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Q: Will Mr. Dulles see Mr. Yoshida again?

A: Yes, possibly on Wednesday. But there has been no final appointment.

Q: When is Mr. Dulles planning to leave.

A: Present plans are to leave Sunday morning. But it may be changed.

Q: Have Prime Minister Yoshida and others been shown specific plans about the peace treaty?

A: We have not gone to the extent or in such detail of showing a draft--in treaty language. But we have gone orally into more detail than the seven points. They have asked us questions and we have answered them. We have not tried to draw up a treaty in treaty language. Of course, some points were put down written form to make certain views more clear to the Japanese.

Q: Even if you have not given them a draft, have you given them something, for instance, like a chart of the peace treaty?

A: No, not in that detail.

Q: Do you have a draft?

A: No, we don't have that. For our own purposes we have something to help clarify points to us, but we have not given a draft to any of the Allies or the Japanese government. We are giving to the Japanese the same thing we have given to the other Nations on the FEC--an oral explanation of the seven points.

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Q: Drew Pearson has reported that a Pacific Pact is being studied in Tokyo.

A: Not in those terms. It is an exaggeration.

Q: Is it being considered vaguely?

A: Anybody who thinks about the future security of the Pacific area would think about many possibilities including some sort of Pacific Pact. But it is not a part of the discussions here at the present time.

Q: Will the Australians and New Zealanders submit reports?

A: They may. May be it will be an oral explanation of their views.

Q: Has the United States requested such a report?

A: No.

Q: Has Mr. Dulles seen the head of the Chinese mission?

A: Not yet. I think he will be at Mr. Sebald's dinner Thursday. Whether he will seem in addition to that, I am not sure.

Q: Will any Japanese be present at the Dulles-Marquat talks.

A: No. Mr. Dulles is there to get General Marquat's ideas on the economic situation in Japan.

ALLISON: Unless I notify you to the contrary, there will be a press conference Tuesday at five.

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## FEAREY PRESS CONFERENCE

(At Diplomatic Section - 6 February 1951, 17:00 Hours)

(Robert A. Fearey, secretary to the Dulles Mission, gave the press conference in the absence of Allison)

FEAREY: According to my notes on the activity of the Mission.

There was a regular staff meeting at 09:30.

At 10:30 Mr. Iguchi and Mr. Nishimura came over and talked with Mr. Allison, Mr. Johnson, General Magruder and Colonel Babcock.

At 11:00 Ambassador Gascoigne saw Ambassador Dulles at Diplomatic Section.

At 12:30 Ambassador Dulles attended a farewell luncheon for Ambassador Gascoigne at the British Embassy. Mrs. Dulles and Mr. Allison were also present.

At 03:15 a group of lady members of both houses of the Diet called on Ambassador Dulles. There were to be 17 of them in all, but due to some unfortunate mixup five of them did not realize that they had been expected.

At 04:00 the leaders of the Ryokufukai called on Ambassador Dulles.

At 06:00 Ambassador Dulles will see General MacArthur.

Tomorrow, Prime Minister Yoshida will call at Diplomatic Section to see Ambassador Dulles at 10:30.

Ambassador Dulles will have lunch at the Tokyo Correspondents Club, where he will make some off-the-record, informal remarks.

From 05:00 to 07:00 Ambassador Sebald will give the last of four receptions in honor of Ambassador Dulles to enable him to meet Japanese leaders.

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As you can see from reading the informal remarks made by Ambassador Dulles to the lady Diet members, copies of which I think have already been passed out to you, the Ambassador assured the ladies of the American desire for peace and noted that that desire was quite strong. He also pointed out that peace could not be secured by merely wishing for it but by working for it; and because of that the United States was strengthening its defenses. He hoped that the Japanese would cooperate with the free world in the steps that would have to be taken in the current situation.

QUESTION: Did the lady Diet members ask questions and present views?

ANSWER: I wasn't there, but I imagine that it was similar to the meetings held with other groups. The Ambassador solicits their views on treaty problems and comments on them.

Q: Has Mr. Dulles decided to visit New Zealand?

A: He will visit New Zealand.

Q: Is it definite that the Mission will be leaving early Sunday morning?

A: That is the plan.

Q: Could you tell us what transpired at the meeting with the Ryokufukai leaders?

A: I was not able to attend. I imagine it was similar to the meetings held with the leaders of the National Democratic, Socialist and Liberal parties.

Q: How long will the mission be in Manila?

A: There is no fixed time schedule, but I don't think it will be longer or shorter than a couple of days.

Q: When

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Q: When does the Mission plan to get back to the United States.

A: Possibly on the February 23, but it's very indefinite.

Q: Is everybody in the Mission going to Manila?

A: Several military members will be going straight back to the U.S.

Q: Will Mr. Johnson be going to Manila?

A: No, he will go straight back.

Q: Will any military members go to Australia and New Zealand?

A: I understand Colonel Babcock will be going south.

Q: Will the discussions with the Australians and the New Zealanders be separate?

A: Yes.

Q: Will tomorrow be the last time that Prime Minister Yoshida will meet with Mr. Dulles?

A: I wouldn't expect so at all. He is giving a dinner for Ambassador Dulles Friday, for instance. But there are no further talks planned at Diplomatic Section.

Q: What will be the chief topics tomorrow when Mr. Dulles meets Prime Minister Yoshida?

A: I couldn't say.

Q: Will Mr. Dulles meet General MacArthur again?

A: Yes. Tonight's meeting will not be the last one.

FEAREY PRESS CONFERENCE -- FEB. 7

(Diplomatic Section - 7 February 1951)

(From Notes)

FEAREY: Looking over the events of the day briefly.

In the morning there was the usual staff meeting.

At 10:30 the Prime Minister, Mr. Iguchi, the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Nishimura, Director of the Foreign Ministry's Treaty Bureau, met again with Ambassador Dulles and members of the Mission and Ambassador Sebald. There was a further and fuller exchange of views and a satisfactory measure of agreement -- I mean, understanding. Let me repeat that: There was a further and fuller exchange of views and a satisfactory measure of understanding.

At 12:30 Ambassador Dulles attended a luncheon at the Tokyo Correspondents Club. There he gave an informal, off-the-record talk regarding peace treaty matters. The talk being off the record, I wouldn't be able to go into its contents.

At 15:30 General Ho, the Chinese Ambassador, called on Ambassador Dulles.

From 17:00 to 19:00 Ambassador Dulles will attend the last of four receptions which Ambassador Sebald has given at his house for Ambassador Dulles.

Tomorrow, Ambassador Dulles will lunch with the Australian Ambassador.

Also he will attend a dinner at Ambassador Sebald's house, where the Prime Minister will also be a guest.

QUESTION: Was today's meeting between the Prime Minister and Ambassador Dulles the last formal meeting between them?

ANSWER: That can't be said. But there are no further meetings scheduled or appointments made.

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Q: Could you tell us about the discussion between Ambassador Sebald (the questioner apparently meant Dulles) and General Ho.

A: I couldn't indicate the contents of the discussion. I imagine that they talked about treaty problems and that it was similar to the discussions Ambassador Sebald has had with other diplomatic representatives here.

Q: How long was General Ho with Mr. Dulles?

A: Not more than thirty minutes.

Q: Do you have a list of the guests at this evening's reception?

A: No, I don't have a copy of the list.

Q: Did Mr. Allison attend today's conference with the Prime Minister?

A: Mr. Allison was laid up today. We hope he will be about tomorrow.

Q: There are reports that Mr. Dulles will meet Mr. Ashida on a personal basis. Could you confirm that?

A: I have nothing to confirm that information.

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DULLES INTERVIEW (SIMONS-Jr) -- FEB. 7

BY GENE SIMONS

TOKYO, Feb. 7--(U)- John Foster Dulles, architect of peace for Japan, said Wednesday the United States would be willing to sign an indefinite agreement to protect Japan against a "vacuum of power" when occupation forces withdrew, if Japan asks for such protection.

The Ambassador stressed in an exclusive interview with the United Press that such an agreement, completed at the same time as the peace treaty, would not guarantee permanent protection for Japan and would be valid only so long as the the United States wanted or until Japan made other agreements.

Dulles said Japan would have to decide for herself what steps she would take to protect against outside aggression.

Japan could make permanent bilateral agreements after she gets on her feet and knows what she wants, Dulles said, or she might enter into a Pacific pact agreement similar to the North Atlantic treaty organization.

"It will be entirely up to Japan what steps she will take for her protection," he said. "But she will not get a free ride indefinitely."

"We will assist for a time", he said. "Because if Japan were left without protection after the peace treaty she would be in danger of Russian Communists, Chinese Communists -- and even possibly North Korean Communists."

"If a screening force of American soldiers were here, the Communists would not attack because of their fear of retribution from America's military might, including our strategic Air Force," he said.

Dulles indicated there had been an unrealistic approach to the problem of Japan's defense by some Japanese leaders during his present peace talks here.

"They asked for United Nations protection," he said. "I asked them what the United Nations was -- wasn't it a cooperation of states --each cooperating to help the others."

Everybody would like "United Nations protection," Dulles said, but added that they could not sit back and let someone else fight their battles -- each nation has to cooperate.

Discussions with Dulles indicated there is the possibility that Japan will have some Military force in the future to contribute to the United Nations force or as a bilateral contribution.

Dulles said his discussions here had proceeded amicably within the framework of the United States' seven-point memorandum and added that there had been no change of United States policy to proceed within those seven principles.

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## DULLES INTERVIEW (BRINES--AP)

BY RUSSELL BRINES

TOKYO, Feb 7 -- (AP) John Foster Dulles told the Associated Press in an exclusive interview two days ago that the peace terms for Japan, as now foreseen by the United States, will not specifically bind this country to perpetuate the detailed reform measures introduced by the occupation.

The statement was made in a meeting shortly after noon on Monday but it was not released until today, because at the time the interview was intended to be off the record. Publication of some portions of another meeting with him by another news agency caused Mr. Dulles to agree to the use of parts of our original conversation.

Mr. Dulles also said on Monday that if Japan wants it, the United States is prepared to retain forces on or about Japan as a provisional measure to avoid a sudden post-treaty vacuum of power.

This would mean that Japan could not be attacked without the United States forces and the US flag being attacked.

But, in the long run, he said, collective security must be on a basis of mutuality and self-help and that relationship will have to be developed later, after Japan is able to do so.

Mr. Dulles talked affably and at length in his office at the diplomatic section for more than 40 minutes. He suggested that close attention be given to his speech before the American Japan Society, because it contained the basic American official ideas concerning the peace treaty and the question of security.

On the first point, sources close to his mission said that the question of what happens to the vast range of occupation-backed laws will be decided by the Japanese themselves after the treaty is signed.

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It would be theoretically possible, therefore, for the Japanese to wipe out all of the reforms.

But these sources made it clear that the United States, and possibly other nations, will be watching closely to see what Japan does with its newly-acquired sovereignty.

On the question of security, Mr. Dulles' offer actually means that any attack on Japan will be considered an attack on the United States and will bring full American might into a thrust against the source of the initial assault.

That is the most far-reaching defense proposal ever offered an independent Asiatic power by a Western nation. It is the kind of agreement some European countries long have tried, and failed thus far, to receive from the United States under current strained world conditions.

The purpose of this proposal clearly is to bridge the time between the signing of a treaty which would free an unarmed Japan and the time when she is able to build up her own defense forces to the point where she can provide her own share of defense agreements with the United States and perhaps some other democratic powers.

Mr. Dulles has made it clear that the decision of what to do regarding security must be made by the Japanese themselves. He has declined to discuss such questions as rearmament and revision of the constitution when they were raised by Japanese officials during recent conversations, on the grounds these were internal matters with which he was not concerned.

Japan, he said, "will not get a free ride indefinitely. We will assist her temporarily after the treaty," because otherwise she would be open to the Communist threat on the Asiatic mainland.

With this backing, Japan will come within the areas the United States is protecting what Mr. Dulles has called the greatest "deterrent power" in the world today. This is based on strategic air power and the atom bomb -- a double force that can stretch across the world.

Any nation attacking Japan, if this arrangement is concluded, would have to evaluate the risks of opening its own territory to the blasting power of American aircraft. This includes Soviet Russia.

But this protection cannot be supplied to a nation that does not make the maximum effort on its own part to strengthen its defenses. This point has been stressed recently in connection with Gen. Eisenhower's visit to Europe.

So Japan will have to be prepared to show, by the kind of a state it maintains and the conscientious efforts it makes to strengthen itself, that it wants to share in collective security and not just profit from it.

It is believed that Gen. MacArthur is in close accord with Mr. Dulles' views concerning Japanese security.

On both of these points, Mr. Dulles has made it clear that the United States does not intend to attach strings to Japan after the treaty.

They both represent a considerable gamble on the part of the United States that Japan will continue as a democratic nation that remains friendly with the United States.

Security is made a Japanese question, and the United States will not ask for any guaranteed bases in Japan. If American troops are stationed here, they will require housing areas. But there will be no effort to ask for long-term leases on bases or for extra-territoriality rights within this country.

On the question of what kind of state Japan maintains after retaining her autonomy, the gamble also is large.

If the treaty is framed without rigid restrictions requiring the perpetuation of occupation reforms, the question of what happens will be decided again, by the Japanese.

If Japan immediately began to tear down the outlines of its "new state," informed American sources said, the United States might protest, as a friendly and interested power. They did not say what other steps, if any, American authorities might contemplate in that case.

But the verdicts of war trials would not be affected by this approach. The Japanese will have no power to alter these verdicts. The trials have been completed, and the decisions are regarded in themselves as completed business and subject to alteration only through action of authorities representing the nations which conducted the original trials.

The sources said that this viewpoint is not shared by all of the Western powers with whom the Dulles mission will consult before framing the final treaty draft.

A vast range of changes have occurred in Japan through the impetus of occupation reforms. They range from land reform to the purge and include alterations affecting virtually every aspect of Japanese life. The purpose of them was to establish, under the Potsdam declaration, the framework for a democratic society in Japan.

The sources said American officials hope and expect the Japanese to follow a democratic course after the treaty. And they would be pleased if a Japanese pledge to do this were offered by the Japanese as part of the peace treaty.

INFORMEL SOURCE INTERVIEW-- FEB. 7

BY RUSSELL BRINES

TOKYO, Feb. 7--(AP)--The Dulles mission is working on a relatively short and simple basic peace treaty which will restore full sovereignty to the Japanese, informed sources said today.

The treaty now contemplated will have a minimum of restrictions on the Japanese and will leave the question of economics to be decided largely in a series of bilateral treaties with the signatory Western powers.

But it will adhere strictly to the terms of the Potsdam Declaration concerning territorial claims, and there is no apparent chance for the Japanese to obtain the return of such major island claims as the Kuriles and the Ryukyus, the sources added.

The treaty outline prepared by the Dulles mission will have to be discussed subsequently with other Allied powers before it becomes final. The informants said opinion of the interested powers was generally in agreement but there are divisions, particularly on such subjects as reparations and future economic terms.

Those are the general outlines of the treaty as now contemplated, the sources said:

1. Japan will obtain sovereignty in a treaty containing a minimum of continuing restrictions. The basic treaty will be relatively simple and relatively short in length.

2. The treaty will follow the Potsdam Declaration that Japan's territory is to be limited to the four major islands and such smaller islands as the Allies shall determine. The number of islands returned under this phrase probably will be small, the sources said.

3. Such technical matters as claims, the settlement of disputes and setting up arbitration machinery for disputes will be covered in the main treaty.

4. The basic treaty will treat economic matters only generally to cover the interim period until bilateral treaties with individual nations can be negotiated. Those treaties will cover economic and trade matters.

## 2. TOKYO AP (matters.)

The main points of difference between the United States and some other western powers concerning the treaty revolve around the questions of reparations and the application of certain post-treaty economic restrictions, such as a ceiling for shipping.

The informants said the United States believes that further reparations should not be exacted from the Japanese.

In general the U.S. position also favors a minimum of economic restrictions.

But the sources said the economic questions probably would be the subjects of considerable discussion before a final treaty draft is completed.

Some of the Allied powers also do not fully support the American position that the basic peace treaty should minimize the number of continuing restrictions placed on the Japanese.

The sources said the question of Japan's security will involve a separate agreement with the United States, if Japan accepts Mr. Dulles offer of joining in collective security.

There will be no time limit for this agreement and it will be designed to continue only until the Japanese themselves can take over defense problems.

American authorities realize Japan's basic problem of how to provide for her growing population. They do not believe that this can be solved by a continued dole of outside help. But Japan is going to have to get raw materials for her industry. And to this, the Japanese must manufacture better products which buying markets desire.

## INFORMED SOURCES INTERVIEW-- FEB. 7

BY RUSSELL BRINES

TOKYO, Feb. 7--(AP)--The proposed peace treaty for Japan will not specifically bind this country to continue the reform measures introduced by the occupation, informed American sources said today.

The question of what happens to the vast range of occupation-backed laws, ranging from land reform to the purge, will be decided by the Japanese themselves after the treaty, the informants added.

It would be theoretically possible, therefore, for the Japanese to wipe out all of the reforms.

But the informants made it clear that the United States, and possibly other nations, will be watching closely to see what Japan does with its newly-acquired sovereignty.

If Japan immediately began to tear down the outlines of its "new state," the sources said, the United States might protest, as a friendly and interested power. They did not say what other steps, if any, American authorities might contemplate in that case.

The verdicts of war trials, however, would not be affected by this approach to the treaty, and the Japanese have no power to alter them, the informants said. The trials have been completed, and the decisions are regarded in themselves as completed business and subject to alteration only through action of authorities representing the nations which conducted the originals.

The sources said American officials hope and expect the Japanese to follow a democratic course after the treaty. And they would be pleased if a Japanese pledge to do this were offered by the Japanese as part of the projected peace treaty.

But Washington has discarded any idea of writing into the treaty rigid obligations to bind the Japanese to continuing the reform measures. The document itself probably will contain a minimum of restrictions on the Japanese.



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Key American authorities believe that iron-bound regulations of that type do not accomplish what they are intended to do. In fact, the informants said, these restrictions sometimes lead to creating the conditions they are designed to prevent.

They cited as an example the clauses in the Versailles treaty which were instrumental in Hitler's rise to power and the German drive to violate the treaty by breaking these provisions.

The treaty also will avoid giving any of the 47 nation that might sign it the opportunity of stepping back into Japan in order to supervise reforms.

By restoring full sovereignty to Japan, the treaty will give the Japanese themselves the responsibility and the authority to determine what kind of state they will maintain and what aspects of the Occupation program they will retain.

It has been clear during the visit of the Dulles mission that the basic post-treaty decisions will have to be made by the Japanese -- including whatever revision is made in the constitution to permit the creation of armed forces.

The informants today made it clear that the American authorities intend to hand over the occupation-created framework of the new state to the Japanese, for their final decision on what use to make of it.

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RELIABLE QUARTERS INTERVIEW -- FEB. 7

BY EARNEST HOBERECHT

Tokyo, Feb. 7--(UP)-- Reliable quarters said American ideas regarding the Japanese peace treaty do not include plans to force Japan to carry out any reforms that have been created under the occupation.

The same sources said that while war crimes sentences will stand, "theoretically" the peace treaty will wipe out the necessity for the Japanese to comply with the changes brought about in Japan during the occupation and purges undoubtedly will be free to return to public life.

However, these responsible sources said they do not fear any deviation from the present democratic course being followed by the Japanese, and indicated they thought perhaps the Japanese--in the treaty--will voluntarily state their desire to continue along the paths of democracy.

These sources said they doubted there would be anything in the treaty requiring a continuation of the purge or reforms.

The same sources said Japan probably will be free to operate international airlines but this will be subject to negotiation with those countries who would be concerned. This would be a subject to be taken up in separate discussions after the peace treaty is signed.

No decision has been made on the location for the peace treaty conference.

A responsible source said that on the whole most of the countries interested in the Japanese peace treaty are in agreement on the basic ideas presented them by the United States.

The source said the Dulles mission is here because the American feel the Japanese should be consulted. He said while they may not agree with the Japanese views, the Americans feel they may get some information that will be value to them.

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The source

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The source said the Americans hope that "within a few weeks" the treaty draft may be completed and ready for submission to the other Allies to see if agreement can be reached.

The source said American officials take the view that the treaty should be short and simple, that it should restore sovereignty to Japan and define Japan's area of limitation. In this connection the Americans feel that the territorial question is closed and that Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam declaration restricts her to the four major islands and a few -- very few -- small islands.

The American view is that total sovereignty should be restored to Japan with a minimum of restrictions on Japan that would be in effect over a period of time. The American view is that restrictions sometimes induce the very evils they are designed to prevent.

However, the source said not all the Allied powers hold this view.

Matters dealing with economics and trade will not be included in the peace treaty, the source said.

However, these problems, because they are important, have been discussed here with the Japanese by the Dulles Mission, the source said.

The Americans realize that Japan needs raw materials, especially cotton, iron ore and food, the source said, and pointed things that other people want.

Americans were said to take the view that Japan cannot manufacture imitations and other items not desired in other countries but in order to survive must create new things for which there is an honest demand.

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Americans

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Americans point out that while American Indians on the continent of North America had the same raw materials at hand as the great United States has today, they did not have the brain power to use them; Americans point out that Japan must use her inventive genius in order to survive.

The Dulles mission, the source said, had discussed future cultural ties -- especially with the United States -- with a view toward an exchange of cultural information and ideas between the two countries.

Americans reportedly take the view that the two countries need more than a treaty to be friends and that Japan offers considerably in the cultural field. Americans concerned with the Japanese treaty problem were said to feel that it is truly a false conception that the West has the only worthy culture. On the contrary, these Americans were said to feel all parts of the world are capable of making some cultural contributions to the rest of the world.

Responsible sources said Americans concerned with the treaty problem feel the treaty should contain no demands for cash reparations. They pointed out that Japan already owes the United States \$2,000,000,000 (B) and that even without any additional plants being taken from Japan for reparations, Japan is going to have a difficult time making a living.

The American view is that there should be no more reparations but the sources said this problem is recognized as a difficult one.

The sources said private holdings of Japanese abroad which were confiscated at the beginning of the war will not be returned to individuals.

The sources said while the question of security is outside the treaty matter, it has been discussed here with Japanese by members of the Dulles Mission. They said the Dulles mission feels Japan has an inherent right of self-defense but Dulles has told Japanese that rearmament is strictly a matter for them to decide. The sources said Dulles has not discussed rearmament with the Japanese.

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The sources said Americans, while not being ready to enter into a kind of agreement with Japan along the lines of the North Atlantic pact, would be willing to station some troops in Japan for the time being until the Japanese either are able to handle equal footing along the lines of American relations with the European countries.

They said at the present time America does not expect Japan to rearm and that is not a condition for the temporary stationing of troops here to prevent an attack upon Japan from the outside.

The sources said Americans consider it unlikely that any non-signers to the treaty will desire to continue occupation on their own. There has been speculation that Russia might try this.

However, the sources pointed out that a Far Eastern Commission agreement stipulates that they could appoint a Supreme Commander at any time to take over and control any occupation force that any nation might theoretically decide to send here.

The sources said that Formosa definitely will be taken away from Japan, although its status now is subject to dispute.

They said the major difficulties in preparing the treaty probably will be concerned with reparations and the desire on the part of some powers to place restrictions on Japan's economy, shipbuilding industry and the like.

## RESPONSIBLE SOURCES INTERVIEW-- FEB. 7

BY HOWARD HANDLEMAN

TOKYO, Feb. 7--(INS)--The picture of the future that Japan can expect after the treaty of peace is signed was painted clearly Wednesday by responsible sources connected with the peace mission of ambassador John Foster Dulles.

Once the treaty is signed, these sources said, Japan can be expected to have:

Full sovereignty over the four home islands and a few smaller islands nearby.

Full rights to expand industrially and economically and to negotiate with other sovereign states for shipping and airplane rights.

Full authority to review any or all of the democratic reforms instituted by the occupation, including such reforms as equality of women, farm land ownership and the purges.

Japan will not however have the right to review the sentences passed on war criminals by allied courts martial.

It is doubtful whether Japan will be required to pay any reparations, either from current production, in cash or in the form of industrial machinery, although this question still is controversial. The American position is that the Japanese paid enough through the loss of their overseas holdings, and that any reparation extracted from Japan would, in the long run, be paid by America.

Conversely, Japan has little chance of regaining any of the properties she lost through defeat in the war.

Rearmament will not be part of the treaty considerations. Dulles has indicated that in public talks in which he referred to the fact that after the treaty Japan will have the full protection guaranteed in the U.N. Charter, which says that each nation has the inherent right of self-defense either individually or collectively with other nations.

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But whether or not Japan rearms probably will be a matter for Japanese, not allied, decision. It was learned that Dulles has sidestepped any discussion of the rearmament issue with Japanese leaders, emphasizing that in his opinion rearmament was purely a Japanese question.

He has made it clear, however, that American forces will be available to protect Japan if Japan so desires during an interim period while the problem of Japan's security is settled.

Eventually in American view Japan will have provide for her own defense as Americans are not ready to undertake the defense of Japan on a permanent basis.

Unless and until Japan rearms she would have no place in any Atlantic pact type alliance in the Pacific because she would be unable to contribute military strength to the pact which would be based on the principle of self-help and mutual aid.

The responsible source said there is no reason to fear that if Russia alone refuses to sign a peace treaty with Japan that Russia would retain the right to send an army of occupation into the islands.

The official said under the surrender terms and the provisions of the Far Eastern Commission any army of occupation sent to Japan would under the command of an American and he doubted that the Russians would put an army under an American command in Japan.

The official admitted that the main point of conflict between the "friendly allies" was on the allied points of reparations and economic restrictions on Japan.

The American position is that neither reparations nor economic restrictions are practical.

Other allied Governments want both reparations and economic restrictions but the American diplomatic position is being firmly supported by members of the Dulles mission who will try to win Filipino, Australian and New Zealand leaders over to their side next week.

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The official said the territorial question is closed, and specifically said the treaty will end any and all claims Japan has to legal sovereignty over Formosa.

The Formosa problem itself, he said, will have to be settled in United Nations, where it is an important issue now, but he emphasized that whatever solution is found, Japan will not be a factor.

Asked specifically whether Japan would be permitted to operate international airlines after the treaty, the official said the treaty would not ban the operation of international airlines but that Japan would have to negotiate bilateral agreements to get airway rights into other countries.

The official said in his personal opinion there should be a minimum of restrictions in the treaty and that Japan would be granted full sovereignty.

He said peace treaty restrictions usually breed exactly the thing they were designed to prevent because the restrictions themselves are a constant challenge which the country feels it must meet before it can stand level with its neighbors.

In the same way, the official said, it is against American policy to put the democratic reforms instituted by the occupation into the treaty as treaty obligations, although America might remonstrate "in a friendly way" against any drastic elimination of reforms.

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FEAREY PRESS CONFERENCE-- FEB. 8

(Diplomatic Section - February 8, 1951)

(From Notes)

FEAREY: I'm afraid I have very little to say.

Ambassador Dulles had lunch with the Australian Ambassador and the Chiefs of Mission of New Zealand and Canada.

In the afternoon, Mr. Iguchi called on Ambassador Dulles.

Tonight Ambassador Sebald will give the dinner I mentioned yesterday. Ambassador and Mrs. Dulles and members of the Mission and prominent Japanese guests will be present.

QUESTION: Will Prime Minister Yoshida be there?

ANSWER: Yes.

Q: Where did Mr. Dulles have lunch with the Australian Ambassador?

A: At the Australian Ambassador's residence.

Q: What the main topic of discussion?

A: The same sort of discussion that Ambassador Dulles has had with other foreign representatives here.

Q: Who are the other Japanese invited to Ambassador Sebald's?

A: Mr. Matsudaira, the Grand Master of Ceremonies; Mr. Tanaka, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Mr. Iguchi-- that's all I can remember off hand.

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Q: According to a Washington dispatch, Mr. Acheson made it clear that a Pacific alliance pact is connected with the Japanese peace treaty and that it might be under discussion by the Peace Mission.

A: I haven't seen that report.

Q: Will the Dulles Mission go first to New Zealand, then Australia?

A: It will go first to the Philippines, then to Australia and on to New Zealand.

Q: Has a definite time been set for the Mission's departure from Japan?

A: It will be at a reasonably comfortable hour Sunday morning.

Q: Will it be around 09:00 or 10:00?

A: It'll be somewhere around there.

Q: When will Mr. Dulles meet General MacArthur again?

A: No definite appointment has been set, but he will certainly see him again.

Q: Will Mr. Dulles meet Prime Minister Yoshida again?

A: He will see him tonight and at the reception Ambassador Dulles is giving at the Imperial Hotel Saturday evening for quite a large group.

Q: Could you give us Friday's schedule?

A: Mr. Iguchi, Mr. Matsui and Mr. Nishimura will be calling at 11:00.

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Q: Are there no other appointments for Prime Minister Yoshida with Mr. Dulles?

A: There are no appointments, but he will be seeing him at the two meetings I mentioned.

Q: May I assume that you are holding staff meetings every morning?

A: The regular staff meetings were held at 10:00, but recently the members of the Mission have been meeting with Ambassador Sebald at 10:00.

Q: May we assume that you are putting together what you have studied and gathered since you came to Japan?

A: Well, you can assume that the discussions have moved. They been going on for some time, and they are being brought to a close.

Q: Will Mr. Dulles give a farewell speech?

A: I don't know.

Q: Will Mr. Dulles give any more speeches?

A: It is quite possible that he will have a statement for the press just as he did when he left Washington and when he arrived here.

Q: Will Mr. Dulles see the press again?

A: No press conferences are scheduled.

Q: Will he make a statement when he leaves?

A: I strongly suspect that he will have a statement for the press.

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Q: Who will accompany Mr. Dulles to the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand?

A: Mr. Allison, Colonel Babcock, Miss Doyle and myself.

Q: When will Assistant Secretary Johnson and General Magruder be leaving?

A: You'll have to ask them for the exact time, but it may be Saturday evening or Sunday morning.

Q: Will there be a press conference tomorrow?

A: Yes.

Q: Which members will be going back to the United States?

A: I understand Mr. and Mrs. Rockefeller will be staying in Japan for a while. Mr. Johnson and General Magruder will be going back.

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## JOHNSON REMARKS (LEAVING JAPAN)

TOKYO, Feb. 10--(UP)--Assistant Secretary of Army, Earl S. Johnson said the military members of the Dulles Peace Mission had "progressed much further than was anticipated" in the discussion with the Japanese leaders.

Assistant Secretary Johnson departed from Haneda Airport shortly after 8 p.m. with the personal farewell from General MacArthur.

"Everyone was anxious to reach a common understanding," Johnson said. "No better atmosphere could have been created for these talks."

He said the results of the talks "should enable our two countries to live in harmony for many years."

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## DULLES INTERVIEW (IWATATE-KYODO)

KYODO (Nippon Times Feb. 10)--John Foster Dulles Friday hinted at the conclusion of a Pacific Islands Pact binding the various island countries in the Pacific.

Mr. Dulles said that his mission will listen to such proposals with a sympathetic attitude if the Philippine, Australian and New Zealand authorities bring up the subject.

After the mission returns to Washington, reports will be submitted to Pres. Truman, Sec. of State Dean Acheson and Defense Sec. George C. Marshall, Mr. Dulles revealed. With their approval, discussions will be started with principal Allied Powers on the drafting of the peace treaty.

The Presidential envoy intimated that the U.S. draft of the treaty will be written on the basis of the talks carried out so far with the Powers concerned, results of his mission's current visit in Japan and the scheduled discussion with the governments of the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. The draft, Mr. Dulles said, will be completed within "several weeks" after he returns to the U.S.

It would be impossible to draw a "time-table" for the signing of the treaty since it all depends on the replies to be forwarded by the other Allied Powers to the U.S.; draft, Mr. Dulles said.

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## DULLES-MACARTHUR CORRESPONDENCE

TOKYO, Feb. 11--(UP)--Gen. MacArthur's Headquarters Sunday released the texts of letters exchanged between the Supreme Commander and John Foster Dulles. Texts of the letters follow:

February 9, 1951

"My dear General MacArthur:

"As our peace mission leaves Japan, I wish to express my profound appreciation for the assistance you have rendered us. If we have made progress along the road to peace - as I think we have - it has been due to the foundation you have laid and the wise counsel you have given.

"Your policies as Supreme Commander have so combined justice and mercy as to bring our late enemies to perceive and desire to share the ideals which animate our free world. That makes it possible for us reasonably to plan on a future era of peace, trust and opportunity to be shared by Japan. Without that foundation our present task would have been hopeless.

"During the course of our current conversations with Japan leaders, official and unofficial, you have given us broad counsel in the interest of all of the Allies who genuinely seek peace.

"Our Mission has drawn its inspiration from your conception that early peace is now deserved by Japan and has become important to the welfare of us all. We shall expect to carry on in that spirit in the hope of contributing to the structure of just and lasting peace which has been your constant goal.

"Faithfully yours,  
John Foster Dulles"

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Gen. MacArthur replied to Dulles:

February 10, 1951

"Dear Ambassador Dulles;

"My thanks and deepest appreciation for your note of the 9th. I feel it does me too much credit.

"I am confident that the influence of the peace formula we seek for Japan will extend far beyond the immediate problem it seeks to solve. For a peace based upon such high concepts of justice and right, designed to erase the scars of war and restore the vanquished to a position of dignity and equality among nations, presents a new spiritual idea to mankind and evokes new standards of morality in international relations.

"That you and the other distinguished members of your mission have so patiently sought and considered the views of the Japanese people and their leaders as a check upon the wisdom of our own thinking cannot fail to strengthen the Japanese faith in the integrity of our country and its representatives.

"Under your able presentation you have given Japan a new appreciation of the great moral stature of the United States which I am sure will find a stirring response in the hearts of all of the peoples of Asia, both those who are still free and those who, prostrate under the sword of tyranny, yet covet the opportunity to be free. Yours has indeed been a high order of universal service.

"With assurances of warm regard, I am

"Most faithfully,  
Douglas MacArthur"

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## DULLES REMARKS (LEAVING JAPAN)

TOKYO, Feb. 11--(UP)--John Foster Dulles departed Haneda Airport at 9:30 a.m. today for Manila following a series of exploratory talks on a peace treaty for Japan.

"I came here with a question," Dulles said. "I go back with answers."

"I'm grateful to all the Japanese for the cooperation they have shown and I'm particularly grateful to General MacArthur for his wise counsel."

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## DULLES INTERVIEW (FISHING RIGHTS)

TOKYO, Feb. 11--(UP)--Presidential envoy John Foster Dulles said clarification of Japanese fishing rights would be made known sometime during the coming week.

Asked by the United Press what progress had been made on the fisheries question, Dulles replied he expected "a statement during the coming week to indicate satisfactory progress along that line."

Dulles did not say where the statement would come from but it was believed it would be issued by SCAP.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS  
 SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS  
 Public Information Office

11 February 1951:

Statement by  
 JOHN FOSTER DULLES  
 on Departure from Japan

Our Mission is leaving Japan after more than two weeks devoted to consultation with Japanese leaders regarding the future peace settlement.

1. We have discussed here the principles, heretofore discussed with our Allies, which might be embodied in a Treaty of Peace with Japan. As was indicated in connection with the prior conversations with our Allies, we foresee a peace treaty which would in simple terms formally end the war; restore full sovereignty to Japan; define the geographical area of that sovereignty; look forward to Japan's future membership in the United Nations; recognize Japan's inherent right of individual and collective self-defense; establish provisional commercial and trade relations pending the negotiation of permanent commercial agreements and provide for the settlement of claims. By the Preamble, Japan might express its resolve to adhere to the high principles of national and international conduct which have animated its post-war legislation and development.

2. We have discussed the future security of Japan. On February 2nd, with the authority of my Government, I publicly stated that if desired by Japan, the United States would sympathetically consider the maintenance of United States armed forces in and about Japan.

The Japanese Government has warmly welcomed that proposal and our many conversations here, and the manifold expressions of opinion which have come to us, convince us that it is the overwhelming desire of the Japanese nation that that proposal be accepted so that the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace will not leave a vacuum of power, with Japan totally disarmed and unable to defend itself. Accordingly, we have discussed provisional security arrangements between the United States and Japan.

In this connection, we have pointed out that all regional or collective security arrangements of a definitive character, to which the United States becomes a party, must provide for "continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid" by all of the Parties in accordance with the basic policy laid down by the "Vandenberg" Senate Resolution of June 11, 1948.

3. We have discussed the economic problems which lie ahead of Japan. We have come to the view that Japan can develop for her people a satisfactory and rising standard of living by her own efforts and by the resourcefulness and industry of her people, on the assumption that the Treaty of Peace does not place upon Japan heavy economic or financial burdens or major commercial disabilities. We have indicated that the United States would be disposed to continue to cooperate with Japan in the effort to find ways whereby the Japanese economy can find health and vigor as a useful member of the free world community.

4. We have considered the development of cultural ties between our people. The relationship which we seek for the future is one which does not depend merely upon contractual or economic relations. There is a need for a sense of personal fellowship and of mutual regard. We look forward in peace to an association which will enrich both the peoples of the United States and of Japan by enabling each to draw upon the other's reservoir of knowledge, literature and art and upon its creative and sustaining sources of spiritual power.

We leave Japan with a feeling that in all of these matters we have achieved a gratifying measure of understanding. We thank the Government, the political leaders and the many people of Japan who have, with sincerity, helped us to understand their problems and their aspirations.

We have been greatly aided by the wise counsel of General MacArthur and his staff. Ambassador Sobald has taken an active part in all of our discussions. We have also had the benefit of consultations with members of the Allied Diplomatic Corps.

The information we have gathered here enables us now to proceed in the further discussions with our Allies which must precede the formulation of precise treaty terms. We shall go forward hopefully in this further advancement of our mission of peace.

EXCHANGE LETTERS BETWEEN DULLES AND YOSHIDA

The following exchange of letters between Ambassador John Foster Dulles and Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, concerning the fisheries problem in the immediate post-treaty period, made public by Ambassador William J. Sebald, United States political adviser for Japan, are for release at 1700 hours, Tokyo time, 13 February 1951:

February 7, 1951

My dear Ambassador,

In connection with conversations which we have had about fisheries, I am glad to advise you as follows:

The Japanese people largely depend upon fish for their food supply. They have, therefore, a very special interest in the conservation and development of fisheries. The Japanese Government recognize that the problem of conserving and developing fisheries located in the high seas is a difficult one, and that these fisheries may be quickly exhausted unless there is concerted action for the conservation and development of fisheries. We are aware of the fact that certain countries have adapted international agreements and voluntary self-denying ordinances to prevent the exhaustion of high seas fisheries which are readily accessible to fishermen of their own country, and that if these conserved fisheries were to be subjected to uncontrolled fishing from other countries, the result would be international friction and the exhaustion of the fisheries themselves.

Accordingly, the Japanese Government will, as soon as practicable after the restoration to it of full sovereignty, be prepared to enter into negotiations with other countries with a view to establishing equitable arrangements for the development and conservation of fisheries which are accessible to the nationals of Japan and such other countries.

In the meantime, the Japanese Government will, as a voluntary act, implying no waiver of their international rights, prohibit their resident nationals and vessels from carrying on fishing operations in presently conserved fisheries in all waters where arrangements have already been made, either by international or domestic act, to protect the fisheries from over-harvesting, and in which fisheries Japanese nationals or vessels were not in the year 1940 conducting operations. Among such fisheries would be the salmon, halibut, herring, sardine and tuna fisheries in the waters of the Eastern Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea.

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2. (Sea.)

The Japanese Government will set up a Commission, composed of representative of both Government and industry, whose duty it shall be to see that the abovementioned prohibition is fully observed, and duly appointed representatives of interested foreign governments will be invited to sit on the Commission as observers.

Any party the Commission finds guilty of violation shall be subject to substantial penalty, including revocation of his fisheries license.

I trust that the foregoing voluntary arrangements will constitute convincing evidence of the desire of the Japanese Government to deal with this whole problem in an equitable manner, designed to promote good will and the mutual interest of all who, directly or indirectly, depend for their livelihood upon fishing in the high seas.

I remain with the highest consideration,

Most sincerely yours,  
/s/ Shigeru Yoshida  
Prime Minister

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am in receipt of your letter of February 7th with relation to high seas fisheries. I note with gratification the position of your Government as therein set forth.

It is a good omen for the future that the Japanese Government should already now indicate its willingness voluntarily to take measures for the protection of conserved fisheries.

The Government of the United States, and I am confident other Governments concerned, will be prepared, promptly after the restoration to Japan of full sovereignty by a Peace Treaty, to enter into negotiations with a view to establishing equitable arrangements for the development and conservation of fisheries which are accessible to the nationals of our countries. I am confident that our Government will approach these negotiations in a spirit of good will corresponding to that which motivates your letter to me.

Sincerely your,

/s/ John Foster Dulles

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封日満知ノイ

昭和二十六年五月四日

張現河長

及使節團第二次訪日關係資料

要保存

情報部報道課



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I N D E X

- A Dulles visit statement text.
- B Dulles statement on leaving U.S.
- C Dulles statement on arrival in Tokyo.
- D Dulles statement, (Apr. 17)
- E Dulles mission activities. (Apr. 17)
- F Dulles mission activities. (Apr. 18)
- G Text of Truman statement on pacific security.
- H Press statement by John Foster Dulles. (Apr. 19)
- I Dulles press conference. (Apr. 19)
- J Dulles mission activities. (Apr. 19)
- K Dulles mission activities. (Apr. 20)
- L Dulles mission activities. (Apr. 21)
- M Dulles address. (United Nations Association of Japan).
- N Dulles statement upon return to U.S.

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DULLES VISIT STATEMENT TEXT

WASHINGTON, Apr. 11--(AP)--U.S. Ambassador John Foster Dulles, who is acting as President Truman's special representative in the matter of a Japanese peace treaty, will return to Tokyo this weekend to consult with General Matthew B. Ridgway, new Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan and with Japanese leaders.

White House officials announced Dulles' forthcoming trip today after Dulles and Secretary of State Acheson had conferred with the president.

Following is text of the White House announcement:

"In view of the importance of concluding a Japanese peace settlement as recognized by the leaders of both (U.S.) political parties, at the request of the president, John Foster Dulles, who is acting as the special representative of the president in this matter, will return to Tokyo over the coming weekend for the dual purpose of consulting with General Ridgway and Japanese leaders.

"The President has made clear that it is the firm policy of the United States Government to press forward to conclude a peace settlement with Japan as soon as possible. The principles underlying the treaty were set out by Mr. Dulles in his Los Angeles address of March 31, 1951. They have been developed with the closest consultation with leaders of both parties in both Houses of Congress and with General MacArthur (General Douglas MacArthur, whom Ridgway succeeds), and have the full approval of the president."

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DULLES STATEMENT ON LEAVING U.S.

BY DAVID BRIGGS

WASHINGTON, Apr. 14.--(UP)--Presidential adviser John Foster Dulles took off at 2134 GMT Friday for Tokyo. The text of his statement at the airport follows:

"I am flying to Japan to discuss with General Ridgway and Japanese leaders on the present state of the Japanese peace treaty.

"There will be some differences to be ironed out, but nothing that has transpired leads us to doubt the practicability of an early agreement by most of the Allied powers upon the peace treaty which will in general follow the lines indicated in my Los Angeles address of March 31.

"Whatever may be the differences of opinion here at home as to other matters, I have found agreement by leaders of both of our political parties that we must proceed without regard to partisanship to strength peace and defense of freedom in the Pacific.

"That is the result which the American people are unitedly determined to achieve and I shall contribute to it to the best of my ability.

"I am glad to be accompanied by Assistant Secretary of the Army Earl Johnson and Colonel Stanton Babcock and Robert Feary who were part of the earlier mission to Japan.

"My deputy John Allison is remaining in Washington to carry on current discussions with representatives of the Allied powers. We expect to return from our present mission to Tokyo in about 10 days."

TRUMAN'S SEND OFF MESSAGE TO DULLES

WASHINGTON, Apr. 14.--(AP)--John Foster Dulles, who left for Tokyo Friday night, received a send off message from President Truman. On behalf of President Truman, Undersecretary of State James Webb told Dulles as the mission left:

"The President asked me to wish the Dulles Mission a safe and successful trip and to reaffirm the determination of the United States to work earnestly a peace settlement. This policy is strongly supported on a bipartisan basis. A fact which Mr. Dulles is eminently qualified to take to the Japanese people."

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DULLES STATEMENT ON ARRIVAL IN TOKYO

TOKYO, Apr. 16.--(AP)--Full text of Dulles' statement made at Haneda airport on his arrival follows:

"On this day of General MacArthur's departure from Tokyo, the Japanese nation rightly thinks only of him. Therefore, I withhold, for the moment, any statement of my own.

"The Japanese people are, however, entitled to know that a few hours ago I had the drama of an unforgettable radio conference with General MacArthur.

"About noon, Tokyo time, as General MacArthur's departing plane passed our arriving plane, we spoke of what was foremost in our minds; namely, peace for Japan.

"I explained to General MacArthur the bipartisan backing of the present mission; our adherence to the policies upon which he and we had previously agreed and my personal sense of need for his continuing counsel and support.

"In answer, General MacArthur urged me to continue to work to complete a fair and just treaty at the earliest, no matter what obstacles arose. He assured me that I could count completely upon any help and assistance that he could render.

"I replied that his assurance reinforced our determination to carry on.

"That conference fittingly opens our mission's new visit to Japan as a good omen of success."

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DULLES STATEMENT (APRIL 17)

PIO PRESS RELEASE, Apr. 17, 0900: Following is the text of a statement issued today by Ambassador John Foster Dulles:

Our peace mission returned to Japan on a day saddened by the departure of General MacArthur. His lofty dynamic character has always impressed those about him and, as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, he has made an indelible impression upon the Japanese nation.

During five years of occupation, human freedom in Japan has been enlarged through such measures as women's suffrage, land reform, organization of labor, liquidation of militarism and of police terrorism, freedom of the press and, broadly, giving a sovereignty to the people.

There has been resolute resistance to Communist imperialism, which would destroy the new-won freedoms and degrade human personality by seeking to break men's bodies, minds and spirits to the service of aggressive and militaristic dictatorship.

Now, in recognition of Japan's scrupulous compliance with the surrender terms, steps are under way to consummate an early and just peace which will restore Japan as an equal member of the society of free nations.

For his great contributions in each of these respects, General MacArthur is rightly honored by the American and Japanese people. These policies with which he has become identified are and will remain the policies ~~xxx~~ of our nation. You can be sure of that.

You can find assurance in the character of the man chosen to be General MacArthur's successor. General Ridgway is one of America's outstanding leaders who possesses moral qualities, vision, and unquenchable love of freedom which will assure that the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers will continue in its high tradition.

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BULLETIN 1

JOHOBU 17.4.51

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## 2. PIO PRESS RELEASE (tradition)

You can find assurance in the reaffirmation by President Truman of the determination of the United States to work earnestly for the prompt conclusion of the Japanese peace settlement. These were his parting words to me as I left Washington. That is equally the determination of all our national leadership, irrespective of political party. Our mission's return to Tokyo is tangible evidence of that unity of purpose.

You can know that the great reforms which your nation has adopted are, in American eyes, the worthy and enduring monument to all who laid down their lives in the Pacific conflict. You may be confident that, in peace, the American people stand ready to extend their friendly cooperation to the end that this monument of freedom shall not crumble but shall develop in impressive grandeur.

You can be sure that the American people remain determined that liberty shall not perish from the earth, and that peace and justice shall be protected by collective power. I said here before, on the authority of my government, "We are prepared to combine our power with that of others in mutual commitments in accord with the United Nations Charter, so that the deterrent power which protects us will also protect others." That offer stands, backed by our unshaken resolution and by the immensity of strength we are developing.

When our mission left Japan two months ago we said: "We shall go forward hopefully in the further advancement of our mission of peace." We have gone forward, with energy and resolution. Now, we shall discuss with General Ridgway and your leaders the good progress already made and the program for the days ahead that lie between us and the great goals of peace and justice we seek together.

-1050 km-

BULLETIN 2

JOHOBU 17.4.51

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## DULLES MISSION ACTIVITIES (APR. 17)

PIO PRESS RELEASE, Apr. 17, 1951--Ambassador Dulles and the members of his Mission were guests of Ambassador Sebald at dinner at his residence last evening, and at nine o'clock this morning met in the Dai Ichi building to discuss the Mission's program during its stay in Japan, expected to last approximately a week. At ten o'clock they met with General Ridgway and during the next three hours Ambassador Dulles informed General Ridgway of the fundamental United States policy regarding a just and early Japanese peace treaty and developments with respect to its realization.

Appointments for tomorrow include a conference of General Ridgway, Ambassador Dulles and Prime Minister Yoshida at eleven o'clock in the morning in General Ridgway's office, and a conference of Ambassador Dulles and members of his Mission Ambassador Sebald and the Prime Minister at Ambassador Sebald's office at three o'clock in the afternoon.

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## DULLES MISSION ACTIVITIES (APR. 18)

PIO PRESS RELEASE, Apr. 18, 1951--Following a Mission Staff Meeting at nine-thirty o'clock this morning in Ambassador Sebald's office, Ambassador Dulles met at eleven o'clock for an hour with General Ridgway and Prime Minister Yoshida in General Ridgway's office.

At three o'clock this afternoon Ambassador Dulles and the members of his Mission met with Prime Minister Yoshida, Mr. Sadao Iguochi, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Kumaō Nishimura, Chief of the Treaty Bureau, in Ambassador Sebald's office and brought them up to date on the progress of the treaty discussion with other interested countries.

From five to seven o'clock this evening Ambassador Dulles and members of the Mission will be the guests of Ambassador Sebald at a reception at the Ambassador's residence for a number of Japanese business and financial leaders and the Officers and Board of Governors of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan.

Ambassador Dulles will hold a press conference at the Radio Tokyo Building at eleven-thirty o'clock tomorrow morning. At one o'clock in the afternoon he and Mrs. Dulles will lunch with the Australian Ambassador. At three o'clock Ambassador Dulles will receive leaders of the Socialist Party and at four o'clock, leaders of the Green Breeze Society of the House of Councillors.

Meetings with leaders of the Liberal and Democratic Parties will be held the following day.

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NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS: Ambassador John Foster Dulles will hold a press conference in studio 2, 3d floor rear, Radio Tokyo building, at 11:30 a.m. Thursday, April 19.

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TEXT OF TRUMAN STATEMENT ON PACIFIC SECURITY

WASHINGTON, Apr. 18--(USIS)--The following is the full text of a statement issued today by President Truman relative to the position of the United States on security in the Pacific:

(Text follows)

The United States is moving steadily forward in concert with other countries of the Pacific in its determination to make ever stronger the position of the free world in the Pacific Ocean area.

In connection with the reestablishment of peace with Japan, we are discussing with the Japanese Government implementation of its expressed desire for a post treaty security arrangement pursuant to which United States armed forces might on a provisional basis remain in and about Japan.

The United States maintains and expects to continue to maintain its armed forces in the Ryukus, particularly at Okinawa.

In the Philippines, the United States is accorded certain military operating rights and facilities pursuant to an agreement with the Government of the Philippines, and the whole world knows that the United States recognizes that an armed attack on the Philippines would be looked upon by the United States as dangerous to its own peace and safety and that it would act accordingly.

The Governments of Australia and New Zealand, in connection with the re-establishment of peace with Japan, have suggested an arrangement between them and the United States pursuant to Articles 51 and 52 of the United Nations Charter which would make clear that in event of an armed attack upon any one of them in the Pacific, each of the three would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes; and which would establish consultation to strengthen security on the basis of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid.

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WASHINGTON USIS (aid)

The possibilities of such an arrangement were fully explored by Mr. Dulles at Canberra, Australia, and Wellington, New Zealand, and have since been informally discussed with the appropriate subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House.

*The Secretary of State*  
I have now asked the Secretary of Defense and Mr. Dulles as my special representative in relation to the Japanese peace settlement and related matters to pursue this matter further concurrently with the prosecution of other negotiations necessary to bring the Japanese peace settlement to an early and satisfactory conclusion.

The series of arrangements and dispositions outlined above will strengthen the fabric of peace in the whole Pacific Ocean area, where security is strongly influenced by sea and air power.

They constitute naturally initial steps in the consolidation of peace in that area and also will contribute to the building of universal peace as sought by the United Nations, and toward which great goal efforts of nations are now being largely dedicated."

(text ends)

TRUMAN SAYS PACIFIC SYSTEM MODELED ON ATLANTIC PACT

BY CARROLL KENWORTHY  
WASHINGTON, Apr. 18--(UP)--President Truman told news conference Wednesday the United States' idea of a Pacific defense system was modeled on the Atlantic organization for defense of Europe.

Truman said the Secretary of Defense and Mr. Dulles as his special representative in relation to the Japanese peace settlement and related matters to pursue this matter further concurrently with the prosecution of other negotiations necessary to bring the Japanese peace settlement to an early and satisfactory conclusion.

BULLETIN 4

JOHOBU 19.4.51

PRESS STATEMENT BY JOHN FOSTER DULLES APRIL 19, 1951  
TOKYO

PIO PRESS RELEASE, Apr. 19--1130: The President has stated that the United States contemplates a security arrangement with Australia and New Zealand, so that in the event of an armed attack upon any of the three in the Pacific each would act to meet the common danger. This development grows out of conversations which I had in Canberra last February with the Foreign Ministers of Australia and New Zealand. The President's announcement has great significance from the standpoint of Japan. The following points may be noted:

1. The arrangement between the United States, Australia and New Zealand is to be made "in connection with the re-establishment of peace with Japan". Thus it is apparent that all parties contemplate an early Japanese peace settlement on which they can agree.

2. This new step contemplated by the United States refutes the thesis some have advanced that there may be a weakening of the United States determination to resist aggression in the Western Pacific. It is evidence indeed of a determination to solidify the structure of peace by adding a new link to the contemplated security pact with Japan and the existing relationship of common commitment as between the United States and the Philippines.

3. The presently announced program has been worked out with the cooperation of the United Kingdom. This shows that our two countries can and do work together for peace in the Pacific, and it should diminish the fear which some have held that there was a basic cleavage between United Kingdom and United States policy particularly in Asia.

-1130 ht-

BULLETIN 5

JOHOBU 19,4,51

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DULLES PRESS CONFERENCE (APRIL 19, 1951, 11:30, RADIO TOKYO BLDG.)  
(NOT VERBATIM)

HOERFUCHER-UP: Is there a target date for the conclusion of the Japanese peace treaty?

ANSWER: I can only say what I said before that if the terms of the peace treaty are not generally agreed to by this summer, I shall be disappointed.

FARRELOTH-UP: It is reported that the United Kingdom Government has produced a new draft of the Japanese peace treaty. If that is correct, what bearing will it have on the treaty negotiations?

ANSWER: It is correct that the draft was given to us in Washington about a week or ten days ago. The draft embodied ideas on which the Foreign Office has been working for some time. I have not yet studied the draft carefully, but it seems to indicate the thinking of Foreign Office experts over some years. A number of ideas have been put together. It will be carefully considered by the United States. My impression is that it is a normal development which will not retard appreciably the target date. On the contrary, it may accelerate it because most of the ideas are now down on paper.

FRANCKEN-UP: Could you tell us whether the British propose any restrictions which are not in accord with full sovereignty for Japan?

DULLES: I do not feel at liberty to make a disclosure at this time of this document which has handed to us in confidence. The deduction from my statement as well as examination of the document does not indicate that the differences are irreconcilable. Assuming that there is a real desire for a Japanese peace treaty and good will, the differences are not insuperable.

PARROTT, N.Y. TIMES: Have you had any discussions on territorial matters with the Japanese during your present visit?

ANSWER:

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ANSWER: No, none at all. I had a meeting with the Prime Minister yesterday, and this afternoon I shall start meetings with representatives of the principal political parties.

WALKER, Christian Science Monitor: I believe that you met Mr. Matsuzawa on your previous visit. Will you be meeting him again?

DUJES: When, did you say?

WALKER: Ichiro Matsuzawa.

ANSWER: According to my present plan, I will not have time to meet anyone other than the representatives of the principal parties.

SPARKS, Chicago Daily News: I have been requested to have you clarify Nationalist China's participation in the peace treaty negotiations. How will it be worked out over the objections of the United Kingdom?

ANSWER: So far, the United States has been carrying on the negotiations on a diplomatic level and therefore has dealt with the government's with which it has diplomatic relations. In the case of China, only the Nationalist Government is recognized by the United States. Some countries concerned, like the United Kingdom have relations with the Communist government. How the differences are to be resolved has not yet been determined, but I am confident that they are not insuperable obstacles. But I am not now in a position to indicate how they will be resolved.

MIITO, Jiji: Will the United States be paying for the bases it retains in Japan?

ANSWER: There is no intention on the part of the United States to retain bases. As I said when I was here before, the United States is willing to maintain armed forces in and about Japan so that Japan would

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not become a vacuum of power. It is not a question of retention of bases with extraterritorial rights. The arrangement would probably be similar to those with the United Kingdom and member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty group, where individual efforts are combined so that the maximum force may be secured. It does not involve acquisition of bases.

WATANABE, Kyodo: Will you be going to Australia and New Zealand?

ANSWER: No, I am due to leave directly for the United States on the evening of the 23rd.

KAPLAN, Reuter: Do you intend to go to Britain?

ANSWER: I have no plans at present to do so. But it would not be unnatural if I should go at some stage in the negotiations.

HOBERECHT, UP: You indicated that the United States military arrangement with Japan would be similar to the North Atlantic Pact. Do you then contemplate the use of Japanese military units?

ANSWER: There have been no discussions on that subject. The first reason is that under the surrender terms and the directives of the Far Eastern Commission, Japan is not allowed to maintain military establishment. The second reason is that the Japanese Constitution forbids the maintenance of armed forces. But you may recall that when I left Japan on February 11, both Prime Minister Yoshida and myself issued communiques. I said on Feb. 2, that the United States did not extend the benefits of protection of a permanent basis except under the terms of the Vandenberg resolution which refers to continuous self-help and mutual aid. It is not the policy of the United States to give a free ride to any nation by guaranteeing its security except on the basis of reciprocity. Prime Minister

Yoshida

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Yoshida stated that after Japan had fully become a member of the council of free nations, then the question of the extent of Japan's contribution to her own security would be determined in the light of her economic capacity at that time. The matter was left there.

WALKER: With respect to the projected security pact with Australia and New Zealand, are there any plans for other nations to join, such as the Philippines, Indo-China and Malaya?

ANSWER: As pointed out in the President's statement, not only a triangular arrangement is contemplated, but also a bilateral arrangement with Japan. And also there is the present understanding with the Philippines under which the United States is accorded operating rights and facilities in the Philippines. The position is that a series of arrangements, if they go through, will develop with the United States as the common denominator of security with Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines.

WU, PANA: Has there been any final proposal for resolving the Philippines demand for reparations?

ANSWER: There had been no final understanding on that point at the time the draft text of the United States was circulated. That text provided that reparations claims would be deemed satisfied out of assets in Allied countries. A note appended to the draft stated that negotiations on the subject would be carried on with the nations concerned and that there had been no final decision. That is where it still stands. I had a talk with the Philippine Foreign Minister on the subject just before leaving for Japan. There is, however, an increasing area of understanding on the economic limitations on Japan's capacity to pay reparations; but there is no indication as yet that the Philippines have abandoned its reparations claims.

JORDEN, AP: Will the Japanese peace treaty be delayed if a satisfactory Pacific security arrangement has not been concluded?

ANSWER:

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ANSWER: No. It is contemplated that the two will be concurrent and become operative at the same time. Presumably, the peace treaty and the security pact with Australia and New Zealand would go before the Senate at the same time and their ratification would be simultaneous.

JAPANESE REPORTER: Could you comment on whether the Pacific security arrangement is for defense against the Communist forces or is it due to the imaginary fear of a resurgence of Japanese militarism?

ANSWER: As for the United States, the arrangement is primarily concerned with the danger from the Communist-controlled areas on the mainland. It does not consider that Japan is a danger or likely to be a danger unless by some mischance which we do not foresee fall under Communist domination. We do think Japan's position as a democratic state and a member of the free world would be in danger. That is the point of view of the United States. But it is natural that in countries like Australia, which was near invasion and whose Port Darwin was hit in the last war, there should still be fears. When I visited Australia I found that such fears existed. But that is a reaction to the past. I think the future danger will not come from Japan but from the Communist areas.

AMAGUCHI, Asahi: Have you handed the draft of the treaty to the Japanese Government?

ANSWER: Yes. I understand a substantial part of the draft appeared in the press in Japan, but I don't know from what source.

WATANABE: You said that the United States Senate would ratify the peace treaty and the Pacific security arrangement together. Does that mean that the security pact with Japan will come after that?

ANSWER:

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ANSWER: They would come before the Senate at the same time. There might well be three documents before the Senate at the same time: One, the peace treaty; two, the bilateral security pact with Japan, and three, the triangular pact with Australia and New Zealand.

WATKINS: You said that Japan is not in a position to discuss military agreements. Then there would not be enough time to prepare a bilateral pact with Japan for simultaneous ratification.

ANSWER: No. I said that the initial security pact between the United States and Japan would not deal with Japan's contributions to her own security. I pointed out that this initial pact would be a provisional one because the United States cannot agree to a long term agreement except on the basis of self help and mutual aid. The process would presumably be: One, a bilateral treaty under which provisionally help would come only from the United States. It would therefore be only provisional. Two, the discussions on the help Japan would provide for its own self-defense, might well become the basis for a permanent arrangement based on the Vandenberg resolution.

WATKINS: How far have the negotiations for a provisional pact gone?

ANSWER: They are still tentative. About the same as the peace treaty negotiations with Australia and New Zealand.

ROSENBERG: In your talks with Soviet representatives, what have you found to be the primary objections of the Russians?

ANSWER: Insofar as I can infer, the desire of the Russians was that Japan should continue forever to remain totally disarmed and not be allowed to participate in any security pact with any other nation, so that Japan would be a total vacuum of power. I shall leave it to you to guess why the Russians want Japan to be unable to defend herself for her own benefit.

WALKER:

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WALKER: You said that the United States would be the common denominator in the Pacific security arrangement. Can it be presumed that in view of the fact that the United States would guarantee against any attack on Japan, Australia and New Zealand would undertake to help the United States to guarantee Japan's security?

ANSWER: There is no guarantee for Japan involved. It may not be easy for me to make myself clear on the point, but the bilateral pact would provide provisionally for the stationing of United States forces in Japan for de facto protection of that country. As long as United States troops are here, an attack on Japan would involve an attack on United States troops. The United States is not prepared to guarantee Japan's security permanently until it is clear what Japan's own contribution will be. The protection would be de facto, not a legal guarantee. The United States is not willing to undertake that except under the terms of the Vandenberg resolution.

WALKER: Will the triangular arrangement provide for mutual assistance?

ANSWER: According to the President's statement, in the event of any attack on any one of the three, each would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. In the event of an attack on the United States, the others would act.

WALKER: You said that a de facto guarantee arrangement .....

DULLES: I wish you would stop using that word "guarantee." There is no guarantee involved. The arrangement would be like that in Germany. American forces are stationed there. If the Soviets invaded Germany, they would be attacking United States troops.

WALKER:

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WALKER: If Japan were attacked by some external force while United States troops were here, would Australia and New Zealand come to their aid?

ANSWER: An attack on United States forces in Japan, or for that matter in the Philippines, would be deemed an attack on the United States in the Pacific, assuming that this is made clear in the final agreement. But this is my interpretation of the situation as expressed by the President.

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## DULLES MISSION ACTIVITIES (APR. 19)

PIO PRESS RELEASE, Apr. 19, 1975—Ambassador John Foster

Dulles, accompanied by Ambassador Sebald, held a press conference at the Radio Tokyo building at 11:30 a.m. At 1 p.m. Ambassador and Mrs. Dulles lunched with the Australian Ambassador at the Australian Mission. At 3 Mr. Rosaburo Suzuki, Mr. Inejiro Asanuma, Mr. Seichi Kutsamata and Mrs. Kanju Kato of the Socialist Party met with Ambassador Dulles for an hour, followed by Mr. Munetaka Tokugawa, Mr. Sotaro Takase, Mr. Genichiro Date, Mr. Ryutaro Takahashi and Mr. Takashi Komatsu of the Ryokufukai at 4:30.

Ambassador Dulles' appointments for tomorrow include a meeting with the President of the House of Councillors, Mr. Sato, at 11; with the British Charge, Mr. Clinton, at 11:30; with leaders of the Liberal Party at 3, and with leaders of the Democratic Party at 4:30. Ambassador and Mrs. Dulles and members of his Mission will be guests at a dinner in honor of Ambassador and Mrs. Teppema of the Netherlands given by Ambassador and Mrs. Sebald Friday evening.

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## DULLES MISSION ACTIVITIES

PIO PRESS RELEASE, Apr. 20, 1950—Mr. Naotake Sato, President of the House of Councillors, called on Ambassador John Foster Dulles at 11 a.m. at his office in the Mitsui Main building. At 11:30 Ambassador Dulles received the British Charge, Mr. Clutton. At 3, Mr. Shuji Masutani, Mr. Eisaku Satō, Mr. Etsujiro Uehara, Mr. Hidejiro Onoki, Mr. Kenji Nakaguchi and Mr. Ichiro Honda of the Liberal Party met with Ambassador Dulles for an hour, followed by Mr. Takeo Miki, Mr. Giso Tomabechi, Mr. Saburo Chiba and Mr. Takizo Matsumoto of the Democratic Party at 4:30.

Ambassador and Mrs. Dulles and members of his Mission will be guests at a dinner in Honor of Ambassador and Mrs. Teppema of the Netherlands Mission given by Ambassador and Mrs. Sebald this evening.

Ambassador and Mrs. Dulles and Assistant Secretary Johnson will be the guests of General Ridgway at dinner Saturday evening.

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## DULLES MISSION ACTIVITIES (APR. 21)

PIO PRESS RELEASE, Apr. 21, 1950—Ambassador Dulles spent most of the day working with the other members of the Mission on his address to be made before the United Nations Association of Japan on Monday. The Ambassador and Mrs. Dulles and Assistant Secretary Johnson will be the guests of General Ridgway at dinner this evening.

Ambassador and Mrs. Dulles and members of the Mission will be the guests of the British Charge, Mr. Clutton, at lunch tomorrow, and in the evening the entire Mission will dine with the Prime Minister at the Foreign Minister's Official Residence.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS  
 FAR EAST COMMAND  
 Public Information Office

1800  
 22 April 1951

THIS IS A FUTURE RELEASE

The following story is given IN ADVANCE and IN CONFIDENCE for release at 2:30 p.m., Tokyo time, Monday, April 23, 1951;

PEACE WITHOUT FEAR

Address by  
 John Foster Dulles  
 before a Meeting of the  
 United Nations Association of Japan  
 at the Industrial Club, Tokyo  
 April 23, 1951.

The United States, in association with its Allies and in consultation with Japan, is seeking a prompt peace, a just peace, a peace insured by collective power.

These three principles have solid bipartisan support in the United States. If that were not so our Mission would not be here today. The change in the Supreme Command has left United States policies untouched in so far as relates to Japan. That is good news, for policies which depend upon the vicissitudes of individual fortunes are always fragile. Policies which surmount personalities are the policies which are dependable. All the world can now know that our Japanese policies have that quality of dependability and of survival.

Prompt Peace

The fact that the United States is seeking a prompt peace is shown by the energy with which our Government has been moving forward. Our Mission was

BULLETIN A

JOHOBU 23.4.51

2. DULLES SPEECH (was)

established by the President on January 10, 1951. We left for Japan on January 22, 1951. After nearly two weeks of intensive activity here, we went on to the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. We laid the foundation for an Australian-New Zealand-United States security arrangement related to the Japanese peace. My Deputy, Mr. Allison, went to England. We completed the task of drafting, as a working paper, the complete text of a suggested Japanese peace treaty. We circulated that text to the fifteen other governments principally concerned, and we have given personal explanations to fourteen of them.

In all of these matters we have maintained close working relations with our Congress.

We availed of the presence in Washington of the twenty other American States, all belligerents, to explain to them the principles of the Japanese peace we sought.

Within a few hours following the retirement of General MacArthur as Supreme Commander, and after confirming that there was continuing bipartisan support of established policies, we returned to Japan so that the new Supreme Commander, General Ridgway, might be fully informed. He has been informed and already his great ability, tested not only in war but in the counsels of the United Nations, is being dedicated to the attainment of peace.

We have taken advantage of our presence here to inform your Prime Minister and other Japanese political leaders of the progress made, of the obstacles surmounted, and the problems that remain.

The record of the past three months admits of no doubt as to our intention to seek an early peace. It is not necessary, in this respect, to rely upon what we say. You can see what we do.

BULLETIN B

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## 3. DULLES SPEECH (do.)

Just Peace

The peace we seek is a just peace which will promote reconciliation between those who have been enemies. When I spoke in Tokyo last February, we talked of a peace of trust and of opportunity. The treaty terms which we have now tentatively formulated were described in an address made in Los Angeles on March 31. I shall not describe them here again because they are familiar to you. I am confident you have found that our detailed proposals fully conform to what we forecast here. The peace treaty we envisage would in fact restore Japan as a free and equal member of the society of nations.

There is always the temptation to take advantage of a defeated nation's helplessness to impose restrictions of a kind which are not applicable to other sovereign nations. The United States is opposed to that. We are convinced that the welfare of all concerned, the victors as well as the vanquished, will best be served by a peace which will erase the wounds of war, not keep them festering.

General MacArthur, who largely inspired our concept of peace, said that it "brings a new spiritual idea to mankind and evokes a new standard of morality in international relations." That is worth doing. Though the value of that is intangible, it is not, on that account, less real.

Secure Peace

We seek a peace that will be insured by the deterrent of collective power. When I last spoke here on February 24, I referred to the United Nations concept that there should be "effective collective measures for the prevention of threats to the peace." Veto power in the Security Council has prevented the United Nations itself from setting up an effective security force. But the United Nations principle is nevertheless being applied through regional collective security arrangements, which are contemplated by the Charter. In that way there is being built up collective power to deter aggression.

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## 4. DULLES SPEECH (aggression,)

Today the material might to deter aggression resides largely in the United States. But, as we said here before, the United States is prepared to combine its power with that of others in mutual commitments so that the deterrent power that protects us will also protect others. Japan can, if it wishes, share in that protection.

The Obstacle of Fear

Since we have been here, many have asked us about the obstacles that lie in the way of the prompt, just and secure peace we seek. Of course there are obstacles. That is a normal incident of every great achievement. There are, however, no obstacles that seem to be insurmountable except perhaps the obstacle of fear. Fear is a paralyzing, a corroding emotion. It destroys men's capacity to think clearly and it makes them irresolute in action. Fear is a negative rather than a positive force. The most important task, to clear the way for the peace we seek, is to dispel the fears that harass us.

United States Stands Firm in the Pacific

Some seem to fear that the offer of the United States to establish collective security for Japan and for other Pacific areas means little because, they suggest, the power we possess will only be used to protect the members of the North Atlantic Pact, leaving Asia in a position of neglect. That suggestion is wholly without foundation. I do not ask you to believe that merely because I say it. I ask you to consider such indisputable facts as the following:

1. Of the armed forces of the United States which are outside of our homeland, a large part are in Asia.
2. The Far Eastern Air Force has been expanded in numbers and facilities, a fresh United States Army Division has in the last few days arrived in Japan to strengthen the position here while still another is en route.

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## 5. DULLES SPEECH (route.) -

3. The United States stands ready, by bilateral arrangement with Japan, to continue after the peace a screen of protection which could not be breached without placing upon the United States grave responsibilities, which we publicly accept.

4. The United States has, and expects to maintain, armed force at Okinawa, and new construction there is steadily going forward.

5. The United States has in the Philippines military operating rights and facilities pursuant to agreement with that Government, and President Truman only last week has affirmed that an armed attack on the Philippines would be looked upon by the United States as dangerous to its own peace and safety and that it would act accordingly.

6. The United States, as the President further announced last week, is prepared, in connection with re-establishment of peace with Japan, to make an arrangement with Australia and New Zealand providing for common action to meet the common danger inherent in an armed attack upon any of them in the Pacific.

7. The bulk of United States power, and notably its strategic air power, remains, of course, within the United States itself. But there it also serves others. An armed attack upon any of the areas, East or West, where there are such pre-arrangements as I have described, could bring into play this immense retaliatory striking power. That is known, and that knowledge exerts a powerful influence for peace. The Japanese nation can share the security which the United States itself and others derive from the fact that potential aggressors know that they cannot attack without subjecting themselves to the risk of great disaster.

8. Secretary Acheson, speaking in Washington on April 19, in discussing the contemplated arrangements between the United States and Japan for the continued security of Japan, said, "Japan's safety is of vital concern to us both."

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## 6. DULLES SPEECH (both.) -

In the light of all these facts, it is ridiculous to pretend that the collective security which is offered to Japan is illusory.

Fear of Indirect Aggression

Let us turn now to a second cause of fear, the fear that the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik) may not leave Japan alone.

As I pointed out in speaking here last February, international danger has two aspects. There is the danger of direct aggression and also of indirect aggression.

I cannot in honesty say to you that the menace of indirect aggression is illusory. That is a danger that is ever present and all pervading. In every free country of the world there exists, partly in the open but also invariably underground, a Bolshevik organization working to gain political control so as to add that country to the list of those which are subject to the will of international communism. Their avowed goal is to achieve a universal state under the domination of the Soviet Communist Party as the leader of the world proletariat. In their efforts, they accept the direction of the Moscow Politburo as being what they call the "General Staff" of the world proletariat.

This is a danger which, as I say, exists everywhere. It is, however, a danger which, when it is recognized, can be met. That has been proved time after time.

Communism wins its internal victories by using fraud and terrorism to win converts, and by then using these converts first, to break down orderly government and then to seize power through revolutionary effort. Those methods fail utterly when falsehood is met with truth; when secrecy is confronted with exposure; and, above all, when the society is so sound and healthy that there are not mass discontents which furnish Communism with recruits. Confronted by these conditions, the tactics of Bolshevik Communism cannot prevail.

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## 7. DULLES SPEECH (prevail.)

The consequences of Communist conquest are now so demonstrably evil that to abet the conquest is a supreme crime. We see these consequences in China and North Korea. There the Communist rulers, like all true Communists of the Bolshevik school, proclaim and profess loyalty to the Politburo at Moscow, and now the destitute and war-weary peoples of North Korea and China are being fed into the fiery furnace of a war of aggression to gain control of all Korea, an area which has been a strategic objective of Russia since the days of the Czars. The total casualties of North Korean and Communist Chinese forces in Korea between June 25, 1950 and April 17, 1951, are officially estimated by the United Nations Command as being 827,186. This awful sacrifice is so sickening that all peoples in their senses will take the necessary measures so that they will not in turn become victims of Communist despotism and be made to pour out the lives of their youth to promote the fanatical Bolshevik dream of world domination.

The danger is real. It is a danger that confronts every nation in the world, but it is a danger that can be dealt with and which will be dealt by all who see the danger, for the consequences of neglect are disastrous.

The Danger of Direct Aggression

There is, of course, some risk of general war, but I personally doubt that the rulers of Russia now want it. I may be wrong. No one can be certain of what goes on within the dark recesses of the Kremlin. But experience to date indicates that the rulers of Soviet Russia spread fear of general war primarily because that helps the Communist Parties in non-Communist countries to strengthen their position so that they can take over from within.

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## 8. DULLES SPEECH (within.)

I recall that in 1948, the Prime Minister of France told me that the Communist Party within France had been greatly strengthened numerically by rumors that France would be invaded by the Red Armies of Russia. The Communists deliberately spread those rumors and sought to capitalize on the resultant fear by urging membership in the Party as a means of getting safety against liquidation when the Red Armies moved in.

That is standard technique, and I should be surprised if it is not practiced in all other countries within reach of the military power of Russia.

Also I recall the furor that Soviet Russia raised when the North Atlantic Security Pact was made two years ago. The Russian leaders cried to high heaven that this security arrangement constituted in fact an offensive threat and that it involved the United Kingdom and France in violation of their treaties of alliance with Russia. Communists intimated that this might be a cause for war.

Some timid souls were paralyzed with fright and saw, in nightmares, the Red Army marching into Western Europe. Those who were calmer and more experienced saw that the Red Armies would not march on the basis of some legalistic pretext. They saw that it was better to gain strength than to succumb to blackmail which would mean permanent weakness and the living in perpetual fear. So the Atlantic countries went ahead. They made their security pact, they began to implement it, and the Red Armies did not march.

There is always a danger of war when there are ambitious despots who control a great military establishment. That has been so since the beginning of time. However, the evidence to date suggests that the present program for world conquest is primarily the program of the Communist Party, that it is being pursued primarily by methods of indirect aggression and that the fear of direct aggression and armed attack is being spread to frighten the free peoples into a condition which will make them vulnerable to conquest from within.

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## 9. DULLES SPEECH (within)

"Overall" Peace

Those who seek alternatives to collective security are the victims of a great illusion.

Some seek safety in what they call an "overall" peace. That means, I take it, that they do not want peace until it is offered jointly by the free nations and also by Soviet Russia.

It is, of course, highly desirable that the Soviet Union should become a party to the kind of peace we seek for Japan. The United States has sought earnestly to bring that about, and we shall continue to do so. We have been scrupulous to seek to keep in touch with the representatives of the Soviet Union precisely as with the other Allies principally concerned.

For some months, the Soviet Government, through Mr. Yakov Malik, carried on discussions with us. Before coming to Japan last January, I explained to Mr. Malik the exploratory nature of our Mission; that no final decisions would be taken, and that we would discuss the situation with him when we returned. In accordance with that promise, immediately upon our return, we sought to see him to report the good prospects ahead, and to exchange views about future procedure. Thereupon, Mr. Malik, presumably under instructions, announced to the press that he would not "resume negotiation on a Japanese peace treaty." "I do not conduct any discussions with Mr. Dulles on a Japanese peace treaty," he said.

We were not willing to rely on a press announcement on so important a matter. Therefore, we personally approached Mr. Malik to find out whether the press statement must be accepted at its face value. He confirmed that his Government was unwilling to resume our Japanese peace treaty discussions.

Even so, however, we do not accept the rebuff as final. We have submitted our suggested text of treaty to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, and in this way informed the Soviet Government that the United States would appreciate its consideration of the draft and an early expression of its views. We have further informed the Soviet Government that thereafter the Government of the United States would expect again to get in touch

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## 10. DULLES SPEECH (touch)

with the Soviet Government with a view to concerting future procedures.

Our approach has so far elicited no response, and it may be that the Soviet Union intends to disassociate itself from the Japanese peace. If so the reasons will not be hard to find. The Soviet Government talks much of peace but in fact, when peace comes near, they avoid it like the plague. They do so because they desire to deny the reassurance which peace would bring and to keep alive the fear upon which the Bolshevik Communist Party capitalizes in its efforts at indirect aggression.

If that attitude persists, then those who advocate a so-called "overall" peace are, in effect, advocating no peace at all.

"Neutrality" and "Friendship"

There are some who feel that "neutrality" is safer than collective security. Neutrality would, of course, be normal if we were living in a world where aggression was permanently banished. But in a world where there are still aggressors, neutrality is no protection, rather it encourages aggression.

No one has spoken more clearly or eloquently on this point than Stalin himself. Speaking on March 10, 1939, Stalin bitterly reproached what he called "the non-aggressive states, primarily England, France and the United States" because, he said, they "have rejected the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors, and have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of 'neutrality'." That policy, he said, "might be defined as follows: 'Let each country defend itself from the aggressors as it likes and as best it can'...But, actually speaking, the policy of non-intervention means conniving at aggression."

We should all be well advised to remember these words. History is full of examples of how illusory it is to seek security through "neutrality" and pacts of "non-aggression," and of "friendship."

Let us recall the experience of the National Government of China.

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## 11. DULLES SPEECH (China)

As part of the Yalta arrangement of February, 1945, Stalin agreed to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of Friendship and Alliance. Six months later the Soviet Union did in fact make such a pact. The National Government of China, in accordance with the Yalta proposal, agreed to surrender to Russia effective control of Manchuria, Port Arthur and Dairen. But in return, as was stipulated by the Yalta proposal, the Soviet Union made with the National Government of China a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, and solemnly promised that for twenty years, it would "render to China moral support and aid in military supplies and other material resources, such support and aid to be entirely given to the National Government as the central government of China."

A few days later, the Japanese surrender having been concluded, the Russians moved into Manchuria, Port Arthur, Dairen, North Korea, South Sakhalin and the Kuril and Habomai Islands, thus cashing in on a formal belligerency that had lasted six days. In Manchuria they acquired not only Japanese industrial investments but vast amounts of Japanese armament and ammunition dumps. These latter they turned over to the Chinese Red Armies, despite the explicit agreement, they had just made, to give military supplies only to the National Government.

In October, 1949, in another direct violation of its twenty-year treaty of 1945, the Soviet Government withdrew its recognition of the National Government and recognized the Red regime of Mao Tse-tung as the Government of all China.

The lessons are clear. As Stalin said, the only reliable security policy is the policy of collective resistance to aggressors and a policy of neutrality means in fact "conniving at aggression."

#### The Road to Peace

I have spoken of fears in the hope of allaying fear. Fear itself is usually far more dangerous than what is feared, for it destroys the capacity to surmount danger.

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## 12. DULLES SPEECH (danger)

As we have seen, the actual danger that confronts us, the danger of indirect aggression, can be dealt with. The danger of direct aggression is a kind of danger that has been constant in the world as it has existed for thousands of years. There is today much more chance to overcome that type of danger than ever before in the history of mankind. Now, for the first time, there is a possibility of collective measures adequate to assure that victims will not be plucked one by one. Therefore, we can face the future with courage and confidence and act to seek the kind of peace that the nations envisaged when they met at San Francisco and drafted the United Nations Charter which should always be our guide.

#### Collective Security

That Charter, you will recall, rejects the thesis of pacifism that there should be no armament and no resistance to aggression. On the contrary, the Charter imposes upon every member the obligation to stand ready to provide armed forces for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Charter recognizes that there is a right of individual and collective self-defense and that this is what it calls an "inherent right." It recognizes the need for "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace." It contemplates regional arrangements as an agency for peace.

It is in pursuance of those principles that the President of the United States last week outlined his plans for strengthening the fabric of peace in the Pacific Ocean area by a series of steps which initially would include (a) a post-treaty security arrangement between the United States and Japan; (b) the maintenance of armed forces at Okinawa; (c) recognition that an armed attack on the Philippines would be looked upon by the United States as dangerous to its own peace and safety; and (d) the conclusion with the Governments of Australia and New Zealand of an arrangement whereby, in the event of an armed attack upon any of them in the Pacific, each of the three would act to meet the common danger. These measures, he pointed out, were "initial steps" and as Secretary Acheson pointed out the following day, they will not interfere in any way with such broader arrangements as nations in the Pacific area may wish to develop--arrangements which he said would receive the sympathetic interest of the United States.

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## 13. DULLES SPEECH (States)

The series of measures thus outlined, taken in the aggregate, represent major steps in the exercise of regional and collective security rights which are authorized by the United Nations Charter, and which all of the members of the United Nations have by the Charter recognized to be in the interest of peace, security and justice.

Let us also recall that the United Nations Charter, while it recognizes the necessity of there being armed force to resist armed attack, lays down another principle, namely, the principle that "force shall not be used, save in the common interest." This great principle, if given practical expression in arrangements for collective security, automatically gives hope that armed force created for security will not serve to create insecurity. As this principle is embodied in practice, it will mean that individual nations will be less inclined and less able to use national force to promote purely national ambitions. It is a principle which operates against the militarism which neither Japan nor its neighbors want.

Economic Well-Being

Let us also recall Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, which recognizes that stability and well-being are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations and which calls upon the nations to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development.

The leaders and people of Japan are, I know, concerned with their economic problems and that is a natural concern. It is because of the difficulty of the Japanese economic position that the United States stands against imposing such economic burdens and disabilities as would make it improbable that Japan would realize the conditions which the Charter of the United Nations recognizes to be necessary for lasting peace.

If the Japanese conform in public and private trade and commerce to internationally accepted fair practices and if the industry, the aptitude and the ingenuity of the Japanese people are devoted to developing mutually desirable trade and commerce with the rest of the world, that should assure the possibility of a rising economic standard.

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## 14. DULLES SPEECH (standard)

In this connection, it is useful to recall that trade and commerce are apt to flourish where they have the protection of a common security system. If there is concluded between Japan and the United States such a post-treaty security arrangement as the President of the United States has suggested, that in itself will promote the confidence which will encourage business and finance within our two nations to work together in cooperation for mutual advantage.

Human Rights

Let us also recall that the United Nations Charter calls for universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms and for cultural and educational cooperation.

In Japan, human freedom and opportunity have already been vastly enlarged during the Occupation through such measures as women's suffrage, land reform, the organization of labor, the liquidation of militarism and police terrorism, freedom of the press, and, broadly, the giving of sovereignty to the people through a truly representative government. Japan is today one of the nations which are in the forefront of those seeking to conform their conduct to the high ideals enunciated in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

You are eager for cultural and educational cooperation and in this respect, you have much to give, for your people have demonstrated over the centuries the capacity to appreciate and create beauty and culture.

The free world, in turn, welcomes cooperation with Japan in the field of education and culture and our Mission is perhaps unique in the history of peace missions in that one of its members was specifically charged with finding ways to promote cultural and educational cooperation.

CONCLUSION

We stand at a threshold beyond which lies a vista of opportunities that are immense and glorious. The door is not yet open, but we hold in our hands the key. Let not our hand be paralyzed by fears and doubts. Let us dare to use that key to open that door and go forward on the road to peace.

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DULLES STATEMENT UPON RETURN TO U.S.

WASHINGTON, Apr. 25—(UP)—Special Presidential Representative John Foster Dulles returned from Tokyo Tuesday.

The text of the statement issued by Dulles on his return said:

"Our mission returns from a week in Japan. One of our tasks was to inform the new Supreme Commander, General Ridgway, regarding the United States policies and program for a Japanese peace settlement.

This has been done. General Ridgway is quickly mastering the subject and there can be complete confidence that he will deal effectively with the Japanese phase of his new responsibilities. The Japanese themselves are already beginning to appreciate that and they will soon appreciate it fully.

"Another task was to reassure the Japanese nation that the change in the Supreme Commander did not involve a change in the basic policies with which General MacArthur had been particularly identified in Japan. These policies were an early and just Japanese peace settlement, the unwavering will to resist Communist aggression in the Western Pacific and the implementing of that will by deeds to save Japan from being left defenseless upon consummation of a treaty.

"We met with many Japanese political and civic leaders and I made a public address which was widely reported to the Japanese people.

"In such ways we are able to provide a large measure of reassurance and as our nation continues to translate these basic policies into effective action, we are confident the Japanese nation for its part will continue to place confidence in the United States and desire close association with us.

"The third task was to discuss with the Japanese Government the present status of our negotiations for a Japanese peace treaty. We had full exchanges of views with the Prime Minister and his associates. We reported substantial progress made on the obstacles encountered and our program for bringing the peace settlement to an early, successful conclusion.

"In this connection, we also had useful talks with some of the diplomatic representatives in Tokyo of the Allied Powers.

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BULLETIN 2

JOHOBU 25.4.51

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## 2. WASHINGTON UP (Powers.)

"There is unmistakable evidence that the Communist parties of Russia, China and Japan are working intensely and with renewed vigor to spread distrust and fear in Japan and to block the peace settlement on which the hopes of the Japanese people center.

"We return confident their design can be frustrated if the free world acts promptly, unitedly and with enlightened recognition of its community of interest with the peace- and freedom-seeking people of Japan."

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BULLETIN 3

JOHOBU 25.4.51

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情報部 X 号 10 / 97

DULLES BROADCAST -- FULL TEXT

WASHINGTON, March 1--(USIS)--Following is text of address by John Foster Dulles, consultant to Secretary of State Acheson and President Truman's special representative with personal rank of ambassador on his mission to the Far East, over a nationwide network tonight:

Last January the president asked me to head a Japanese peace mission. Our mission has now visited Japan and also the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. We returned this week. We went with many questions in our minds. We come back with answers that give us hope and confidence.

That does not mean that the task ahead is easy. On the contrary, the problems we face in the Pacific are very difficult. It is not merely a matter of liquidating the old war with Japan, but of building a strong bulwark against the threat of communist aggression from the east.

To do that is vital to our own safety. Many seem to think that our safety is linked only to the West, meaning Europe, and that the East can be ignored. Of course Europe is important. But just as the United States would be in peril if Europe were overrun, so also we and Europe would be in peril if the East were overrun. We should never forget that Stalin long ago laid it down as basic communist strategy that "the road to victory over the West" lies through the East. That is still taught in the communist "bible".

The second world war created a vacuum of power in Europe which Stalin had not foreseen and ... unexpected opportunity to move into that vacuum. But military communism has never abandoned its eastern strategy.

Asia

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Asia is where the Soviet communists have pushed most persistently, most violently. They threaten war in Europe, but they practice war in China, Korea, Indochina and Tibet. Today Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Southeast Asia stand between the United States and the vast manpower and natural resources of northeast Asia which are already being exploited by the new Russia imperialism.

In the still free area, that communism has not conquered, Japan occupies a key position. Japan's industrial potential is great and unique in that part of the world. That fact, of course, increases the danger, for Japan's industrial capacity is something that Russia covets. If Japan should succumb to communist aggression, there would be a combination of Russian, Japanese and Chinese power in the east which would be dangerously formidable. Therefore, the FEC nations face the task of turning what was an enemy into a dependable friend and uniting separate and discordant elements into a harmonious whole. That is not easy. But our mission now feels confident that it can be done.

A peace settlement is one essential step in this essential process. Five and one-half years have passed since Japan surrendered unconditionally. During this period she has been occupied by American troops and political authority has been largely exercised through general MacArthur as supreme commander for the Allied powers. The Japanese people have scrupulously and loyally complied with the surrender terms. They have been completely disarmed. They have eliminated the militaristic leaders who caused Japan's downfall and have liquidated the vicious police state system. They have adopted representative government with universal suffrage. They ... freedom of the press. Labor has won, and exercises, the right to organize.

All

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