a.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Mr. Oscar Morland (United Kingdom)  
Lt. General Chu Shih-ming (China)  
Mr. W. D. Forsyth (Australia)  
M. Francis Lacoste (France)  
Mr. Herbert Norman (Canada)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (P. I.)  
Dr. A. D. A de Kat Angelino (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)  
Mr. R. R. Saksena (India)

SECRETARY GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERSMilitary Intelligence Section

Col. P. Cooper, G-2

Economic and Scientific Section  
Price Control and Rationing Div.

Capt. W. S. Egekvist  
Lt. C. H. Philips  
Lt. H. F. Smith



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The Chairman opened the meeting at 9:40 a.m.

ITEM 1: Conference on Disarmament and Demobilization

General McCoy introduced Col. Cooper, Head of the General Military Intelligence Section, who indicated briefly to the Commission the current status of the disarmament and demobilization of the Japanese armed forces.

It was reported that final figures on this subject would probably be available in Washington by February, 1946, and Col. McCormack undertook to secure a final report for the Commission by March 1, 1946.

Item 2: Conference with Price Control and Rationing Division, Economic and Scientific Section, SCAP

General McCoy introduced Capt. Egekvist, Chief of the Division, who spoke to the Commission on Price Control and Rationing and answered questions.

An outline entitled "Price Control and Rationing in Japan", including a biography of the speaker, was distributed at the meeting.

ITEM 3: Informal Business

(a) Re-examination of Commission's schedule

In view of the fact that the Commission had already completed approximately half of its stay in Japan, General McCoy called for new Comments, criticisms or suggestions.

Mr. Forsyth referred to the informal conference a party of the Commission had had with local Japanese officials at Sendai and inquired if a similar meeting could be arranged for the next trip. The Commission agreed to request that arrangements be made for similar conferences during the trip to the Kyoto-Osaka area with the assistance of



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interpreters. It was also agreed to seek informal conferences with Civil Intelligence Section Officers and Medical Officers in the area.

There was some discussion of the desirability of the Commission meeting with a representative group of women and with a selected number of central government officials.

It was agreed that such meetings could be arranged for more advantageously by the individual members of the Commission rather than by the Commission as a whole.

The meeting adjourned at 12:15 p.m.



16th  
(J)  
Mtg



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Record of  
Sixteenth (J) Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Sixteenth (J) Meeting  
held in the Dai Ichi Building, Tokyo  
on Monday afternoon, 21 January 1946, at 2:15 p.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Sir George Sansom (United Kingdom)  
Lt. General Chu Shih-ming (China)  
Mr. W. D. Forsyth (Australia)  
M. Pierre Sauvageot (France)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (P.I.)  
Dr. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)  
Mr. R. R. Saksena (India)

SECRETARY GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERSEconomic and Scientific SectionLabor Division

Major William Karpinsky, Speaker  
Theo. Cohen  
Capt. Anthony Costantine  
Lt. Erwin Salk  
Lt. Molin



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The Chairman opened the meeting at 2:20 p.m.

ITEM 1: Conference with Labor Division, Economic and Scientific Section, SCAP

General McCoy introduced Major Karpinsky, Chief of the Labor Division, who, together with his staff, conducted the conference with the Commission on the subject of Labor in Japan.

An outline entitled "Outline of Labor Division Activities and Labor Development in Japan", was distributed at the meeting, together with copies of "Proceedings of the Diet, No. XVI (c), Trade Union Law", and of GHQ Memorandum AG 230 (17 Nov 45) ESS, including several enclosures.

The meeting adjourned at 5:15 p.m.



17th  
(J)  
Mtg



RESTRICTEDRecord of  
Seventeenth (J) MeetingFAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Seventeenth (J) Meeting  
held in the Dai Ichi Building, Tokyo,  
Wednesday, January 23, 1946, 9:30 A.M.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States), Chairman  
Sir George Sansom (United Kingdom)  
Mr. Herbert Norman (Canada)  
Lt. Gen. Chu Shih-ming (China)  
Major J. Plimsoll (Australia)  
M. Robert Douteau (France)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (Philippines)  
Dr. A.D.A. de Kat Angelino (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)

SECRETARIAT

Mr. Hugh D. Farley

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS  
Economic and Scientific Section  
Finance Division

Mr. C. F. Thomas  
Mr. N. A. Bagdan  
Mr. D. H. Blake  
Mr. S. J. McMahon  
Miss S. M. Hecht  
Lt. Col. O. J. McDiarmid  
Lt. Col. H. C. Harris  
Lt. Col. O. J. Looker  
Lt. Col. D. H. Jennings  
Maj. F. C. Sherbourne  
Maj. T. L. Wood  
Lt. Comdr. R. H. Hodgson  
Lt. Comdr. J. C. Creech  
Capt. L. J. Brentlinger  
Capt. P. C. Akin, U. N. R.  
Capt. E. F. Flanagan  
Lieut. R. A. Clark



SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS  
Economic and Scientific Section  
Finance Division  
(Continued)

Lieut. T. E. Beplat

Lieut. D. A. McLean

Lieut. E. E. Rickel

Lieut. R. B. Johnson



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The Chairman opened the meeting at 9:40 A.M. and the Commission held a preliminary closed meeting in which the following business was discussed:

a. Return Trip to Washington. General McCoy indicated that there was a possibility that accommodations might be secured for a brief stop over of the Commission in Honolulu on the return trip, and inquired as to the desires of the Commission in this respect. It was agreed that, subject to unforeseen circumstances, the Commission would return directly to Washington, with a stop over in Honolulu of approximately one half day.

ITEM 1. Conference with Finance Division, Economic and Scientific Section, SCAP. General McCoy introduced Mr. Thomas, Chief of the Division, who presented a brief survey of the activities of the Division and then introduced his staff.

The following documents were circulated at the meeting:

- a. Biographies of Heads of Branches
- b. Organization Chart
- c. Summary Reports of the Branches of the Finance Division.
- d. Summary of Japanese Government Budgets
- e. Summary of Policies of Finance Division.
- f. List of Directives Issued by the Financial Institutions Branch (and other Statements).

The meeting took time time for a brief perusal of the basic report of the Finance Division and then discussion was opened for questioning of the Regulating Branch, Insurance Branch, and Financial Institutions Branch.

The meeting adjourned at 11:40 A.M.



18th  
(J)  
Mtg



RESTRICTEDRecord of  
Eighteenth (J) MeetingFAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Eighteenth (J) Meeting  
held in the Dai Ichi Building, Tokyo,  
Wednesday, January 23, 1946, 2:15 P.M.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy (United States), Chairman  
Major J. Plimsoll (Australia)  
Lt. Gen. Chu Shih-ming (China)  
M. Francis Lacoste (France)  
Sir George Sansom (Great Britain)  
Dr. A.D.A. de Kat Angelino (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (Philippines)

SECRETARIAT

Mr. Hugh D. Farley

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS  
Economic and Scientific Section  
Finance Division

Mr. C. F. Thomas	Lieut. T. E. Beplat
Mr. N. A. Bogdan	Lieut. D. A. McLean
Mr. D. H. Blake	Lieut. E. E. Rickel
Mr. S. J. McMahon	Lieut. R. B. Johnson
Miss S. M. Hecht	Lieut. C. S. Hinman
Lt. Col. O. J. Looker	Lieut. Howard L. Lund
Lt. Col. H. C. Harris	
Lt. Col. D. H. Jennings	
Major S. T. Baron	
Major F. C. Sherbourne	
Major T. L. Wood	
Lt. Comdr. R. H. Hodgson	
Lt. Comdr. J. C. Creech	
Capt. R. F. Hatfield	
Capt. L. J. Brentlinger	
Capt. P. C. Akin, USNR	
Capt. E. F. Flanagan	
Lieut. R. A. Clark	



The Chairman opened the meeting at 2:15 P.M.

ITEM 1. Conference with Finance Division, Economic and Scientific Section, (Continued). The meeting continued its conference with the Finance Division during the afternoon hearing reports from and questioning the Liquidation Branch, the Public Finance Branch, the Allied Property in Japan Branch, and the Axis Property Branch.

The following papers, distributed in the morning meeting, were also used during the afternoon meeting:

- a. Biographies of Heads of Branches
- b. Organization Chart
- c. Summary Reports of the Branches of the Finance Division
- d. Summary of Japanese Government Budgets
- e. Summary of Policies of Finance Division
- f. List of Directives Issued by the Financial Institutions Branch (and other Statements).

Mr. Lacoste invited attention to the 5th page of the basic report of the Finance Division, the 6th paragraph below the heading "Liquidation Branch". Mr. Lacoste said that the paragraph in question might be interpreted as casting a reflection on the Banque de l'Indo-Chine and suggested that the phrase "under Japanese influence" be changed to read "under Japanese occupation"; that the specific dates be given in the first sentence of the paragraph as to the opening of the head office of the bank in Saigon as well as of the Tokyo branch; and that the second of the French banks referred to implicitly, the Banque Franco-Japanaise, be mentioned by name.

It was agreed that these corrections in the report would be made and circulated by Mr. Thomas, the Chief of the Division.

Mr. Douteau referred to the 14th page of the same report, paragraph 2, entitled "Seizure of Gold, Silver, Precious Metals and Stones." In view of the fact that certain gold reserves of the Banque de l'Indo-Chine were included in the figures listed under this paragraph, he suggested the deletion of the word "objectionable" in the phrase "and other objectionable organizations and persons."

The Commission agreed that this deletion should be made.

The meeting adjourned at 4:45 P.M.



RESTRICTED  
Record of  
19th (J) Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of 19th (J) Meeting  
held in Conference Room, GHQ,  
on Thursday, January 24, 1946, at 9:30 a.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (U. S.)  
Sir George Sansom (U. K.)  
General Chu Shih Ming (China)  
Mr. W. D. Forsyth (Australia)  
Col. Victor Morizon (France)  
Mr. E. Herbert Norman (Canada)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (P. I.)  
Dr. A. D. A. deKat Angelino (Netherlands)  
The Honorable C. A. Berendsen (New Zealand)

SECRETARIAT

Mr. Hugh D. Farley, Executive Officer

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

LEGAL SECTION

Colonel A. C. Carpenter, Chief of Section  
Lt. Colonel B. E. Sackett

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Mr. C. W. Higgins  
Lt. Col. J. W. Brabner-Smith



RESTRICTED  
Record of  
19th (J)FEC Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of 19th (J)FEC Meeting  
held in Conference Room, GHQ,  
on Thursday, January 24, 1946, at 9:30 a.m.

THE CHAIRMAN opened the meeting at 9:40 a.m.

Discussion in the preliminary closed meeting of the Commission was on the subject of war criminals and procedures in military courts and military commissions.

MR. BERENDSEN drew attention to certain <sup>press</sup> reports, both in Tokyo and in Chungking, that Hirohito has been named at the head of a list of war criminals drawn up by the Government of New Zealand. Mr. Berendsen said that he had questioned these reports and had since been informed by his Government that there was no official New Zealand list of war criminals, and that consequently Hirohito was not at the head of such an alleged list. He indicated further that the position of his Government on this subject remained intact, but he repeated that the statements in the press had been both unauthorized and inaccurate.

GENERAL McCOY inquired of the Australian delegate present as to his views on this subject, in view of the fact that these same newspaper reports had referred to an Australian list of Japanese war criminals.

MR. FORSYTH replied that, so far as he knew, the press reports referred to by Mr. Berendsen had not emanated from any official source, and, to his knowledge, the Australian Government had made no public statement in this connection. He said that he had no instructions to make a statement concerning the Australian list of Japanese war criminals. He added that he could say, however that the view of the Australian Government was that no person should be given immunity from accusation and trial.



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ITEM 1. CONFERENCE WITH LEGAL SECTION, SCAP.

GENERAL McCOY introduced Colonel Carpenter, Chief of the Section, who explained the functions of the Legal Section and answered questions. He distributed at the meeting copies of "Biographical Notes on Colonel Alva C. Carpenter."

ITEM 2. CONFERENCE WITH INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION, SCAP.

GENERAL McCOY introduced Mr. Higgins, who spoke to the Commission on behalf of Mr. Keenan, Chief of the Section. Mr. Higgins explained the steps that were being taken in preparation for the international military tribunal, and answered questions. He distributed a document, entitled "Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East."

The meeting adjourned at 11:45 a.m.



20th  
(J)  
Mtg



RESTRICTED  
Record of the  
20th (J) Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Twentieth (J) Meeting  
held in Conference Room, GHQ,  
on Thursday, January 24, 1946, at 2:15 p.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Mr. Oscar Morland (United Kingdom)  
General Chu Shih-Ming (China)  
Major J. Plimsoll (Australia)  
Mr. J. Douteau (France)  
Mr. R. Herbert Wornan (Canada)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (P. I.)  
Mr. O. Reuchlin (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)

SECRETARIAL

Mr. Hugh D. Farley

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION  
Scientific and Technical Division

Brig. John M. O'Brien (Aus. Army), Chief of Section  
Major R. J. Christman  
Dr. Kelly  
Dr. Fox



RESTRICTED

In the temporary absence of the Chairman, MR. BERNDSEN opened the meeting at 2:25 p.m. GENERAL MCCOY joined the meeting later.

ITEM 1. CONFERENCE WITH SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DIVISION, ECOLOGIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION, SCAP.

MR. BERNDSEN introduced Brigadier O'Brien, Chief of the Division, who spoke on the work of his Division and, together with his staff, answered questions.

The following documents were distributed at the meeting:

- (a) Short Biography of Brig. John J. O'Brien
- (b) Talk to Far Eastern Commission on January 24 by Brig. O'Brien

The meeting adjourned at 3:50 p.m.



21st  
(J)  
Mtg



*D. Blakeslee*RESTRICTEDRecord of the  
21st (J) MeetingFAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Twenty-first (J) Meeting  
held in Conference Room, GHQ  
on Friday, January 25, 1946, at 10:00 a.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Mr. Oscar Morland (United Kingdom)  
General Chu Shih-Ming (China)  
Mr. W. D. Forsyth (Australia)  
Mr. J. Douteau (France)  
Mr. E. Herbert Norman (Canada)  
The Honorable Tomas Confesor (P. I.)  
Dr. A. D. A. deKat Angelino (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)

SECRETARY GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS  
ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION  
Anti-Trust Cartels Division

Major Sidney W. Wheeler, Chief of Division  
Mr. George R. Lunn, Jr., Chief of Zaibatsu Branch  
Mr. John G. Liebert, Chief of Control-Cartels Branch  
Mr. Philip F. Siff, Spec. Coor. of Holding Co. Liq. Comm.

... ZAIBATSU MISSION ...

Mr. Corwin D. Edwards



RESTRICTED

THE CHAIRMAN opened the meeting at 10:00 a.m.

ITEM 1. CONFERENCE WITH ANTI-TRUST AND CARTELS DIVISION, ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC SECTION, SCAP.

GENERAL McCOY introduced Major Wheeler, Chief of the Division, who in turn introduced his staff. The work of the Division was described, and questions were answered. A document was distributed, entitled "Presentation Before Far Eastern Commission by Anti-Trust and Cartels Division."

ITEM 2. CONFERENCE WITH ZAIBATSU MISSION, SCAP.

GENERAL McCOY introduced Mr. Edwards, the head of the Mission, who explained the terms of reference of his Mission and indicated the questions for which he was seeking answers.

The meeting adjourned at 11:45 a.m.



22nd  
(J)  
Mtg



RESTRICTED

Record of the  
22nd (J) Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Twenty-second (J) Meeting  
held in the Lounge, USS MT. MCKINLEY  
on Wednesday, February 6, 1946 at 10 A.M.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Sir George Sansom (United Kingdom)  
Major J. Plimsoll (Australia)  
Monsieur Francis Lacoste (France)  
Mr. E. Herbert Norman (Canada)  
Dr. G. A. P. Weyer (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)  
Mr. R. R. Saksena (India)

SECRETARY GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson



RESTRICTED

THE CHAIRMAN opened the meeting at 10 a.m.

GENERAL MCCOY referred to a bibliography of books on Japan in a current issue of the Far Eastern Survey, and requested the Secretary General to have it circulated to the Commission.

THE CHAIRMAN then opened the subject of an Agenda for the Commission upon its return to Washington.

MR. LACOSTE raised the question of the assignment of allied experts to the staff of SCAP and remarked that it would be necessary first to ascertain the terms of engagement of such personnel, the method whereby they would be integrated into the SCAP machinery, and such other questions as whether or not they would be allowed to take their families with them. It was agreed that this question might properly be raised by a preliminary inquiry of the Commission prior to its return to Washington.

THE CHAIRMAN appointed Mr. Lacoste as Chairman of a committee, with Mr. Johnson as an adviser, to draft an appropriate message to General MacArthur with respect to the participation of allied personnel in SCAP.

GENERAL MCCOY then raised the question of the status of aliens in Japan, particularly that of the approximately 2500 Germans who were reported to be there. This question, also, was referred to the committee with Mr. Lacoste as Chairman for the drafting of an appropriate inquiry to General MacArthur.

MR. LACOSTE then suggested that the two priority items for the Agenda of the new Commission upon its return to Washington were (a) Reparations and (b) The Resumption of Foreign Trade. There was discussion of the desirability of opening foreign trade, especially from the point of view



of foreign nationals previously engaged in business in Japan and of the question of restitution, as distinct from reparations, for the property of such foreign nationals which had been destroyed or damaged in the course of the war.

In the course of further discussion of an Agenda for the Commission, references were made to the relationship of the Far Eastern Commission, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and the Allied Council for Japan, and to the status of religion in Japan, with special reference to the current position of Christian Churches and the return of the missions.

GENERAL MCCOY suggested, and the Commission agreed, that there would be one additional meeting on board ship for discussion of reparations.

The meeting adjourned at 11:20 a.m.



23rd  
(J)  
Mtg



RESTRICTED

Record of the  
23rd (J) Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Twenty-third (J) Meeting  
held in the Lounge, USS MT. MCKINLEY  
on Saturday, February 9, 1946, at 10:30 a.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Sir George Sansom (United Kingdom)  
Major J. Plimsoll (Australia)  
Monsieur Francis Lacoste (France)  
Mr. E. Herbert Norman (Canada)  
Dr. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)  
Mr. R. R. Saksena (India)

SECRETARY GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson



RESTRICTED

THE CHAIRMAN opened the meeting at 10:30 a.m.

ITEM 1. PRESS RELEASE.

A draft press release for use at Hawaii, prepared by a committee with Mr. Lacoste as chairman, was circulated for consideration. Reference was made to the fact that the Commission had already release to the press a statement on its trip to Japan, and that an additional one probably would be sought by the press upon the arrival of the Commission in Washington.

The Commission agreed not to issue any official statement in Hawaii and to reuse the draft under consideration for use upon arrival in Washington.

Item 2. REPARATIONS.

GENERAL McCOY proposed, and the Commission agreed, to defer further discussion of this subject until the new Far Eastern Commission had become operative in Washington.

ITEM 3. JAPAN SUMMARY.

GENERAL McCOY opened the discussion to an informal expression of views on various subjects of interest. On the subject of youth in Japan, opinions were expressed that the military leaders had lost popularity with youth up to 18 years of age; that this age-group resented their former forced labor under military control and were fallow for new ideas; that the 20-40 age group was considered a "lost generation" by some Japanese; that true liberals in Japan were to be found only in the older leaders, for the younger men, since the 1920's, had been increasingly divorced from foreign influences; that some students regarded as "collaborators" those Japanese now in the government and working with the occupational forces; and that youth leaders were afraid to speak out for fear that the period of occupation would be brief.



RESTRICTEDITEM 3. JAPAN SUMMARY. (Contd.)

It was reported that evidences of self-pity had been discovered among the Japanese, and that there were some who felt that the war had been lost, not because they had been overpowered, but because they had been unlucky.

With respect to certain young former Japanese Army officers, it was reported they approved the war crimes trials, not so much on the grounds that the war had been an unjust one, but that the officers on trial had been guilty of losing the war.

ITEM 4. MEMENTO FOR SHIP AND CREW.

There was discussion of suitable mementos for the USS Mt. McKinley, its officers and crew as an expression of gratitude for the warm hospitality the Commission had experienced on board the ship.

The commission requested the Secretary General to take action with respect to a piece of wardroom furniture appropriately inscribed, a framed photograph of the Commission, and a trophy, possibly for gunnery, as a permanent possession of the ship and for award to the crew.

ITEM 5. JAPANESE NATIONAL ELECTION.

Mr. Norman inquired if it would be possible to give a high priority on the agenda of the new Far Eastern Commission to the subject of the scheduled Japanese national election on March 31, 1946. He said that there were grave doubts as to the advisability of allowing the Japanese to hold an election at such an early date, and favored postponement of the election.

It was suggested that the Commission request General MacArthur's opinion on this matter. There were some views expressed that such a question was proper business for the Allied Council for Japan., that it was a matter of implementation and



RESTRICTEDITEM 5. JAPANESE NATIONAL ELECTION. (Contd)

consequently an improper inquiry for the Commission to put to General MacArthur. On the other hand, it was admitted that the Council was not in session, and the argument was advanced that it was proper for the Commission to request information of General MacArthur on such an important matter, especially in view of the fact that the Japanese did not yet know what their future might be, in the absence of policies on reparations and general economic matters.

Mr. Norman agreed to accept the proposal that an inquiry be sent to General MacArthur in place of his original suggestion, provided that the message would not prejudice the reconsideration of the question by the new Far Eastern Commission in Washington.

General McCoy proposed, and the Commission agreed, that Mr. Norman draft a message to General MacArthur with respect to the election, for the Commission to consider at another meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 12:05 p.m.



24th  
(J)  
Mtg



RESTRICTED  
Record of  
24th (J) Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Twenty-fourth (J) Meeting  
Held in the Lounge aboard the USS Mt. McKinley  
On Saturday, February 9, 1946, at 4:30 p.m.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)  
Sir George Sansom (United Kingdom)  
Major J. Plimsoll (Australia)  
M. Francis Lacoste (France)  
Mr. E. Herbert Norman (Canada)  
Dr. A. D. A. deKat Angelino (Netherlands)  
Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)  
Mr. R. R. Saksena (India)

SECRETARY GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson



RESTRICTED  
Record of  
24th (J) Meeting

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Record of Twenty-fourth (J) Meeting  
held in the Lounge aboard the USS Mt. McKinley  
ON Saturday, February 9, 1946, at 4:30 p.m.

THE CHAIRMAN opened the meeting at 4:30 p.m.

ITEM 1 - Japanese National Election. MR. NORMAN had circulated the following draft message from the Commission to General MacArthur before the meeting:

"1. Among the many questions which members of the Far Eastern Commission have been discussing is that of the forthcoming Japanese National Election. Having regard to the facts (a) that this subject was discussed with the Government Section of SCAP at an early period of the Commission's stay in Japan, (b) that the subjects of reparations and of the general economic structure of post-war Japan are still obscure and undetermined, and (c) that the implementation of the January 4th directives is still incomplete, as your staff indicated it would be, some members of the Commission have raised the question as to whether a reasonably representative government in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration may be expected to emerge from an election held at the time now proposed by the Japanese Government.

"2. Accordingly, the Commission would greatly appreciate your estimate of the factors involved, especially of any new considerations which may have developed since the Commission's departure from Tokyo."

The following alternative text, proposed by Mr. Sansom and Mr. Lacoste, was circulated at the meeting:

"1. Among the many questions which members of this delegation have been studying is that of the forthcoming Japanese National Election.

In view of the fact that this crucial event is to take place at a time when many aspects of Allied policy as to Japan's economic and political future are still undetermined, some members have raised the question as to whether a reasonably representative government may be expected from an election held at the early date set by the Japanese Government.

"2. Accordingly, your estimate of the factors involved would be greatly appreciated by the representatives of the Allied Powers on the Commission."



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MAJOR PLIMSOLL, MR. SAKSENA, DR. DEKAT ANGELINO and GENERAL McCOY opposed the proposal that a message on this subject be sent, on the grounds (a) that General MacArthur might feel that the Commission was interfering too much in his own business, that General MacArthur was not obliged to respond to the present FEC after the Moscow Agreement for a new FEC, that the messages indicated that only "some" members were expressing their interest; that governments would have to be consulted before such a question could be raised; that the subject was highly controversial and yet had not been raised by the Commission during its stay in Japan; that the message suggested a predisposition to postpone the date; and that the message might seriously disturb SCAP-FEC relations.

MR. NORMAN indicated that his original interest in raising the question was to request that it be given a high priority on the agenda of the new FEC, and, consequently, that he did not feel strongly one way or the other with respect to sending the message.

MR. SANSOM, MR. BERENDSEN and MR. LACOSTE supported the proposal to send a message, though appropriately redrafted, on the grounds that any government, member of the Commission, was entitled to request information; that it was appropriate for the Commission afloat, an investigating body, to ask questions on any subject; that the subject was of such significance that the Commission had to face it; that if the matter were deferred for consideration by the new FEC, it would then be too late; that the Commission had had no time to inquire about the matter in Japan because the announcement of the date for the election had been made just before sailing; and that the "old crowd" in Japan was sure to be elected and would thus become the "Potsdam government," that is, in terms of the Potsdam Declaration, "a peacefully inclined and responsible government" which has been "established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people."

In view of the fact that there was considerable difference of opinion in the Commission on the subject, and of the fact that he personally felt that it would be unwise for the Commission to send the mess-



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age at this time, GENERAL McCOY proposed, and the Commission agreed, that no message should be sent. General McCoy added, however, that he would attempt to get information on the subject for the Commission through other channels.

The meeting adjourned at 5:10 p.m.

*True Copy of Original  
Minutes - Doc. Office  
Master File.  
R. Coyle <sup>IV</sup>*