

FAR EAST

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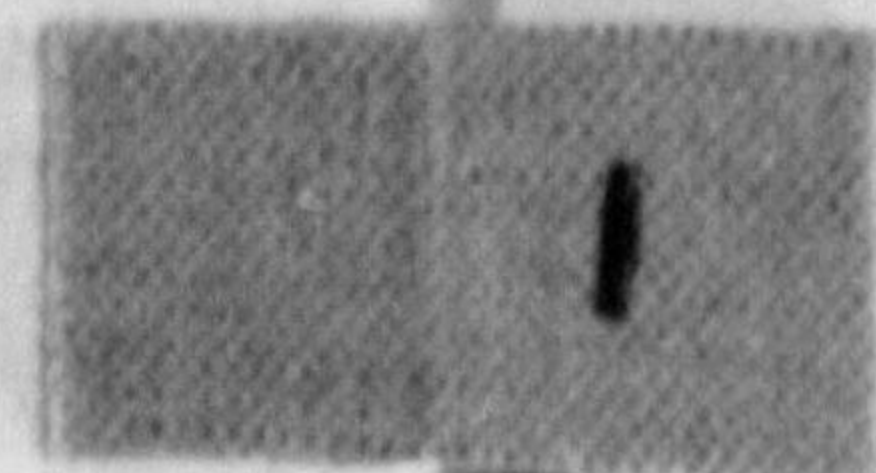
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FEC TRANSCRIPT OF MEETINGS  
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F. A. W. C.

First Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission

held in Main Conference Room, 2516 Massachusetts  
Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., at 10:30 a.m.  
February 26, 1946.



TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

MEETING: First Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission  
DATE: Tuesday, February 26, 1946, at 10:30 a.m.  
PLACE: Main Conference Room, 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.  
PRESENT: Chairman (U.S.A.) Gen. Frank R. McCoy

Delegates:

Australia, Sir Frederic Eggleston  
Canada, Mr. E. Herbert Norman  
China, Mr. Wei Tao-ming  
France, Mr. Paul E. Naggier  
India, Sir Girja Shankir Bajpai  
Netherlands, Dr. A. Loudon  
New Zealand, Sir Carl Berendsen  
Philippine Commonwealth, Brig. Gen. Carlos Romulos  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Nickolai V. Novikov  
United Kingdom, Sir George Sansom

Secretary-General: Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

Reporter: E. Koontz, Department of State



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CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, the First Session of the Far Eastern Commission is open and I have the honor to present to you the American Secretary of State Mr. Byrnes.

ITEM 1 - WELCOME BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES: Gentlemen of the Commission, I deem it a privilege to have the opportunity of extending a welcome to you who have been selected by your governments to serve on the Far Eastern Commission.

The agreement reached at Moscow for the establishment of this policy-making group to take the place of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission was one of the major accomplishments of the Moscow Conference. The Moscow agreement laid the foundation on which all the Allies involved in the Pacific war could unite for the control of Japan. Therefore, the convening of this Commission, comprised of representatives of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, France, the United States, the Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, India, and the Philippines is a source of genuine gratification. Even though the task of crushing the Japanese end of the Axis fell largely upon the United States, this government always desired that the control of Japan should become an Allied responsibility. The same unity of action and of purpose that won the war must be maintained if we are to root out the seeds of possible future wars, wherever they may be planted.



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Peace in the Pacific is an essential cornerstone to a stable world structure. The guidance of Japan to a position of peaceful association with other nations is therefore a task of major responsibility. That responsibility now belongs to you of the Far Eastern Commission.

As the meeting of this new Commission opens a new phase in the control of Japan, I should like to commend to you the progress thus far made. The directives issued and the administration established by the Supreme Allied Commander represent sound and significant contributions to the transformation of Japan. While we can, I believe, view our accomplishments to date with considerable satisfaction, we should not for a moment lose sight of the important job that lies ahead.

The weapons of war can be destroyed with relative ease. But the social habits, the economic order, the governmental structure which were party to forging those weapons are not so easy to change. The old structure of power and rule in Japan cannot be eliminated in a matter of weeks or even of months.

The creation of conditions under which political and economic democracy can flourish and survive is a continuing task. The importance of this creative process is so vital to the security and future well-being of us all that it cannot be over-emphasized. The Terms of Reference agreed to last December in Moscow placed the final and ultimate responsibility for formulating the policies and principles, upon which the peace and security of the Pacific may well be based, in your hands.



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glare of the cameras we will proceed with our work of formal organization and I now declare the Far Eastern Commission open for probably a considerable period.

You have had circulated the agenda for this meeting and have heard the Secretary of State give the general program of our participation in the policy for the continued occupation of Japan. During the absence of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission in Japan the representatives of our governments have reached agreement on some of the points in question and they are now settled for us in the Terms of Reference which I will now ask the Secretary-General of the former commission to read to you -- Mr. Johnson.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: There has been laid before you a copy of a memorandum to the Commission from the Department of State dated February 26, 1946. We did not have time to mimeograph this. It will be mimeographed later and made a document of the Commission. With your permission, I will read from this:

"February 26, 1946.

"MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNITED STATES  
REPRESENTATIVE, FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

"The Foreign Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America at their meeting in Moscow in December 1945, with the concurrence of the Government of China, agreed to establish a Far Eastern Commission, to function under the Terms



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The mere fact of your presence here signifies the solution of one of the many issues we have faced in concert with our Allies since the end of the war. The results of your labors will, I am sure, result in the solution of many more of the problems that are fast becoming milestones as we continue our march along the road of international cooperation.

I should now like to ask General McCoy, the representative of the United States, to act as your temporary chairman in order that you may proceed with the business of organizing yourselves for work under your Terms of Reference. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

We will now proceed to the order of work that you have outlined.

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES: Mr. Chairman, could I ask you to be kind enough to excuse me because I have a conference that I agreed to attend some ten days ago. I ask, therefore, if I can be excused.

(The Hon. James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State, left the meeting at this time).

CHAIRMAN: We will now take a recess of five minutes for our friends of the battery to have an opportunity to move their apparatus.

(The camera men who had been taking pictures of the proceedings left the meeting during this recess).

ITEM 2 - TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE COMMISSION

CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, since we are no longer in the



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of Reference appended hereto. It was also agreed that the Government of the United States on behalf of the four Powers should present the Terms of Reference to the Governments of France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and the Philippine Commonwealth and invite them to participate in the Commission."

The rest of this memorandum covers Item 3 on the agenda. (The Secretary-General continued to read).

ITEM 3 - MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION

"In accordance with this agreement the Government of the United States on December 28, 1945, invited the Governments named above to participate in the Far Eastern Commission on the basis of the Terms of Reference agreed upon at the conference. All the Governments accepted the invitation. The French Government, however, based its acceptance on its interpretation that the phrase 'other matters' in paragraph II-A-3 of the Terms of Reference referred to matters relative to the control of Japan and stated that if the provisions of this paragraph should be invoked in order to extend the jurisdiction of the Commission to any matter which might bring directly into question French interests in the Far East, the French Government would consider itself justified in claiming, insofar as the voting procedure provided for in paragraph



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V-2 is concerned, a status identical with that enjoyed by the other Powers in the Pacific which are permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. The United States Government has informed the French Government that it understands 'other matters' as used in paragraph II-A-3 of the Terms of Reference to apply to matters relating to control of Japan and that it is not the intention of the United States Government to introduce into the Commission's deliberations matters affecting Southeast Asia, including Indochina, which are not related to the control of Japan. It is assumed that the other participating Governments will put on record with the Commission any observations they may desire to make regarding the French position.

All the Nations comprising the Far Eastern Commission having agreed to participate in the work of the Commission on the basis indicated, the Secretary of State has informed the participating Powers, through their diplomatic representatives in Washington, that the initial meeting of the Commission is to be held in Washington at 10:30 a.m. February 26, 1946, at 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest.

"/s/ John Carter Vincent



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"TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE  
FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

"I. Establishment of the Commission

A Far Eastern Commission is hereby established composed of the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States, China, France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and the Philippine Commonwealth.

"II. Functions

"A. The functions of the Far Eastern Commission shall be:

"1. To formulate the policies, principles, and standards in conformity with which the fulfillment by Japan of its obligations under the Terms of Surrender may be accomplished.

"2. To review, on the request of any member, any directive issued to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or any action taken by the Supreme Commander involving policy decisions within the jurisdiction of the Commission.

"3. To consider such other matters as may be assigned to it by agreement among the participating Governments reached in accordance with the voting procedure provided for in Article V-2 hereunder.

"B. The Commission shall not make recommendations with regard to the conduct of military operations nor with regard to territorial adjustments.



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"C. The Commission in its activities will proceed from the fact that there has been formed an Allied Council for Japan and will respect existing control machinery in Japan, including the chain of command from the United States Government to the Supreme Commander and the Supreme Commander's command of occupation forces.

"III. Functions of the United States Government

"1. The United States Government shall prepare directives in accordance with policy decisions of the Commission and shall transmit them to the Supreme Commander through the appropriate United States Government Agency. The Supreme Commander shall be charged with the implementation of the directives which express the policy decisions of the Commission.

"2. If the Commission decides that any directive or action reviewed in accordance with Article II-A-2 should be modified, its decision shall be regarded as a policy decision.

"3. The United States Government may issue interim directives to the Supreme Commander pending action by the Commission whenever urgent matters arise not covered by policies already formulated by the Commission; provided that any directives dealing with fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure or in the regime of control, or dealing with a change in the Japanese



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Government as a whole will be issued only following consultation and following the attainment of agreement in the Far Eastern Commission.

"4. All directives issued shall be filed with the Commission.

"IV. Other Methods of Consultation

"The establishment of the Commission shall not preclude the use of other methods of consultation on Far Eastern issues by the participating Governments.

"V. Composition

"1. The Far Eastern Commission shall consist of one representative of each of the States party to this agreement. The membership of the Commission may be increased by agreement among the participating Powers as conditions warrant by the addition of representatives of other United Nations in the Far East or having territories therein. The Commission shall provide for full and adequate consultations, as occasion may require, with representatives of the United Nations not members of the Commission in regard to matters before the Commission which are of particular concern to such nations.

"2. The Commission may take action by less than unanimous vote provided that action shall have the concurrence of at least a majority of all the representatives including the representatives of the four



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following Powers: United States, United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China.

"VI. Location and Organization

"1. The Far Eastern Commission shall have its headquarters in Washington. It may meet at other places as occasion requires, including Tokyo, if and when it deems it desirable to do so. It may make such arrangements through the Chairman as may be practicable for consultation with the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

"2. Each representative on the Commission may be accompanied by an appropriate staff comprising both civilian and military representation.

"3. The Commission shall organize its secretariat, appoint such committees as may be deemed advisable, and otherwise perfect its organization and procedure.

"VII. Termination

"The Far Eastern Commission shall cease to function when a decision to that effect is taken by the concurrence of at least a majority of all the representatives including the representatives of the four following Powers: United States, United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China. Prior to the termination of its functions the Commission shall transfer to any interim



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or permanent security organization of which the participating Governments are members those functions which may appropriately be transferred."

Those are the Terms of Reference.

ITEM 4 - ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

CHAIRMAN: As indicated by the Secretary of State, I am only acting as your Chairman, and I now come to the item on the agenda broadly covered by the election of a permanent chairman.

MR. EGGLESTON: Mr. Chairman, before you go into that -- Although Australia has accepted the membership of the Commission she regrets that the Terms of Reference were settled without reference to all the member nations, and also that the voting procedure is inconsistent with the Australian status as a party in these affairs.

We just express regret at that and we regret that these things were not referred to the member governments before being circulated around to the great powers.

CHAIRMAN: I take it that the Commission will take cognizance of the statement of the representative of Australia. Are there any comments?

MR. BERENDSEN: It is not my intention to make any comments on the order of reference in view of the fact that my government has accepted it and having accepted it intends to do its utmost to make it effective. But I do not wish to have my silence as indicating any abuse with New Zealand with



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respect to the veto in this or any other document. That will remain and will remain an alternate.

CHAIRMAN: Any other comments? I will see that that statement is made a matter of record and of cognizance of the Commission.

MR. BAJPAI: Mr. Chairman, not on this point, but in covering the memorandum of our Terms of Reference which has been placed before us I invite your attention to the concluding sentence on page 2: "It is assumed that the other participating Governments will put on record with the Commission any observations they may desire to make regarding the French position."

I have no observations to make myself, but it occurred to me if anybody had any observations this is the time.

CHAIRMAN: I do not think it is necessarily the time. The time can be any time, but if any representative may wish to file with the Commission any such observation I will see that after due time we will go over the record to see what observations are made, and if they are pertinent to the Commission as a whole we will have a meeting to cover those observations so they can be profitably considered.

MR. BAJPAI: I don't wish to prolong this debate at all. I merely drew attention to that because the Secretary said that Item 3 - Membership of the Commission covers amongst other things the memorandum -- that part of the memorandum which relates to the French position. If it is your opinion that observations can be made later of course --



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CHAIRMAN: I take it that it means at any time. That is the understanding of the Commission then.

MR. NAGGIAR: At any time the French position -- it will lead to the description of our observations.

CHAIRMAN: I think that now we are an independent Commission with the Charter and a constitution as it were and that that is a thing that can be considered by the Commission at any time if any representative wishes to bring it up.

MR. NAGGIAR: But for all of us it would be useful to know what the position of a member is. We may bring our discussion of substance at any time -- about next year. Then the French Delegation will again subject a discussion. I prefer myself that the question be settled.

CHAIRMAN: Well, I will consult with you and other members as to what can best be done, and we hope that this morning we can proceed just to the formal organization work and defer for further consideration these important observations.

GEN. ROMULOS: Mr. Chairman, as a matter of clarification it is not the intention of the United States Government to introduce in the Commission's deliberations matters affecting Southeast Asia including Indochina. Does this mean that it is not the intention now of the United States Government to introduce in the Commission's deliberations the matters affecting Southeast Asia or does this rule out permanently from this Commission deliberations affecting Southeast Asia including Indochina?



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CHAIRMAN: Well, I would think that now it is clear and that the Commission being free and independent under its terms of reference can discuss that at any time if any representative wishes to bring it up. There is no door locked to any member of this Commission to bring up anything before our fellow members at any time that it seems desirable and we will, of course, accept consideration at any time by the Commission. It is up to us, I take it, under the Terms of Reference; in other words, we are not under the United States Government or any other government in our conduct of our deliberations. Now when it comes to action we are governed by our particular Terms of Reference. That is my understanding for the moment, but I am hoping for discussion or argument on that or observations at any time.

Now are there any other comments? If you will notice, the last item covers "informal business". I will just cut out the word "informal" and say anything you care to bring up at the end of this meeting.

I would like to go ahead now, if there is no objection, to the election of your Chairman. There seems to be no objection.

ITEM 4 - ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

MR. TAO-MING: It is my pleasure to nominate Gen. Frank R. McCoy as Chairman of the Commission. As you are well aware Gen. McCoy has had long experience not only in the Far East, but also as the United States representative on various international commissions. I am sure that you will agree with me that not



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only because of his past experience but because of the country which he represents on this Commission Gen. McCoy should be our choice as Chairman.

MR. LOUDON: I warmly support the proposal just made by the Ambassador of China that Gen. McCoy, being yourself, be selected as Chairman of the Far Eastern Commission.

CHAIRMAN: The representative of the Soviet Union.

MR. NOVIKOV: I support heartily the motion of the Chinese Ambassador in nominating you as the Chairman of the Commission.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any other comments or any other motions?

GEN. ROMULOS: May I move that the election of Gen. McCoy be made unanimous.

CHAIRMAN: The motion has been made and seconded and the motion has also been made to make the decision of the Commission unanimous. I will, in view of the fact that there are no other comments or no other nominations, declare it the unanimous opinion of the Commission -- if there are no objections. There seem to be none. (Applause).

Thank you very much my fellow members. We have been associated for a considerable period and with great interest and pleasure on my part I am glad to continue as your Chairman.

ITEM 5 - ELECTION OF SECRETARY GENERAL

I will now go to the item with reference to the election of the Secretary-General of this Commission.

The representative of France.



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MR. NAGGIAR: It is a great pleasure for me to move that Mr. Nelson T. Johnson put his experience at the disposal of the Commission and be elected as Secretary-General. I think I am entitled to make this proposal not only because we all have been able to experience the good work given by Mr. Johnson in the Commission but personally having been the colleague of Mr. Johnson in China in the past years I consider it a great pleasure for me to make this proposal.

MR. BERENDSEN: As another former colleague of our friend Mr. Johnson I have the greatest personal pleasure in seconding that motion.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any other motions or comments?

GEN. ROMULOS: Again I ask that that be made unanimous.

CHAIRMAN: The motion of the representative of France seconded by New Zealand and the motion having been made to make it unanimous I will assume, if there are no objections, that Mr. Nelson Johnson will continue to be Secretary-General of the Far Eastern Commission. (Applause).

Since this motion of the members of the Commission has been made in such a personal way, I would like to add my satisfaction of the views expressed that we have a Secretary-General that is an old friend of all of us and that we have been associated with in so many former problems with him, that we can have his services continuing in this very important position which means so much



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to us all both officially and personally. I declare Mr. Johnson as Secretary-General of the Far Eastern Commission.

I will ask Mr. Johnson to make some comments on the organization of the Secretariat so that the members can be informed of its present constitution and any desire on their part can be expressed after hearing Mr. Johnson as to the present Secretariat and his intentions under the new order.

ITEM 6 - ORGANIZATION OF THE SECRETARIAT

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, thank you very much for the support that I have received at the table here.

There has been circulated to you a document, FEC 101, which outlines the organization of the Secretariat of the Far Eastern Commission as it is now constituted. The only part of this that I would like to invite your attention to is the opening paragraph. Personnel of the Secretariat as it now stands has been provided by the Government of the United States. We hope that at any time that any member desires to make available to the Secretariat any personnel that you will do so. I want to say that they will be welcome and that we will be glad to have them with us and to give them a share of the work. I think it is unnecessary to read this whole document of the Secretariat. I think most of the Commission is familiar with it.

CHAIRMAN: The Commission is open for comments now or at any other time on the personnel or work of the Secretariat. It is your Secretariat.

MR. EGGLESTON: Are we going to make any decision on this --



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whether the Secretariat shall be on an international basis?

CHAIRMAN: It is on an international basis. It is in an impersonal way, but it has worked internationally and it can be changed or subtracted or added to at any time at your wish. It is an international secretariat, but owing to the fact that we are here and our facilities seem to be more easily available, I think it is mostly expected on this trip American personnel will be used but if anybody wishes to have their representative made a part of it I am sure that it can be arranged with Mr. Johnson.

MR. EGGLESTON: Well the point about that, Mr. Chairman, seems to be this -- that surely it should not be stated that any member of the Commission can nominate any of its personnel to this Secretariat without some consideration of the whole thing. Wouldn't it be better to appoint a committee to discuss to what extent the Secretariat should be made definitely international with membership from the various countries who are able to supply personnel to the Secretariat. It seems to me that you might have quite an unbalanced Secretariat as far as internationally concerned if you simply said that anyone who wants to put a man on can do so. I only raised the question for the purpose of getting the views of the members on that subject.

CHAIRMAN: Any other comments along that line?

MR. SANSOM: Might I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that it is rather difficult to come to any conclusion now and we should see how the Secretariat functions under the new Terms leaving it open to us.

CHAIRMAN: It is open to any member of the Commission at any



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time. In the meantime Mr. Johnson will go ahead as constituted for the moment, and any time it needs consideration by the whole Commission or by any particular member it can be brought up here or in conference with Mr. Johnson, by making a request to have it brought before the Commission. It is an open question at any time.

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, I may just add that as we did at the time of the constituting of the Commission I am quite ready to get in touch with Mr. Johnson to put at his disposal one of my secretaries for translation, Mr. Safajo (?).

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Always welcome.

CHAIRMAN: Any comment to make on that?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: I hope the Commission will consider it as their Secretariat and will use it at all times, and Mr. Safajo and anyone else who comes to us <sup>we</sup> will be glad to help them and give them facilities, translation work or anything else.

MR. EGGLESTON: This personnel will they be employees of the Commission or will they be employees of the specific governments that succumb them?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: We have suggested in here (referring to Terms of Reference) that member governments of the Commission may desire to share in the expenses of the Secretariat in which case we can work up a budget to determine how it should be done. At the present time the personnel of the Secretariat are on the pay rolls of the various governments.

MR. EGGLESTON: As it was explained here, the Secretariat



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should be international in character but when a man is on the Secretariat he becomes a servant of the Secretary-General and is under his orders.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Yes. That's a question that brings up and will bring up eventually the question of the budget for this Commission.

ITEM 7 - ORGANIZATION OF COMMISSION'S WORK

CHAIRMAN: There is another particular problem embraced under Item 7 that I will now ask the Secretary-General to put before you.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: There is space available here in the building for the use of delegates. The space is, as yet, not sufficient; neither is it as large as we would wish to give everyone space and I think it would be well if later on we could appoint a committee to examine that space apportionate to the committee.

Then for the organization of the Commission's work I believe we should take some action now with regard to a Steering Committee. If the Commission could send to me -- each delegation -- a nomination of a name to make up this Steering Committee to organize the work of the Commission and to discuss priority of subjects and to prepare them for the Commission's consideration I would be very glad to have them.

CHAIRMAN: It is the intention after you have discussed or submitted to the Secretary-General the representatives on this



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committee (Steering Committee) to carry on the organization of our work -- that can be brought back to the Commission, of course, at any time by the committee that will be organized after you submit your representatives.

ITEM 8 - REPORT ON TRIP TO JAPAN

There is an item called "Report on Trip to Japan" Item 8, that is before you just to give what might be called the "journal" of our worthwhile work during the recent trip to Japan. It is at your disposition for information and comment at any time.

MR. NAGGIAR: Will this report be circulated?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: It has been circulated, Mr. Ambassador -- MI-22.

CHAIRMAN: I haven't had an opportunity of reading it myself. It has just been circulated. It is in the nature of a rapporteur's report.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: The report is divided in various sections. It is merely a factual statement.

ITEM 9 - INFORMAL BUSINESS

CHAIRMAN: We will now come to the end of our organization in the sense of the broad outline and before adjourning I wanted an opportunity to be given to any of you to take up anything that you may wish to have considered.

MR. BAJPAI: If I might have your attention, Mr. Chairman, for one moment. I believe we have just decided that there is



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to be a Steering Committee to explore the business which is to be brought up before the Commission. We have already submitted to the members of the Commission one matter which to us is of considerable importance and that is the composition of the tribunal which was set up in Tokyo for the trial of major Japanese war criminals. Personally, I should be very happy and indebted if the committee would meet early so that the question of the priority of the discussion of this matter by the Commission can be examined by the Steering Committee.

CHAIRMAN: We will make note of that for the Steering Committee as it will be provisionally organized.

MR. BERENDSEN: Mr. Chairman, do we have any indication of the proposals concerning the date upon which the Commission will actually get down to business? There are, as you know, sir, and as my colleagues will all agree, quite a number of questions which demand quite early action, and I think it would be the wish of all of us that we should really attempt to deal with those questions without any unnecessary delay.

CHAIRMAN: (To the Secretary-General) Have you any idea as to the earliest moment that this Steering Committee could meet?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Just as soon as I can have the names of the representatives on the Steering Committee I will be glad to call a meeting at once and we can consider these matters that



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are before the Commission or that the Commission wants to be brought up and get things started.

CHAIRMAN: Could the members right now give their representatives to Mr. Johnson. We will declare a recess of five minutes for you to consult your staff, and it would save time if the members could at the end of five minutes give their representatives for this committee. We will declare a recess of five minutes for that purpose.

(After a five-minute recess, during which time the delegations submitted the names of their representatives for the Steering Committee to the Secretary-General, the meeting continued).

CHAIRMAN: The session is open now for the Secretary-General to announce the members of the Steering Committee.

## SECRETARY-GENERAL:

Australia	-	Sir Frederic Eggleston alternate: Major Blinsoll
Canada	-	Mr. E. Herbert Norman alternate: R. E. Collins
China	-	Liu Shih-Shun
France	-	Mr. Francis Lecoste
India	-	Sir Girja Shankir Bajpai
Netherlands	-	Dr. A. Loudon alternate: Dr. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino
New Zealand	-	Col. Powles
Philippine Commonwealth	-	Brig. Gen. Carlos Romulos Thomas Confesor
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	-	Mr. Nickolai V. Novikov
United Kingdom	-	Sir George Sansom alternate: Mr. H. A. Graves



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United States of  
America

- Dr. George H. Blakeslee

CHAIRMAN: And the time of the meeting -- convenient for all.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Shall we say at ten o'clock tomorrow morning here at this building.

CHAIRMAN: The First Meeting of the Steering Committee will be here at ten o'clock tomorrow morning. So I think, Sir Carl, your stimulus is working again.

MR. BERENDSEN: Well, General, I have only one comment to make: I see nothing wrong with this afternoon. But I am quite prepared to meet tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN: Well, Gentlemen, we are in session. Are there any other subjects which any member of the Commission wishes to take up this morning?

MR. SANSOM: One small point, Mr. Chairman. We, I think, and other members have put in various documents previous to the formation or rather the meeting of this new Commission and I hope we shall be able to revive those documents and give them a new status at the Steering Committee. It is only a question of bringing them into the new Commission.

CHAIRMAN: Possibly the Secretary-General could be sure that he has a list of all those that will be put before the Steering Committee tomorrow morning. Any member who wishes to revive or pass on to the new Commission can then be checked over



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but from the point-of-view that until that subject is considered the whole question of the economy of Japan remains in doubt. That certainly is a very urgent question. We all agree on that.

CHAIRMAN: Right off the bat we all agree that that is a burning question that ought to be taken up with the utmost concern and speed and I will take it that that will be dealt with tomorrow in the Steering Committee.

Are there any other comments? If not, now I will bring up the question for discussion for a moment as to our next meeting or future regular meetings. You may have that in mind and possibly you may want to comment on it now or discuss it tomorrow more at length or have it left as it would be, without comment, at the call of the Chairman. Is there any comment on that general subject of meetings of the Commission.

GEN. ROMULOS: We may leave that to the Steering Committee I think to discuss tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN: Well, then, if there are no objections we will adjourn the meeting at the call of the Chairman and the call of the Chairman will always be subject to any particular member bringing it up or if the Steering Committee has a policy on that to discuss or to bring to our attention they can do so. We stand adjourned gentlemen.

(Whereupon at 11:40 a.m. the meeting rose).

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and it can be carried on or resubmitted.

MR. BAJPAI: Mr. Chairman, is it really necessary to formalize this by an appeal to the Steering Committee. I mean isn't it for every member who has circulated a paper to say that he wishes it to be regarded as a paper submitted to the Commission. If he intimates that to the Secretary-General it automatically becomes --

MR. SANSOM: The paper is placed on record before the Commission.

CHAIRMAN: There is a little point of legality there in view of it being a new Commission from the start and with a new membership. I think that it is wiser possibly to try to forget the fact that we have been meeting in many ways for the last few months and start as though we had never met before.

MR. NOVIKOV: It would be much better to discuss it tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN: The Soviet representative comments that he would like it discussed tomorrow in the Steering Committee.

GEN. ROMULOS: The organization of the Commission's work will that be in the Steering Committee tomorrow?

CHAIRMAN: Not all at once, but continuing we will say.

GEN. ROMULOS: I would like to bring up as one of the top priority questions the question of reparations. My government is vitally interested in that.

MR. BERENDSEN: We are all interested in that, Mr. Chairman and not from the point-of-view of what we can get out of it,



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Transcript of Second Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission  
Held in Main Conference Room 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.,  
Wednesday, 6 March 1946



FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Transcript of Second Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission,  
Held in Main Conference Room 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.,  
Wednesday, 6 March 1946

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy, Chairman	(U.S.A.)
Sir Frederic Eggleston	(Australia)
Mr. Lester B. Pearson	(Canada)
Dr. Wei Tao-ming	(China)
His Excellency Paul Emile Naggiar	(France)
The Honorable Sir Girja Shankir Bajpai	(India)
His Excellency Dr. A. Loudon	(Netherlands)
Sir Carl Berendsen	(New Zealand)
Mr. Manuel A. Adeva	(Philippines)
Mr. Nickolai V. Novikov	(U.S.S.R.)
His Excellency Lord Halifax	(U.K.)

SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

Reporter: E. Koontz, Department of State



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(The meeting convened at 10:30 a.m.)

CHAIRMAN: Good morning gentlemen. We seem to be here in sufficient number to have a quorum and to proceed with our business.

ITEM 1 - APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF FIRST MEETING

The first item is the approval of the minutes of the first meeting. The paper is at your place for your consideration.

MR. NOVIKOV: Mr. Chairman, I have an observation to make on the agenda of today's meeting. My first reason relates --

CHAIRMAN: -- pardon me for the moment until I get my paper. Now, sir, I'd be glad to have you make your observations please.

MR. NOVIKOV: I will make my observations now. Item 7 - Establishment of a Separate Committee on Reparations -- the raising of this question is not quite clear to me. Why should we deal only with the establishment of a separate committee instead of the establishment of all committees as agreed in the Steering Committee? I would like you to clear up this question.

CHAIRMAN: Item 7 - Establishment of a Separate Committee on Reparations -- that has not been before the Steering Committee I understand.

MR. NOVIKOV: Mr. Chairman, my opinion is that as far



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as the Steering Committee is concerned we have agreed to the establishment of six committees, so we may now deal with all six committees and approve the establishment of all six committees.

CHAIRMAN: I understand that the action of the Steering Committee did provide for a Reparations Committee, which is one of the items that is on this paper. There are other things that haven't been before the Steering Committee. When I came to that item I was going to call attention to that fact and give the representative of the United Kingdom the information -- call his attention to the action of the Steering Committee.

(Lord Halifax entered the Conference Room at this time).  
I was then going to invite others who might want to also have something to say about those questions brought up by the United Kingdom to comment or present their wishes or their suggestions, and then would refer the whole thing to the Steering Committee excepting the item of the Reparations Committee itself which has already been appointed or recommended for appointment by the Steering Committee.

Should I ask the representative of the United Kingdom to comment from his point-of-view?

MR. NOVIKOV: Yes.

SIR GEORGE SANSOM: Mr. Chairman, I think the explanation is simple. We had placed a document before the Far Eastern



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Advisory Commission and in deference to Mr. Novikov's wishes -- he stated that we should bring new matters before the Commission -- we thought that it was appropriate that this paper should be revived by presentation to the Commission rather than to the Steering Committee. It is a method of formalizing the old paper. We haven't any strong views as to which method should be adopted so long as it is officially accepted by the Commission.

MR. NOVIKOV: I would like to agree with you, but still it isn't quite clear why we have now to discuss the establishment of only one of the committees agreed upon in the Steering Committee.

SIR GEORGE SANSOM: But I don't think that we expect discussion. We merely wanted to revive this paper proposing that the committee should be accepted by the Commission and we had no special wishes as to the method which you or the Commission in general think that there is a better way of getting a paper revived. We would be very happy to accept it.

MR. NOVIKOV: If you want to refer this document to the Steering Committee I don't mind, but you are not referring to the document, you are referring to the establishment of a separate committee.

CHAIRMAN: That you will find here in the agenda for today, a recommendation from the Steering Committee for the establishment of a Reparations Committee, so that the first



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item on your paper is already covered. Now the other items I haven't read yet, but I understand they have reference to what might be called "terms of reference" for the Reparations Committee. I was going to put that before the Commission for discussion to see if any others had suggestions or any comment to make, and then if they could be referred to the Steering Committee it would possibly prepare the recommendation to the Commission for reference to the new Reparations Committee that is already provided for in today's recommendation.

MR. NOVIKOV: Mr. Chairman, I don't know about any recommendation of the Steering Committee recommending to the Commission to discuss the question of the Reparations Committee separately. I don't know about that.

MR. EGGLESTON: Mr. Chairman, I gather from Mr. Novikov that he points out that Item 7 refers to the "Establishment of a Separate Committee on Reparations" and he is worried because that doesn't refer to all the other committees that were established. But what I would point out then is that under Item 2 on the agenda all those other committees will be established if that report of the Steering Committee is affirmed by this meeting, so that his object, as I gathered it, would be attained if we deal with Item 2 on the agenda.

CHAIRMAN: That is the report of the Steering Committee for all the committees, including a Reparations Committee.

MR. NOVIKOV: Item 2 "Commission Agenda" will include



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the approval of all other committees, so it is quite all right to discuss it under Item 7. I don't mind.

CHAIRMAN: Is there any other delegate that wants clarification or wishes to make a comment on the point in question?

(Lord Halifax assumed the chair for the United Kingdom in place of Sir George Sansom at this time).

I take it that as we develop that there will be plenty of opportunity to take up the whole list of committees for any discussion, particularly with reference to all or any of them.

MR. NOVIKOV: Mr. Chairman, I have another observation. Insofar as the Steering Committee had some doubts about the competence of the Steering Committee to discuss the question of the election of the Vice Chairman of the Commission I would like to refer this question to the Commission's attention now and put it as Item 10 "Election of the Vice Chairman."

CHAIRMAN: As I take it, that subject is still before the Steering Committee. I didn't understand that there was any question as to their competence to discuss it and make a report to the Commission on it. Let me see, who is the Chairman? Mr. Johnson was Acting Chairman I understand. (To Mr. Johnson) In the proceedings of the last meeting you acted as Temporary Chairman of the Steering Committee, and now the Steering Committee puts before us Item 2 on the agenda and that provides for the election of a Chairman of the Steering Committee.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Yes. That provides for the chairmen



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of all the committees and deputy chairman.

The question of the Vice Chairman of the Commission was before the Steering Committee and as I understood the sense of the Steering Committee it was postponed for further discussion in the Steering Committee until the various members could be instructed as to what their views were and so the Steering Committee did not recommend that it be put on the agenda.

CHAIRMAN: That was my understanding -- that it had been discussed sufficiently for the other delegates to want time to consider it with their governments, and that as soon as they were able to inform the Secretariat that they were ready for a meeting on that subject, which ought to be soon, then particular discussion of that subject would be had before the Steering Committee for recommendation to the Commission.

LORD HALIFAX: That is the Vice Chairman.

CHAIRMAN: Yes. It has not been put on the agenda for that reason -- because several delegates asked for time to communicate with their governments on the subject.

MR. NOVIKOV: Maybe, Mr. Chairman, we still ought to include this question on the agenda of this Commission and then ask the delegates. Maybe some of them already have instructions from their respective governments and they shall express their opinions on the subject. I would like to see this question among the topics of our today's meeting.

CHAIRMAN: Well, I think we can come to an understanding



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there, but I would like to go through the agenda in order and if you wish to bring it up again under "Other Business" why we will then be glad to do it.

Under Item 1, is there any further comment on the "Approval of Minutes of First Meeting"?

(The delegates proceeded to look at the minutes of the first meeting).

Are there any further comments on the adoption of the minutes of the first meeting as before you. (None). There seem to be no objections. They will be approved.

ITEM 2 - COMMISSION AGENDA (FEC-004)

Now Item 2 "Commission Agenda". Will you present that, Mr. Johnson, as representing the Secretariat and as Acting Chairman of the Steering Committee.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. Chairman, before you is paper FEC-004 dated March 1, 1946, which encloses the proposed agenda of the Commission's business as approved at the second and third meetings of the Steering Committee on the 28th of February and the 1st of March, 1946.

This agenda includes a list of subjects for consideration by the Commission, an assignment of certain of these subjects to committees, a nomination of chairman and deputy chairman for the committees, and, as you will see at the bottom of page 3, the Secretariat has taken the liberty of putting down a tentative proposed schedule for committee meetings. Now the



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proposed schedule for committee meetings did not come up in the Steering Committee but we thought it should be put down here as something to shoot at. It is understood that the agenda is open to change at any time at the suggestion of member governments.

(The Secretary-General proceeded to read from Document FEC-004 as follows:)

"The attention of all concerned is invited to the classification of this document which prohibits the dissemination of the information contained therein to unauthorized persons or to the press.

"In the following agenda the subjects of reparations and war criminals should be given top priority.

"STEERING COMMITTEE

"Chairman : Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand)

"Deputy Chairman: Dr. A. Loudon (Netherlands)

"Subjects:

"a. Organization of Commission business, including the establishment of appropriate committees, assignment of policy subjects with priorities to such committees, and coordination of the work of the committees in order to carry on effectively the business of the Commission;

"b. Pending the possible establishment of a separate committee for the following: basic policies



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and objectives in regard to Japan; organization of Allied control and military government in Japan; transfer to any interim or permanent security organization of which the participating Governments are members, of those functions of the FEC which may appropriately be transferred; and

"c. Such other matters as may from time to time be referred to it by the Commission.

"COMMITTEE NO. 1: REPARATIONS

"Chairman : Sir Frederic Eggleston (Australia)

"Deputy Chairman: Mr. G. A. Ph. Weyer (Netherlands)

MR. EGGLESTON: I informed the Steering Committee that I would be leaving shortly. My successor will be here shortly and I suggested that pending his arrival Major Blinsoll be put in. It was agreed to.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: It was agreed to. Major Blinsoll was intended to be put there as Sir Frederic Eggleston's alternate.

CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to that alteration?  
There seems to be none.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: (Continuing to read from Document FEC-004).

(Committee No. 1: Reparations).

"Subjects:

Seizure and disposition of Japanese overseas property and investments; reparations of goods and



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materials, merchant ships, factory installations, Japanese patents and scientific processes; use of Japanese labor by Allies; measures necessary to safeguard the interests of the United Nations and foreign assets in Japan; restitution of looted property, including objects of historical, cultural and artistic value."

CHAIRMAN: (To Mr. Johnson) May I ask you to continue to give just the committee and the personnel. It will save reading the subjects. However, if at any time it occurs to any member that they wish to be heard on any point, I will make a note of it and after the whole report of the Steering Committee is before you we will then have time for any particular discussion.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: (Continuing to read from Document FEC-004).

"COMMITTEE NO. 2: ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

"Chairman : Sir George Sansom (United Kingdom)

"Deputy Chairman: Mr. Kenneth Galbraith (United States)

"COMMITTEE NO. 3: CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL REFORM

"Chairman : Sir Girja Bajpai (India)

"Deputy Chairman: Mr. Herbert Norman (Canada)

"COMMITTEE NO. 4: REORIENTATION

"Chairman : Mr. Nikolai V. Novikov (USSR)

"Deputy Chairman: Dr. T. T. Mar (China)



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"COMMITTEE NO. 5: WAR CRIMINALS

"Chairman : Dr. C. L. Hsia (China)

"Deputy Chairman: Mr. Melquiades Gamboa (Philippines)

"COMMITTEE NO. 6: ALIENS IN JAPAN

"Chairman : Mr. Francis Lacoste (France)

"Deputy Chairman: Mr. F. C. Everson (United Kingdom)"

We have left space for a committee to be organized later on the subject of Disarmament and Demobilization. It was the thought of the Steering Committee that those subjects on the old agenda should be continued on the agenda of this Commission but that the question of the establishment of a committee immediately should be left open.

Now, as I say, at the bottom of page 3 you will find a "Proposed Schedule for Committee Meetings." This has been worked out with the idea of setting down a schedule which we might follow; second, with the idea of giving Reparations and War Crimes an early meeting time; and, third, to indicate how the schedule can commence and where it shall take place -- here in this Main Conference Room -- and how additional meetings may be scheduled by the Chairmen of the Committees. We have two conference rooms -- this room and a smaller room upstairs -- and we propose to assign to Miss McGuigan of the Secretariat, whose telephone number is given here (REpublic 5600, Extension 3261) a chart upon which she can list the assignments of these



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rooms so that at any time a Chairman can get his committee together and have a place on this chart for a meeting.

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Lacoste is on the Steering Committee and he is also Chairman of Committee 6 "Aliens in Japan." He made just now to me the remark that the two committees -- the Steering Committee and Committee 6 -- will sit on the same day, Friday; that perhaps it will be rather difficult for him to be the same day on the two committees. Would it be possible to change that?

CHAIRMAN: I was going to comment on that because I find myself in an embarrassing position too, and I was going to wait until you had all had an opportunity to see what it involves you in, but we will make note of the conflict there.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: As I say, this was a schedule that we just pulled out of the air for the purpose of putting something down on paper which could be wrestled with and worked out.

MR. BAJPAI: Mr. Chairman, on the proposed schedule, if you will permit me, I will make a comment too. Committee 3 "Constitutional and Legal Reform" has its meeting fixed for the morning of Thursday at 10:00 a.m.. Unfortunately, I have to be out of Washington from the afternoon of Tuesday, the twelfth. I don't know whether there is any special urgency about convening a meeting of this committee for organization or other purposes, but if there is such urgency I suggest that



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sometime, either on Monday or Tuesday, be allotted to it.

MR. BERENDSEN: Mr. Chairman, the same difficulty arises with a number of our colleagues. I myself will not be available after the 14th for some ten or twelve days. I will be at the UNRRA meeting. I think that we really ought to put a little more thought into this scaffolding in view of the views that representatives have presented.

CHAIRMAN: Of course, each representative has a deputy who can carry on in his absence.

DR. LOUDON: His poor deputy may have to be away at the same time.

CHAIRMAN: The terms here are very elastic, so the Chairman can call a meeting when it is convenient for him and the committee.

Now I have tried and have been present at every meeting throughout and hope to continue to do so, God permitting, but I would like to be away next Wednesday myself. I have committed myself to speak to a group in New York on Wednesday and it is rather embarrassing not to be able to do it. So I was going to propose for my personal wish that the Commission meeting next week be on Thursday. Now how does that affect the others?

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I shall be away next Thursday, Thursday being the 14th, isn't it? Make it Tuesday, Sir.



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CHAIRMAN: That doesn't give the working end time to get papers ready after the week end and so forth. Its much better for us if we can have the Commission meeting in the middle or toward the end of the week. However, I will let you think that over until the end of the meeting and then we will reach some agreement on that. But the principle is that this is a proposed schedule which we don't need in any way to make hard and fast. Each week when there come up personal questions to be considered they can be decided. We did that in the other commission and usually reached something consistent and we can do that here. Fortunately, all the others of you have alternates so there is more than one.

LORD HALIFAX: The only thing we need consider here really, Mr. Chairman, is the time and date of the meeting of the Commission, if I follow you rightly, because the appropriate Chairman and Vice Chairman will naturally no doubt consult the convenience of the members of their committees and fix their meeting. I wouldn't think we need be troubled with that. Obviously here we have got to decide as to the priority of the time of the Commission.

CHAIRMAN: Just as we have done here before and I think it worked very well, I think it is well to have something before us for an outline of routine, but always subject to change.

LORD HALIFAX: Variation, yes.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any further comments on the report



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LORD HALIFAX: Variation, yes.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any further comments on the report



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as presented by the Acting Chairman of the Steering Committee?

MR. ADEVA: Mr. Chairman, some unexpected things sometimes come up between nine and ten in the morning which have to be attended to. I wonder if it would not be possible for the committee to change the time of meeting of the committees from 10:00 to 10:30 in the morning. Some of us who are members of the committees sometimes have to pinch-hit for the members of the Commission and we would like to have one time in our mind, that is, 10:30 in the morning, whether it is a committee meeting or a Commission meeting.

CHAIRMAN: We can consider that and, of course, the Chairmen of these committees can arrange for the time so that it will meet the convenience of the committee. But if there is no objection, we could change the routine time to 10:30. Is there any comment on that? There seems to be none. Will you make that change then as the routine time and then, of course, the Chairmen can consult and decide any other time that they wish.

The Soviet representative.

MR. NOVIKOV: I have no comments on the proposed schedule for the committees, but I have comments on the agenda. The name of Committee 4 "Reorientation" was changed because before it was approved by the Steering Committee as the "Strengthening of Democratic Processes." Now as I see it in this agenda it



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has changed. As far as I know, the Steering Committee never gave its approval to such a name "Reorientation" and so I propose now to discuss it. As for me, I am against it because it doesn't express any definite idea about the democratization; what was meant for this Committee 4. So I want the Commission to leave it as it was before "Strengthening of Democratic Processes in Japan."

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: To analyze there, it means, if you analyze, the turning back to the reorganization.

LORD HALIFAX: You are obdurate, Sir Carl.

CHAIRMAN: If you take the other title that our Soviet colleague likes, what does it mean?

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I am not a crystal reader, sir.

CHAIRMAN: There's not much in a name as a rule, but there's no agreement on what are "democratic processes." Now there is agreement on changing the old Japan to another Japan which has got to be worked out in the policy of this Commission, but what kind of an animal that's going to be -- whether it has spots or strips, or whether it's got wings -- we've got to more or less lie down in a broad policy. I think so far as wisdom, knowing the effect that that term has, that it is better policy for us to have a term which means something, not literally in its turning toward the East but as in the Western definition of "Reorientation" meaning a change, and we hope in this Commission very much a change for the better in terms



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of what I am sure the Soviet representative means too. But I would be glad to have anybody else express themselves on the term of the name of that committee which I am interested in myself from a point-of-view of the public not so much as the point-of-view of our own work. I have consulted about it with other representatives and it seemed to me that it was wiser to have a term that meant what we intended rather than throwing before the public press a name that can be turned into all kinds of fantastic intimation. But I would be glad to have any comments because if there is objection we shall, naturally, have to consider it.

Mr. Ambassador.

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, I thought that we were today making examination for approval of the work of the Steering Committee and among the duties of the Steering Committee I thought it was to establish a kind of an agenda for constitution of committees. Must I understand that in the Steering Committee there has been any discussion of the name of the continuing --

CHAIRMAN: I don't know of any such discussion. That was the name of our committee under the old regime, so that we have got to go through the process again. (To Mr. Johnson) May I ask if it was discussed in the Steering Committee at all.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: I don't remember that the titles of these committees were discussed. In writing out these titles



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I made changes myself in two names. One was "Economic and Financial Affairs" in order to include in the title of Committee 2 the term "Financial." In Committee 4 I used the word "Reorientation" which appears in the list of subjects -- "Positive policy for the reorientation of the Japanese. . . ." It didn't seem to me that it was an important question. I didn't feel that I was violating the decisions of the Steering Committee in any way, as I hadn't thought that these titles were fixed to the point where they could not be changed as they come into use and we are starting in anew. They came into use before by accident or people wrote them down as we are starting off anew, and the word "reorientation" was in the subject matter referred to the committee. "Democratic Processes" is not used there and it seemed to me that sticking closer to the list of titles we will have a fallback.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I have got no strong opinions about the thing at all. Its immaterial to me. The important thing for this Commission and the committees to do is to get down and do some work. I would accept "Reorientation" with a smile and great satisfaction, but, on the whole, I think I would prefer the other. There is doubt about the differences of opinion as to what "democratization" means, but there is a broad thinking that it is sympathized with through the thinking world and on the whole I would prefer "Strengthening of Democratic Processes."



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LORD HALIFAX: So do I.

Mr. Chairman, may I say one word. I haven't been in on the earlier discussions and, therefore, may not be fully informed of all the considerations that you and others concerned have made about the reorganization, but I'm bound to say that if what we mean is the "Strengthening of Democratic Processes" -- if we really mean that by saying "Reorientation" -- then I am bound to agree with the Soviet representative that I think it is more clear to say so. I should have thought that there would likely be more doubt in the discussion as to what everybody meant by "Reorientation", apart from the technical objection to the word as Carl Berendsen suggested, than there would be under the plain statement of your intention.

I also observed, but I don't know whether this is relevant -- that the wording that was agreed upon by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt and concurred in by Chiang Kai-shek at their meeting at Potsdam, while Mr. Churchill was there, was the wording: "The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people."

Well, Mr. Chairman, I, like the New Zealand representative, have no strong feeling, but that has been the sort of strain that has been used. It seems to me more clear and, therefore, I would find myself supporting the Soviet representative



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I think.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any other comments on this point?

MR. NAGGIAR: I agree entirely with what has been said on the matter. You will remember in our discussions in the Far Eastern Advisory Commission, if I am not mistaken we always used the words "Democratic Tendencies" or something like that.

SIR FREDERIC EGGLESTON: Mr. Chairman, the Steering Committee in its discussion before had the "Strengthening of Democratic Processes" which we adopted, and I think this should agree with the discussion that took place in the Steering Committee. I would say unless this committee definitely decides on a motion to change it to "Reorientation" that "Strengthening of Democratic Processes" remain.

SIR GIRJA BAJPAI: I was merely going to say, Mr. Chairman, that I feel the way Lord Halifax and others do, that the expression "Strengthening of Democratic Processes" is much more precise than "Reorientation" and you understand what it means. If I am permitted to say so, there is perhaps a slur on the Orient in using the expression "Reorientation," but I don't want to be a punster. In defense of the Secretariat, however, I would like to say that somebody in the course of our discussion the other day did say that "Strengthening of Democratic Processes" was rather narrow in that it limited the so-called "Reorientation" to the purely political field and, therefore,



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"Reorientation" might be a more comprehensive word, but I don't share that opinion myself. I said that with all respect to those masters of the English language who are at this table.

DR. LOUDON: Mr. Chairman, for my own clarification may I ask whether or not we could use the sentence given by Lord Halifax.

LORD HALIFAX: The wording here is: "The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people."

CHAIRMAN: Possibly that might be modified and followed by freedom of speech and religion and respect of fundamental human rights.

I am perfectly willing to see it changed provided you make that proviso -- including freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for fundamental human rights.

DR. LOUDON: It would be a long time.

CHAIRMAN: But there's a reason for it.

DR. LOUDON: I am absolutely agreeing with Lord Halifax's proposal in regard to the whole.

MR. ADEVA: Would the change of the title of the committee from "Reorientation" to "Strengthening of Democratic Processes" affect the subjects that are enumerated here and discussed by the committee? I think that whatever the name might be, the subjects would remain the same unless our Soviet friend has an



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additional subject or subjects to add to these. Personally, I think it doesn't make any difference whether it is "Reorientation" or "Strengthening of Democratic Processes."

CHAIRMAN: It makes a lot of difference to our public and to the press release we are giving out today. I have great regard for all your opinions. I would feel that we should be governed by what the "Democratic Processes" are. I want to be sure of that. They are laid down here. Now if you will accept the definition of "Democratic Processes" as laid down here, I should be glad to accept it.

LORD HALIFAX: Mr. Chairman, why can't we say: "Positive policy for the revival and strengthening of democratic processes among the Japanese (or to the Japanese) including freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for fundamental human rights." Then go on -- the educational system and so on.

CHAIRMAN: Well, if that's what we mean I wouldn't think there would be any difficulty in saying it. I would be very glad to accept that.

MR. NOVIKOV: It expresses my opinion too, but the name is too long for the name of a committee. You can't enumerate all questions which will be dealt with by this committee in the name of the committee. There is a general definition -- strengthening of democratic processes including freedom of



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speech and all other democratic liberties, and the educational system and so on -- you needn't enumerate all of them or part of them in the definition of the name of the committee.

LORD HALIFAX: I wouldn't think in regard to that it is too difficult because it is only a few lines and the description of this committee is very long and this is quite short and I wouldn't think it would matter having an extra couple of lines in here.

I would propose it as "Positive policy for the revival and strengthening" or, if you like, "strengthening" alone.

MR. NOVIKOV: "Strengthening and revival" -- you can't revive what didn't exist.

LORD HALIFAX: It's not evenly distributed anyway.

MR. NOVIKOV: If you exclude "revival" I quite agree.

LORD HALIFAX: The "... strengthening of democratic processes among the Japanese including freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought" etc.

CHAIRMAN: I would be glad to accept that.

LORD HALIFAX: And then they come to the wording of the agreement.

CHAIRMAN: This was agreed to by our governments at Potsdam.

LORD HALIFAX: They weren't in on it. It was yours and ours and China.



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SIR GIRJA BAJPAI: Its encyclopedic, but acceptable.

CHAIRMAN: "Strengthening of democratic processes" that's what you want?

MR. NOVIKOV: Yes.

(At this time Dr. Loudon left and Dr. de Kat replaced him for the Netherlands).

CHAIRMAN: As I understand it now, the title of Committee 4 is to be: "Strengthening of democratic tendencies, including freedom of speech, of religion, as well as of thought, and respect for fundamental human rights."

MR. NAGGIAR: This is not a title, it is the finish.

DR. WEI: I think that's too long. Why could we not put those principles among the subjects below, because there are so many things the committee has to work on. You can clearly put all the principles laid down in that version in the subjects rather than on the name, because I don't think such a long name is desirable.

MR. EGGLESTON: I thought that Lord Halifax's suggestion was that it should be "for the reorientation of the Japanese including freedom of the strengthening of democratic processes including the freedom of speech and religion and respect for fundamental human rights." I thought that would come in after the word "Japanese" or after the word "reorientation."

I think there is one matter to consider in these things.



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I don't take it that the enumeration of these subjects would affect the right of any party to the committee to bring forward any proposition either for or against the item in the agenda. It would not be possible in my view of the rights and the duties of the Chairman to say: "We've got control of information; therefore, you can't put any suggestion to the committee that the information should not be controlled." If that were the case, then we ought to consider this agenda very carefully. I would suggest that the Chairman would have to take any view by any member of the committee for or against any of the items on the agenda without taking the item on the agenda as contentious in any way. I'm not sure, but that seems to me to be fundamental in the conduct of a committee of this kind. If it gave the Chairman the right to rule out anything we would have to consider the item, but all of the questions relating to orientation or strengthening of democratic processes should be open to consider. Isn't that the view of the Commission?

CHAIRMAN: It would be mine. But I am thinking of giving out a communique on this subject and I wanted to be sure that it is understood what "democratic processes" are and what this committee is charged with.

MR. PEARSON: On that same point then, Mr. Chairman, I think you ought to consider the subjects under this committee.



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You have now in the second line of the subjects of this committee, whatever it may be called, "Positive policy for the ... control of public information ..." Might it not be better from the same point-of-view that you have mentioned merely to say "Positive policy for ... public information" and leave "control of" out?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: I didn't understand that the press release would include these subjects, but only the title.

MR. PEARSON: I am assuming the press release will include the subjects of the committee.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: The subjects are tentative and can be added to or taken away from.

CHAIRMAN: To move forward with our business, would it be agreeable to all of you to define that term "democratic processes" including the very words of the agreement, and then this further point that is brought up by Sir Frederic could be reconsidered by the Steering Committee in its reference of the action of the Commission to the committee of the Soviet Representative (Committee 4).

MR. NOVIKOV: I am in favor. It was not discussed before. It was really the "strengthening of democratic processes" but there are some doubts on this matter, so I am quite willing to discuss it in the Steering Committee, and not accept now any recommendation.



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CHAIRMAN: There seem to be some points that will come up in what we have already defined here which might be improved so that I am glad to accept that.

MR. NOVIKOV: I have some doubt because it is too long to be accepted as a name of a committee so we may discuss the definition as a whole in the Steering Committee.

LORD HALIFAX: I wouldn't object to that, Mr. Chairman. If I understand the idea correctly, it goes back to be discussed further in the Steering Committee. I only make this comment: I had thought that the form of words that we had hatched out together was going to find its place at the bottom of this paper under the heading "Subjects," -- "The positive policy for the strengthening" and so on. I had not thought that we were going to have a long verbal description to take the place of "Reorientation." If that were proposed, I certainly would agree with the Soviet representative that it is much too long and clumsy and my proposal would be, if I have got it right -- and if I am out of order on the point please stop me -- to have instead of "Reorientation" simply "strengthening of democratic processes" and then have the words as we agreed to them a short time ago.

If that were generally satisfactory, I thought we might have agreed on that, but if it is on the whole preferred to



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remit it to the Steering Committee perhaps when it is settled they would consider that suggestion.

MR. NOVIKOV: We have "civil liberties" and we may say clearly what we mean on civil liberties so in the enumeration of subjects you have freedom of speech, freedom of thought, and freedom of religion and so on.

CHAIRMAN: I will put it this way then, having heard the considered opinions of everybody: I am ready to accept the statement according to the agreement there of what "democratic tendencies" are; that is, using the heading that the Soviet representative wants, then including those broad subjects, if it is agreeable to you. I would like to have you consider the suggestion of the Soviet representative as to the heading and then including the broad subjects as defined in that agreement, and not go into these other points at all. Now that's one thing. Is it agreeable to the Commission settling it now and accepting the Chairmanship of the Soviet representative for that committee without its going back to the Steering Committee? That's one thing; now I will put that to you to see if you will accept that now just to get ahead. If there is some doubt on that broad generalization, then I would put the next suggestion: that it go back to the Steering Committee for a reconsideration.

First, is there any objection to using the broad term of



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"strengthening of democratic tendencies" including that wording of the agreement?

LORD HALIFAX: Including freedom of speech, and so on.

CHAIRMAN: Then anything else can come up before the committee itself for its discretion.

LORD HALIFAX: Would it be possible for Mr. Johnson to read exactly the proposal that we are making so that we may have it quite clear in our minds in what form it is proposed to be stated.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: As I understand it, the Chairman proposes that the title of Committee 4 be changed to read: "Strengthening of Democratic tendencies including freedom of Speech, of religion, of thought, as well as respect for fundamental human rights."

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, may I make another suggestion? After all, the basis of our discussion is the Potsdam Declaration between the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and China, why not use the title "Strengthening of democratic principles or tendencies and application of the principle of the Potsdam Declaration?" That covers everything.

LORD HALIFAX: That's your title?

MR. NAGGIAR: It's long, but not so long as the one proposed to us -- "Strengthening of the democratic tendencies or



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principles and application of the Potsdam Declaration."

SIR GIRJA BAJPAI: My first thought on that, Mr. Chairman, is that the Potsdam Declaration covers much wider ground than the mere application of "democratic processes." I would submit that perhaps in the light of the discussion that has taken place here today we reconsider the matter in the Steering Committee and come back here.

CHAIRMAN: I will accept that. If there is no objection, that part of the report of the Steering Committee will be referred back, but that does not include any change as to the Chairman. The Chairman will still remain as recommended.

MR. NAGGIAR: The Chairman and the Deputy Chairman.

CHAIRMAN: Yes. Is that agreeable to you, sir?

MR. NOVIKOV: Do you mean propose to include the mention of the Potsdam Declaration?

CHAIRMAN: No, we refer it to the Steering Committee and the only thing that stands here is yourself as Chairman and the Deputy Chairman.

MR. PEARSON: I have no objection to that, but I assume that will prevent the announcement to the press of the committees set up today. You are going to have one committee without a title.

CHAIRMAN: We will consider that when we come to the release.

(At this time Sir Girja Shankir Bajpai left the Conference and Mr. Saksena replaced him for India).



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MR. NOVIKOV: Is this question now finished, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN: It's finished by reference back to your committee.

MR. NOVIKOV: I have another comment to make on the report. I want to remind the members of the Commission that during the Steering Committee's meetings I made some reservations on the agenda of the Commission on the question of the priority of the topics, because we haven't yet studied it completely and so I reserve for me and my country to make some remarks and to propose some changes in the agenda of the Commission, and I may consider it only as a tentative one and not accepted by the representative of the Soviet Government. I want to make it clear to the members of the Commission.

CHAIRMAN: That is a reservation on the report of the Steering Committee so that it can be discussed further there.

MR. NOVIKOV: Yes, because I didn't give my consent upon the contents of the agenda. I didn't make any comment on the contents of the questions.

LORD HALIFAX: Isn't that reasonably covered, Mr. Chairman, by "It is understood that the agenda is open to change at any time at the suggestion of member Governments."

MR. NOVIKOV: Yes, but I only want to make it clear that I didn't yet accept this agenda as a whole and so I reserve for myself the right to propose any change for the Soviet Government.



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CHAIRMAN: That's on the report of the Steering Committee?

MR. NOVIKOV: Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Then possibly we could take a step forward on the organization of the committees. Would you accept the recommendation as to the Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen, but reserve the right to make some reservations?

MR. NOVIKOV: I speak only of the agenda itself and of the subjects of the agenda, not of the committees or not of the Chairmen or Deputy Chairmen of the committees. I agree completely with the recommendations of the Steering Committee.

CHAIRMAN: Is there any comment on the reservation of Mr. Novikov?

MR. EGGLESTON: Will that prevent any committees sitting? There are two committees that are said to be very urgent.

LORD HALIFAX: As I understand it, Mr. Novikov is quite content to let the thing go ahead as a working proposition providing his liberty is completely secured at any time to ask that there may be reconsideration of this or that point. I wouldn't think that would raise any difficulty, if he does raise some points.

CHAIRMAN: That's accepted then, if there is no objection. The committees are now set up with their Chairmen and their Deputies.

LORD HALIFAX: One without a title.



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CHAIRMAN: One without a title, until the Steering Committee has given it its consideration.

ITEM 3 - PRESS RELATIONS

Item 3 - Press Relations -- that will have to be changed a little bit to cover the proceedings of the morning. This is a question for the general policy with regard to press relations.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: This is Document FEC-005, March 1, 1946.

(The Secretary-General read from Doc. FEC-005 as follows:)

"The Secretary-General is authorized to prepare formal statements on behalf of the Commission for issuance to the press. The last item on each agenda of Commission meetings will be 'Press Release', at which time the Commission may issue particular instructions to the Secretary-General with respect to the release for that meeting. The releases will be given the press through the U. S. Department of State Press Room, which has contact with all interested agencies. This authorization is for official releases only and does not limit in any way the freedom of members to make such statements to the press individually as they in their judgment may care to."

ITEM 4-COMMISSION MEETINGS (FEC-006)

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Mr. Chairman, purely for exploratory purposes, may I raise the suggestion that I raised at our previous incarnation: May I suggest that except where the



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Commission otherwise decides all plenary meetings of the Commission be open to the press.

CHAIRMAN: We didn't do that before, but we took up the problem of deciding for each meeting. Now it was a little bit easier in the sense of the press people when we were meeting down at the State Department. We were trying to devise something here that would be satisfactory to them so they wouldn't have to be running up here all the time. They don't want to come to all our meetings possibly, but this we thought would give them the broad question and then they can go to any member of the Commission to get enlightenment if they want to. I think we have been very free in that sense. I think that your general proposition could be covered in another way that would be satisfactory to the press and not make this a town meeting as it were. I am not convinced, as I have said before, that it is the best way ever to handle the press. I think that so far we have had a reasonable and satisfactory arrangement both from their point of view and ours, but we are not very news worthy excepting when they want to get a story or a sensation and I would like you to consider both our plan and also Sir Carl's suggestion. It's an important thing and we all recognize that, but it has worked so far very acceptably I think.

LORD HALIFAX: I should have thought that on the whole



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what you suggest, Mr. Chairman, is rather wise. There's no objection as far as I know to their just sitting in except the purely physical one. They are going to sit in this room and we are going to have always another dozen or so who want to come and it is going to make us a bit congested, and I should be rather inclined I think to go along with the Chairman's advice and leave it to his discretion to inform us again at any time he might find that the delegates are reconsidering. I don't believe the press are terribly excited about matters at the moment. Why can't we go on doing our work quietly.

CHAIRMAN: They haven't asked for us to have those meetings open, nor have they criticized us at any time for the way we have done it. This is carrying on pretty much the way we did before. If there is a desire on the part of anyone of the Commission to have particular meetings open, then we could very easily do it, but as a routine thing I am rather inclined to think the other plan would work out better in the long run. Do you feel that we have put your noses out of joint?

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Not at all. I am feeling simply this, sir: That if instead of continuing in our previous state, we do this the complete lack of interest of the press will rapidly disappear and I think there is less likely to be misunderstanding of what this Commission is doing at the



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present time then if they were confined. I am not pressing it, sir. I am disappointed to find that I am alone in holding this view and I have nothing more.

DR. LOUDON: Our subjects are sometimes confidential. For instance, in our meeting tomorrow there are some things confidential.

SIR. CARL BERENDSEN: Not for committee meetings, just for plenary meetings of the Commission, and then only if the Commission decides it. If it is not the general opinion of the delegates, pass over it.

CHAIRMAN: Is there any other expression along that line?

MR. NOVIKOV: I agree complete<sup>ly</sup> with your consideration.

CHAIRMAN: (To Sir Carl Berendsen) You will permit us then to try out this and if it doesn't work at any time the question can be brought up by the newspaper men themselves and we can then reconsider it.

Mr. Ambassador.

MR. NAGGIAR: In the Enclosure of the document before us (Doc. FEC-005) I see that "The last item on each agenda of Commission meetings will be 'Press Release', at which time the Commission may issue particular instructions to the Secretary-General with respect to the release for that meeting." Does that mean that the text of the Press Release will be presented to the Commission before issuance?



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CHAIRMAN: Yes. It is provided here this morning in the last item on the agenda and it will be brought up at each meeting.

MR. NAGGIAR: At each meeting we will have to approve the Release?

CHAIRMAN: We hadn't thought of bringing in a text before the Commission meeting, but we thought that probably the Commission would give us some instructions as to what was to be put into a release and then we could write that out and give it to the Press.

MR. NAGGIAR: Before the Commission approving the text itself?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Presumably, the Commission would decide what kind of a text it wished or what it wished would enter the text. It might write out the text itself, or it might say "We will state so and so" and leave the items of the press. We couldn't prepare one beforehand.

MR. NAGGIAR: No, of course.

CHAIRMAN: But we left it that way for the Commission to give its directions to the Secretariat as to what it wished. It might wish to write out the thing, or decide right then what the text should be. It depends on the meeting itself.

Item 4 - Commission Meetings we have already discussed. Could I raise a question as a matter of personal privilege --



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would it be agreeable for the meeting next week to adopt this as a general proposition: the committees should be at the call of their Chairman. But for next week I would like to see if Thursday would be agreeable instead of Wednesday for the Commission. I will hope not to have to ask this personal privilege often, but I would like very much to be absent next week on Wednesday and be back here for the meeting on Thursday. So if there is no objection, I will set the meet<sup>ing</sup>/next week for Thursday at 10:30 a.m.

SIR FREDERIC EGGLESTON: Will you put forward the two meetings on Thursday to Wednesday? There are two meetings scheduled for Thursday.

CHAIRMAN: The Chairmen will have to change the schedule.

ITEM 5 - OFFICIAL LANGUAGES (FEC-008)

Item 5 - Official Languages -- I believe that has been a report from the Steering Committee also, Mr. Johnson.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: (The Secretary-General read Doc. FEC-008, 1 March 1946, as follows:)

"OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

"1. The Russian, Chinese, and French languages shall be recognized equally with English as official languages for verbal statements at sessions of the Commission and of its committees and for Commission documentation.



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"2. Documents of the Commission and of its committees and minutes of meetings will be prepared in the English, Russian, Chinese, and French languages.

"3. The necessary interpreters and translators will be supplied by the appropriate delegations to assist the Secretariat staff in this work."

CHAIRMAN: Are there any comments on that action of the Steering Committee? I have been in conference on that subject and I understand that does not mean that our working language will be changed, but as I understand it any formal or official actions of the Commission will be put in the official languages as given. Is that the understanding of the Commission? (Agreement).

SECRETARY-GENERAL: There may be some question as to the checking of one translation against another, and I believe that we can make an arrangement with the Department of State whereby if there is a question of checking texts between Russian and English, German and English, or French and English, we could get the Department of State's translating office to make the check and authenticate it.

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, I think the proposal made by our Secretary-General is very interesting and for the sake of exactitude of translation and coordination of translation it will be very advantageous, but I wonder if the work of



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checking all those translations will not be such that we will get the translation too late. For instance, my Secretary, although he wants to establish a French translation of the first meeting of the Commission, and we expected to have the French text on the table today, tells me that the French text is at the State Department for checking, so I wonder when we will get the French text. It will be a very long process.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. Farley tells me that the text can be published at once and the checking done later.

MR. NAGGIAR: That is a good suggestion. We will get the translations as soon as they are established and --

CHAIRMAN: -- and any question can be checked later. Is that agreeable?

MR. NOVIKOV: Well, it would be much better if in the Secretariat there were some person acquainted with all these languages who could check all the translations, but it is impossible so I don't mind the checking of our translations in the State Department.

CHAIRMAN: Suppose we try this and if there is any objection at any time or any matter comes up affecting it we can then straighten it out. We don't have the personnel to do it here and we simply use the good offices of the State Department translators simply to meet a tradition rather than a theory. So if there is no objection, we will accept the recommendation



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of the Steering Committee.

MR. NAGGIAR: As soon as the translation is ready I would suggest that it be distributed pending checking, but not after the checking.

CHAIRMAN: That is understood.

ITEM 6 - COMMISSION DOCUMENTS (FEC-009)

SECRETARY-GENERAL: (The Secretary-General read Doc. FEC-009, 1 March 1946, as follows:)

"1. FEC documents shall be numbered consecutively, beginning with 001.

"2. No documents or decisions of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission shall be binding upon the Far Eastern Commission, but, shall remain available for reference in the Secretariat."

CHAIRMAN: Item 7 - Establishment of a separate committee on reparations, has already been covered.

There was a question about the numbering of documents. Is the system as now proposed by the Secretary-General agreeable to the delegates? It seems to be the case. If there is no objection, Item 6 is approved.

ITEM 7 - ESTABLISHMENT OF A SEPARATE COMMITTEE  
ON REPARATIONS (FEC-010)

Under Item 7 I will ask the representative of the United Kingdom to present the paper which we discussed in part before. (To Sir George Sansom) I take it you want to present it. Do



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you wish to make any comment now?

SIR GEORGE SANSON: We feel it should be accepted by the Commission and presumably transferred to the Committee on Reparations.

CHAIRMAN: I thought that if there were other suggestions or comments, it might be that that part not already attended to by the Steering Committee might be attended to with other papers on that line before referring to the Reparations Committee by the Commission. If there is no objection and no other things in conflict with your wishes I would refer directly to the Reparations Committee, but if there were then I would refer the objection, or if we are at cross-purposes, to the Steering Committee to discuss and bring it back to the Commission. The United Kingdom presents a paper on reparations.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Item 7 is FEC-010 of March 4, 1946. This constitutes a proposal by the United Kingdom delegate for the establishment of a separate committee on reparations, which was circulated for the information of the old Far Eastern Advisory Commission. May I read this old paper?

CHAIRMAN: I think if you will look at the sheet at your places on this subject, possibly we will not need to read the paper. Will you look at the paper presented by the United Kingdom on reparations. It is proposed to refer that for the consideration of the Reparations Committee. Is there any



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comment on that reference?

MR. NOVIKOV: I have a question, Mr. Chairman. Do you mean that the contents of the proposal are already approved by the Commission itself or shall it only be the subject for consideration of the committee?

LORD HALIFAX: As I understand it, Mr. Chairman, all we should do, if we follow the course of the suggestion, would be to approve, which we seem to have already done, the establishment of a committee to deal with reparations, and then hand this paper over to that committee asking them to examine it and in due course bring their report back to the Commission. Is that right?

The point on which the Soviet representative wished to be reassured if we pass this paper to the Reparations Committee was whether or not he was approving this paper. The answer to that is "No." I do not think he is. All he is doing is to approve its remission to a committee for examination.

SIR FREDERIC EGGLESTON: As the Chairman of the Reparations Committee I would be quite satisfied if this was simply referred to the Reparations Committee. It mustn't be forgotten that these terms of reference may be used as a limitation to the committee, and every definition is a limitation to some extent. I think although this is very valuable as an indication of what is in the minds of the people as to



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reparations, I don't think it should be used to restrict the consideration of the committee on any subject which it considers really within the subject of reparations. So I am prepared to take it on that basis, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN: That's the same basis that I understand the Soviet representative has in mind. He doesn't want to be committed to this until it has the consideration of the committee.

(Lord Halifax was relaced at this time by Sir George Sansom for the United Kingdom).

Are there any further comments on the suggestion that the paper itself be referred to the Reparations Committee for their consideration. There seem to be none. It will be so ordered.

ITEM 8 - OTHER BUSINESS

Are there any other points under "Other Business" or new business?

MR. NOVIKOV: I would like to know if the members of the Commission already have the instructions of their governments to discuss the question of the establishment of the post of Vice Chairman of the Commission. If they have such instructions, I would like to have this question discussed in our committee today. That's my point.

CHAIRMAN: The question has been before the Steering Committee, but they have not yet reported because the alternates



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on the Steering Committee wish to give it due consideration and want to have the opportunity to take it up with their governments. I have not been informed as to that progress and I would like to have that decided as soon as we can have it properly considered from the point-of-view of the Commission. In the meantime it is pending before the Steering Committee. Now am I correct in my statement as to the facts? There has been no objection raised to me on the main issue. It seems to me more a matter of simply waiting until the delegates are ready to take up the question on the Steering Committee.

(To the Secretary-General) When will be the next natural meeting of the Steering Committee?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Friday a week. (March 15).

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I think you will have to alter that now because you have got the question of the title of this committee before the Steering Committee, which, I imagine, should be discussed before the next meeting of the Commission. I would be inclined to feel that the Commission should make the Steering Committee meeting this Friday. (March 8).

SIR FREDERIC EGLESTON: I support that.

CHAIRMAN: Is that agreeable? I hope that enough of the members will be ready to act on the subject.

MR. NOVIKOV: I have another question, Mr. Chairman. Referring to the discussion we had in our first meeting of



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the Commission as to the terms of reference of the Commission in dealing with other matters which are in the Moscow decision we have heard about the answer of the United States Government, that it was not the intention of the United States Government to introduce into the Commission's deliberations matters which are not related to the control of Japan. The delegate of France asked the members of the Commission to express the opinions of their respective governments.

Now I have instructions from my government to express our understanding of these other matters and in general of the terms of reference of our Commission, so I have to make the following declaration:

"In connection with the request of the Representative of France to express observations regarding the sphere of extension of the Far Eastern Commission's jurisdiction, I have been instructed to make clear that in the opinion of the Soviet Government the activities of the Far Eastern Commission, according to the decision by the Moscow Conference of the Three Ministers, are confined, naturally, only to the questions connected with the implementation of the occupation policy toward Japan, i.e. the Japanese Islands."

I present this to you, Mr. Chairman. (Mr. Novikov passed the Chairman the text of the Russian declaration).

CHAIRMAN: Are there any other papers on this subject to be presented or any points of discussion?

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, I wish only to make a remark.



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In the statement just made by our Soviet delegate if I am not mistaken I have heard that he was saying that I asked for observations of the other delegates. But if I am not mistaken I remember that it was in the statement read by our Secretary-General on the offer of the State Department, that the State Department said that the Commission would perhaps be glad to hear the observations of the members of the Commission on that subject. As the representative of the French Government I didn't ask any observation but the State Department representative said that the Commission perhaps would be glad to hear the observations of the members. So when that matter was discussed at the Commission and some expression of views was made if I am not mistaken -- I am not sure of my memory -- I expressed the view that it would be better to have the matter discussed now or later with the time limit that would keep it in suspense.

MR. NOVIKOV: I was there.

MR. NAGGIAR: What I meant is that I didn't ask for observations but the demand for observations came from the State Department.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, that's my remembrance.

MR. NAGGIAR: On the State Department demand or request. But on the substance I have no reservation whatever to the point expressed by our Soviet colleague on the matter.



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CHAIRMAN: Both the declaration of the Soviet Government and your remarks will be made a matter of record.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Mr. Chairman, could I ask your guidance on one matter I am anxious to raise again and purely in an exploratory way and I emphasize this: The date of the Japanese elections and particularly in regard to the matter that the new Japanese Constitution has been approved. I haven't got the full facts. I think this is an urgent question which may not concern the Commission at all, but I would like your guidance, sir, as to the best way and the earliest time at which that question could be raised for a general discussion.

CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I would be glad to put that on the agenda for discussion at the next meeting, if you wish, but I would like to ask if you have seen the information that has been put at our disposition since our return on that subject?

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: No.

CHAIRMAN: I'm sorry, I thought I had shown that. I took up that question.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I remember you said you were going to.

CHAIRMAN: I took up that question with General MacArthur personally because I felt somewhat different about the matter not on substance but just on the way. I had a reply from him



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on the subject which I will show you now and then possibly that may give you sufficient either to request that this be brought up at our next meeting or possibly you may be satisfied with his reply, as it being a closed matter as far as the Commission is concerned. Would that be satisfactory to you?

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I would certainly like to see the Supreme Commander's views on the subject.

CHAIRMAN: Let me show it to you. I thought it had already been done.

SIR FREDERIC EGGLESTON: You mean circulated to the Commission?

CHAIRMAN: Well, I would rather not circulate it to the Commission, but anybody who wishes may see what General MacArthur's personal opinion on it <sup>be</sup> may and if it comes up for discussion on the agenda, I would then consider giving the whole correspondence to the Commission.

SIR GIRJA BAJPAI: Can't we see that?

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Farley you can show that to them in a moment or Col. Babcock will probably have it. Would you be willing to show it to any member of the Commission that wishes to see it after this meeting?

COL. BABCOCK: Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Then if you desire to bring it up just notify Mr. Johnson.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Is there any information as to the



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new Japanese Constitution? Has the State Department made it known? Did anybody hear it?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: I heard it.

MR. NAGGIAR: Mr. Chairman, I want to know if the Commission or any member of the Commission has received information on the Allied Council in Japan? Of course, the two bodies of the Commission under the Allied Council in Japan are separate bodies, but in certain circumstances the work of the one has some reflexion on the work of the other. So I wish to know if the Allied Council in Japan is already sitting as we do here in the Commission, and what is its composition if it is sitting and established.

CHAIRMAN: Colonel Babcock, could you answer that question for the Ambassador.

COL. BABCOCK: I am sorry, sir, I couldn't hear.

CHAIRMAN: He wished to be informed on the present status of the Allied Council sitting in Japan -- whether it is constituted and whether we have any information about its action and its relation to us.

COL. BABCOCK: My understanding is that it has not yet been constituted. I have seen no information that it has been established as yet.

CHAIRMAN: We will make a note to make inquiry about that and inform the Commission and that brings up a point. I am



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glad you brought it up because we have to consider where we come in in the sense of communications or procedure and so forth. Is there any reason now why we should not adjourn? Oh, the press statement seems to be still before us.

ITEM 9 - PRESS STATEMENT

SECRETARY-GENERAL: A suggested Press Release would be: At the meeting of the Far Eastern Commission it established committees as follows: That would include the Steering Committee, Reparations, Economic and Financial Affairs, Constitutional and Legal Reform, War Criminals, Aliens in Japan; and there would be a blank. We might just simply say "Other Committees."

CHAIRMAN: I would like to announce that Committee 4 with the Soviet representative as Chairman and Dr. Mar as Deputy Chairman has been formed and its duties now under consideration or something of that kind. Could we in some way cover that reasonably?

MR. NOVIKOV: It seems to me now that we couldn't decide on the name of the committee. It would be better to postpone the communique to the press.

CHAIRMAN: All right, we can do that. Give all of the committees out at the same time. I think that's better. Then we can limit the press statement to that statement about "Press Relations" which was read and the question of "Official Languages" just those two items. If there are no objections,



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we will give them that valuable information.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Are you being insidious? We made progress in establishing committees. You must say something more than that, sir.

CHAIRMAN: We will take your instructions now and have the Secretary-General draw up a paragraph along that line.

MR. NOVIKOV: Mr. Chairman, we may say that the Commission decided to establish some committees without naming them, without enumerating them.

SIR FREDERIC EGGLESTON: The Commission allotted its work among various committees.

CHAIRMAN: (To Mr. Novikov) Will that do?

MR. NOVIKOV: Yes.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: Wouldn't it be better to say the Commission made substantial progress for the establishment of committees for the progress of its work or something of that kind?

SECRETARY-GENERAL: At its weekly meeting today, the Far Eastern Commission made substantial progress toward the establishment of committees and the allotment to committees of its work.

MR. ADEVA: Mr. Chairman, should the members of the press come around and ask any one member of the Commission as to what committees have already been organized what shall we say?



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We will just say that these committees will be announced at the next meeting?

CHAIRMAN: At the next meeting.

If there are no objections, we stand adjourned. We meet next Thursday at 10:30 a.m.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: There will be a meeting of the Steering Committee in this room on Friday next at 10:30 a.m.

(Whereupon the meeting rose at 12:30 p.m.)

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Transcript of Third Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission,  
Held in Main Conference Room 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.,  
Thursday, March 14, 1946.



FAR EASTERN COMMISSION

Transcript of Third Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission,  
Held in Main Conference Room 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.,  
Thursday, March 14, 1946.

REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

Major General Frank R. McCoy, Chairman	(U.S.A.)
Sir Frederic Eggleston	(Australia)
Mr. Lester B. Pearson	(Canada)
Dr. Wei Tao-ming	(China)
His Excellency Paul Emile Naggiar	(France)
The Honorable Sir Girja Shankir Bajpai	(India)
Dr. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino	(Netherlands)
Sir Carl Berendsen	(New Zealand)
Dr. Jose F. Imperial	(Philippines)
Mr. Nikolai V. Novikov	(U.S.S.R.)
Sir George Sansom	(U. K.)

SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. Nelson T. Johnson

Reporter: E. Koontz, Department of State



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(The meeting convened at 10:30 a.m.)

ITEM 1 - APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF SECOND MEETING

CHAIRMAN: Good morning, gentlemen, the session is now open. The first item for our consideration is the minutes of the Second Meeting of the Far Eastern Commission. Will you please give your attention to the copy at your seat and if there are any remarks or changes please indicate them.

(The delegates proceeded to look through the minutes of the Second Meeting of FEC).

Are there any comments? There seem to be none. If there are no objections, we will consider them as approved.

ITEM 2 - JAPANESE GENERAL ELECTION

Item 2 on the Commission agenda is the Japanese General Election. I believe that was a matter for Committee No. 4.

Mr. Novikov would you care to give us the consideration, or a start for consideration on that subject.

MR. NOVIKOV: (Mr. Novikov read his statement for the record as follows:)

"At the meeting of the Committee No. 4 on March 12 the Representative of New Zealand, Colonel Powles, stated that he considered it timely to raise at the Committee or at the Commission the question of elections in Japan and he expressed doubts as to the expediency of holding hastily these elections as they were scheduled at present.



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"The suggestion of Colonel Powles was supported by the majority of the Committee members who, upon the discussion of this point, agreed that the question of elections to the Japanese Parliament be put on the Agenda of the earliest meeting of the Far Eastern Commission.

"Our Committee does not make any specific recommendation as to the measure which is necessary to adopt for resolving this problem. It is partly due to the fact that the subject of the Japanese elections was not directly assigned to the Committee No. 4 although the feeling of the members of our Committee is that if the problem is to be discussed in any Committee, the Committee No. 4 is the first eligible for such purpose.

"Now, acting not as Chairman of the Committee No. 4, but as the representative of the Soviet Union in this Commission, I would like to stress the opinion of my Government that the elections scheduled to be held on April 10 do not conform completely to our common purpose to strengthen democratic tendencies in Japan. In the opinion of the Soviet Government it would be premature to hold the elections now when the democratic forces of the Japanese people could not yet develop to any more or less significant extent."

CHAIRMAN: The representative from New Zealand.

SIR CARL BERENDSEN: I would like to offer some observations



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on this subject. It will be remembered that it was originally the intention of the present Japanese Government to hold these elections in January and the Supreme Commander, very properly in my opinion, entered his veto and fixed the date for the middle of March as being the earliest date which we would approve the elections being held. Subsequently, and just before our visiting party left Japan the Japanese Government announced their intention of holding the election on March 31, in accordance, of course, with the limitation imposed by the Supreme Commander. It was not until a day or two before we left Japan that this announcement was made and, consequently, there was no opportunity for my colleagues who accompanied me on this visit to Japan to discuss the matter until the return journey on the Mt. McKinley. The matter was discussed at large in some detail. Now those who felt as I did saw <sup>four</sup> important reasons to doubt, and it was no more than a doubt, the suitability of this particular time of the election.

Those four reasons were as follows: The first is that we are endeavoring to turn the country from what may well be described as a kind of modern feudalism into a democratic organization. You have certain political parties which have been entrenched in power for a long time who might fairly be described then as now "reactionary parties," those parties with their branches and agencies throughout the whole country



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obviously in a position much more favorable than any possible competitors to organize for an election. Speaking generally, for the most part the leaders of the more liberal parties have either been in jail or in exile. Those who felt as I do were of the opinion that it was impossible to expect liberal ideas to permeate into the dull apathetic minds in the short period of voting.

The second point was this: The whole of the economic structure of Japan is still completely in doubt and cannot be resolved until this Commission has formed its opinion as to what industries are to be permitted in Japan and what reparations are to be taken from Japan. Those who felt as I did were of the opinion that you could scarcely expect even the most instructed electorate to form a judgment as to the political basis they would choose in the absence of all knowledge of what the economic structure on which to operate was to be.

The third point was this: very properly the Supreme Commander at one of his earliest activities ordered a purge of the more guilty members of Japanese political and social life. As we traveled around the country in Japan we saw for ourselves to what a limited extent it had been possible, and there is no criticism to what a limited extent it had been possible to complete that purge. Those who felt as I did were of the opinion that it would be preferable to allow time for



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the full effect of that purge to be felt before embarking on an election in which these people could be free and able to play such a malignant and very important part.

The fourth point was this: The election, if it is held on the date now proposed, will be held in the absence of some millions of Japanese who would normally be voters. I refer, of course, to the troops who have not yet been repatriated. Quite irrespective of how these troops may be expected to vote -- I am not entering into this question -- I suggest, and those who felt as I did said, that it is not a democratic principle to hold an election when something like three million electors are to be disfranchised.

Those were the ideas we had on the Mt. McKinley. Since then there has been a new development; that is, the announcement by the present Japanese Government of a new constitution and its public approval by the Supreme Commander.

I'm not for the moment entering into the question at all as to how far the constitution is a good one or how far the Supreme Commander was right, and he usually is right, in expressing his approval of it. But I express two things entirely in connection with the forthcoming election. The first is this: Quite clearly one of the subjects to be considered by the electorate in the forthcoming election must be this new constitution. I would express the very gravest doubts



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whether any electorate instructed or otherwise -- and God knows we are dealing with an uninstructed electorate -- could possibly form an opinion. And the other aspect is this: I should imagine -- I merely suggest this for the consideration of my colleagues -- that the public approval by the Supreme Commander of the constitution produced by this will give the present government, the successor of the reactionary parties of the past, a very considerable advantage in the election that is to take place. Surely the government will be able to say: "We are a liberal government. We have produced a constitution which meets with the firm approval of the Supreme Commander quite clearly; then you should vote for us."

I feel that we should in timing this election; in endeavoring to obtain that government elected in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration; in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people give every possible opportunity of that freely expressed will be to instructed in an intelligent way. I feel very much indeed that if we revise on all sides in Japan that the net result of an early election must be the success of the reactionary parties of the past and I fear very much if that is the case, and I think it is stronger probably now than when we last considered it.

For those reasons, sir, I feel and my government feels with me that the time of holding the elections -- I agree that there is much to be said from the other point of view and



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I am entirely for listening to it. It may well be said that this is not a matter of policy within the purview of this Commission. I defy anybody confidently to construe the order of reference of this Commission -- that remarkable document, that remarkably ambiguous document, that remarkably ill-drafted document. But if there is one thing that is clear it is that any matter of policy is within the purview of this Commission and I would suggest, indeed, there can be no matter of policy more important than an endeavor to achieve the most representative government of the Japanese people and, if possible, a truly liberal administration.

It may well be the committee and my colleagues will not agree that it is wise to postpone this election. They are entitled to hold their views and I will be glad to listen to them. It may well be that the committee and my colleagues will feel that it is too late to alter the arrangements that have been made; but if those who hold those views will express them and divert from them, I will gladly listen to them also. It may well be that some of my colleagues feel that there is a halfway, that instead of postponing the elections it should be announced publicly that the government shall endure only for a limited period. I myself would not support that but I am prepared to accept it in view of something better.

If I were able to do so, I should like to make a motion



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purely for the purpose of gathering the views of the Commission and bringing this important subject to a head. May I move, sir, that:

"In existing circumstances the Far Eastern Commission is of the opinion that there should be a further postponement of the Japanese elections, but before further considering the matter requests that a very early expression of the Supreme Commander's views be obtained through proper channels."

It expresses the Commission's view that there should be a postponement and gives the Supreme Commander an opportunity of expressing his views.

CHAIRMAN: Sir George.

SIR GEORGE SANSON: Mr. Chairman, may I say that personally I agree with the views stated by Sir Carl Berendsen on his behalf and on behalf of his government, and I had referred to the consideration of the United Kingdom Government those views, which they have studied and I think have thought to be urgent. They have instructed us that they don't feel that they can make up their minds on this subject until they are fully advised of the argument against postponing the election which can only, they think, be furnished by the Supreme Commander in the light of the circumstances prevailing in Japan. They think there



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may be many arguments for the postponement or expediency, but they are not aware of them and they are in that rather embarrassing position of not being able to give an opinion on a matter which appears to be crucial and of high importance.

So I am only able to say that although I agree with Sir Carl Berendsen I have no instructions; no knowledge of the view of His Majesty's Government, the United Kingdom, because they haven't sufficient facts to go upon. So I think it subscribes with your motion really (to Sir Carl).

DR. DE KAT: Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of asking an expression of opinion of the Supreme Commander on this matter but without an expression of opinion of our Commission. I should like to wait for an expression of the Supreme Commander's first.

CHAIRMAN: I call your attention to an informal expression of opinion of the Supreme Commander. Have you all had an opportunity to look that over? It's been circulated by the Secretariat, MI 002 on March 7. That followed the conference on Mt. McKinley and was handled informally and impersonally by myself hoping that that would give us the expression of views of the Supreme Commander on the subject. I realize that he hasn't had the information on the opinion of any of us, as expressed by Sir Carl. It was just in answer to a statement of mine to him that we had talked it over, but I didn't give him the