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...NUSCRIPT OF 81ST MEETING OF
...USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
...ne 1947, at 15... [illegible]

[illegible] I would like to make it quite clear that the American [illegible] in the Soviet [illegible] apparent of the [illegible] ny time [illegible] trips [illegible] and

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Mr. FUNCK: The American Delegation has no objection to that paragraph written in the form in which it is written, and it can be included in paragraph 7. I would suggest that to clarify this issue and make it quite explicit, I offer a new wording for that would be paragraph [illegible] of the completed document: "Representatives of parties [illegible] invited

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to the Soviet Delegation. As a matter of fact, we do not know what effect the figure 5,000 will have. We initially used 1,000 in order to eliminate very small groups, and 5,000 would seem probably a better figure. If the Soviet Delegation wishes some other figure, we would like to consider their recommendation, and if they want to eliminate any figure and leave it wide open, we will accept that, but we believe with the figure the working [illegible] would be quite heavy.

MR. [illegible]: It is my understanding of the Soviet Delegation [illegible] in the consideration of the Joint Commission [illegible] parties and [illegible] in the list, by naming a number of members, this [illegible] Joint Commission [illegible] parties and social [illegible] in consultation with the Joint Commission. [illegible] Delegation believes that then we will be able to [illegible] question of the number of representatives of

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parties and social organizations for consultation with the Joint Commission. If it is in such a proportion that it won't have the interest of the major Democratic parties and social organizations, then it will enable the Joint Commission to consult a great number of democratic parties and social organizations. The Soviet Delegation in objecting to stating such a criteria is afraid that in accepting such a decision, not being aware exactly of the number of parties and the number of members in these parties, we will thus commit a mistake and get into error. Should we now accept a decision in which neither the American Delegation nor the Soviet Delegation is sure of? We appreciate the wish of Mr. Lunce in the 1st Subcommission not to overload the commissioners with work in the future and to create the most favorable conditions for the work of the Joint Commission, but it is better to do it when we will have the full picture. As to point II, the Soviet Delegation considers it expedient to leave that in this document, because it doesn't contradict the conditions set above in the document, neither does it interfere with the work of the third subcommission. We should keep in mind the fact that this document is a program for the work of the whole Commission, and it is the last work of the Commission, when all the work has been completed, then all the points mentioned above are exhausted. When all the points stated in the principles, structure and organization of the provisional Korean Democratic Government have been exhausted through the work of the subcommissions, then the Joint Commission will start the deliberation of recommendations of the personnel composition of the provisional Korean Democratic Government. The Soviet Delegation requests that this point be left without any changes in this document.

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GENERAL BROWN: With reference to the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, that a limit on the political parties, the number of political parties can be determined after the commencement of consultation. The American Delegation cannot agree that the agreements reached in the Joint Decision No. 4 will be changed after that decision is agreed upon. There will be a great deal of pressure brought to bear on the Joint Commission as it performs its work to reconsider various of its decisions. If a limitation is to be placed on political parties and social organizations with which consultation is to be held, it should be done in Joint Decision No. 4.

GENERAL SHTYKOV: I move not to limit the political parties and social organization, the number that was set forth by the American Delegation of 5,000. We should give the right to the political parties and social organizations which signed Declaration No. 5 to present their views and considerations on this question, and then after having presented, as was stated in 7, they present these recommendations in written form and they will be consulted in verbal form by the Joint Commission, as was stated in Form 7. Are there any objections to not including a limitation of 5,000?

GENERAL BROWN: All right leave it wide open.

GENERAL SHTYKOV: That is your opinion as to point 11 being left as it is in this document?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation feels that Paragraph 11 does not belong in this document. It is the opinion of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation in this document is trying to go beyond initial consultation. The American Delegation cannot at this time commit itself to any decision or agreement which extends beyond the problem of consultation. The American Delegation will consider the method of procurement of personnel under recommendations to be prepared by Subcommission No. 3 and submitted at the appropriate time when that phase of the problem arises for consideration of the Joint Commission. Therefore, it considers that Section 11 does not belong in this document. If placed in the document it can have no meaning or will it have any effect. The American Delegation has no strong objection to it remaining in the document if the Soviet Delegation

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so desires.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation moves that this point be left as a clause in this document, because in leaving in this point, we now state a definite order in our work and besides it gives instructions, it contains instructions for the Third Subcommission. Any objections to this point?

GENERAL BROWN: The views of the American Delegation were stated a moment ago. The American Delegation does not at this time permit itself beyond the program of work that has been assigned to the various Subcommissions; that Subcommission No. 3 has been assigned the responsibility of method of securing procurement and personnel for the Provisional Government. Subcommission 1 may collaborate with Subcommission 3 at a later date in recommending certain representatives of political parties be considered for positions--that paragraph has no place in the opinion of the American Delegation in this document. If the Soviet Delegation advises that it remain, the American Delegation has no strong objection.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation moves that the point be left in the document.

GENERAL BROWN: We will leave it in until the whole document comes up for approval.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Your opinion on Point 7.

GENERAL BROWN: It looks to me that it resolves in a very simple way the difficulty which Subcommission 1 has met, and I would suggest that we adopt it.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The foregoing points in this wording, inserted; it may be stated that the Subcommissions are being assigned to deliberate on the basis of the recommendations submitted by parties and social organizations and for consideration, and it shows that it is our task and they are assigned for such job to gather those recommendations and to work, to gather those proposals and to work out their recommendations on the basis of such proposals; and while the proposals worded by Mr. Bunce, it is stated that the representatives are being invited, and for this purpose subcommittees are being created. It is all a matter of wording. And then there is another point in which the

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General says, General Shtikov, the last one--the American proposal would have "either in Seoul or in Pyongyang"; while one point is not enough. It should have two points. It would be inconvenient to have all people gather in Seoul or in Pyongyang.

MR. BUNCE: I would like to say to General Shtikov, that these subcommittees are formed specifically for consultation and that the paragraph regarding elaboration of proposals, subcommissions, and subcommittees is still in there in another paragraph. This is not eliminated, you understand.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We will overload ourselves thus. There will be too many subcommittees. We will ask Mr. Bunce and Mr. Tounkin this question: to spend some time in this section of work because we have a poor understanding of this point--the number of subcommittees.

MR. TOUNKIN: The wording of the words of this paragraph.

GENERAL BROWN: Do you think you could get an agreement on it now?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We first must have the wording done.

MR. BUNCE: If the Soviet Delegation consents, the principle which I stated in the beginning, that we will consult orally and permit ourselves to consult with all these representatives. Then I think there is no doubt we can work it out in a satisfactory way; but we will not accept any wording which will not permit us to consult orally with all these representatives.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation believes that once a political party and social organization has submitted their proposals, in answer to the specific questions of the questionnaire, certainly they must be given a fair hearing, because a person has to state his opinion and add or make recommendations in oral form and to see that declaration of opinion in this. The only thing to object to in that is the additional subcommittees.

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GENERAL BROWN: In view of the delay that has occurred, the Chief of the American Delegation suggests that Subcommission No. 1 be asked to prepare for the Joint Commission the work, a complete decision form and to present it to the Joint Commission at one-thirty tomorrow afternoon, in order that work may start on printing the papers that must be distributed, and that this must materialize Monday morning and we can get these papers out next week.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

31st Joint Commission Meeting adjourned at 1645, 6 June 1947.

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Capt. Byrne

TRANSCRIPT OF THIRTY-SECOND MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
7 June 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL BROWN: First order of business today is approval of the minutes of the prior meeting. The Secretary requests a few minutes to compare English and Russian versions. With approval of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation we will proceed to the second order of business first.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

GENERAL BROWN: The report of Subcommission I, Dr. Bunce, Acting Chairman for the week.

DR. BUNCE: Gentlemen, this is the first time in the history of the Joint Commission that Subcommission I has ever reached an agreement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There is such a Russian proverb that is "All that is hard to start, then it will go on easier."

DR. BUNCE: Subcommission I has reached a general agreement on the total document called "The Order of Consultation with Korean Democratic Parties and Social Organizations in Northern and Southern Korea". There are a very few minor changes which should be discussed by the Joint Commission. The first change that we should discuss is in paragraph 1 regarding the wording of the English translation of the text of General Chistiakov's letter and the Russian Delegation pointed out that the English translation "actively voicing" and the words "voice opposition" in paragraph 2 point 2 are not accurate translations and that these words should be replaced by "active opposition" and by "actively opposed". The American Delegation wishes to have the most accurate translation possible to the Russian phrase.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have such a proposal to make, inasmuch as this question is not a question that should be discussed here in our session of the Joint Commission I move that this question be taken up by our translators, that they consult dictionaries and give an accurate translation - that this work be made the responsibility of Mr. Bunce and Mr. Tounkin for the final decision.

GENERAL BROWN: That is agreed.

DR. BUNCE: The only other question that has not been completely resolved is the question of the date. On page 4 in paragraph 3 under b, "Applications for participation in consultation shall be submitted to the Joint Commission Seoul or Pyongyang by 20 June 1947", the American Delegation would like to make that the 25th of June.

GENERAL BROWN: The reason for that suggested change is that even with the best progress, assuming that work can start promptly Monday morning, on reproducing the necessary papers, the best progress that can be anticipated will be that these papers will be ready for distribution Wednesday or Thursday of the coming week, that is the 14th or 15th. If we leave the date the 20th, it will give six days and might even allow a shorter time if the reproduction was delayed. There are a few organizations which are not centered in Seoul and those papers will have to go to those organizations in the provinces. It seems preferable to give at least ten days rather than six days for that work to be performed.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It would be better to have this document published not later than June 10 so that we have all these signed declarations presented by June 20, thusly we have five days for the compilation of the list necessary for the initial consultation with democratic parties and social organizations. If we accept this proposal made by the American Delegation to give more days, thus we will have a shift in all of the dates stated in our

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document and besides we won't have time to fulfill our commitments and won't keep the time set for the Commission. We should not forget that in July the Commission will have a lot of work and it may also mean night work. Mr. Bunce and Mr. Tounkin have already such an experience of night work. They have already shown the experiment of working in the night and I am afraid we will also have to work in the night time. The Soviet Delegation has considered the question of sending one person, as soon as the document is finally worked out, to the North so that he can gather there the signed declaration thus it will expedite the work of the Joint Commission. Now I would like to know whether our Secretary will be able to make out the final translation today and tomorrow so that on June 10 it may be published.

GENERAL BROWN: It is not a question of translation, it is a question of printing. These forms must be printed in large numbers for distribution. The document itself must be reproduced and then the declaration and Joint Decision No. 5 and Joint Decision No. 6 must all be translated and reproduced and printed. Arrangements have been made with the printing press in the South Korea government to print these forms. They cannot start printing them before Monday or Tuesday. I do not know how rapidly they will be able to print them. The change in that date will not change any other date. The American Delegation sees no reason why any other date should be changed. It will simply give four or five more days for the time for application for consultation to come in. The questionnaire will go out at the same time as application, so the time limit fixed for the questionnaire to come in is perfectly satisfactory. It is simply a question of submission of the applications. Dr. Bunce has pointed out that in paragraph 6 on page 4 a meeting is provided in Seoul on the 25th. In order not to delay that meeting the American Delegation will suggest that instead of requiring the declaration be submitted by June 25, make that June 21. That will set a date that will not then

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require any other date to be changed.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: OK.

DR. BUNCE: I suggest that I read each paragraph in English and Mr. Tounkin then read it in Russian and that we approve the document paragraph by paragraph. There is one other question before we start that Mr. Tounkin reminded me of which we have not finally agreed on - it is a question of whether oral consultation will be held in both Seoul and Pyongyang or whether it will be more desirable to have all oral consultations in Seoul.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Inasmuch as we will have special subcommittees for this purpose, these subcommittees may for the sake of consultation go to Pyongyang when they are needed or to consult representatives here.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief of the American Delegation feels that the hunting season may start before we get through and he would like to hunt north of the 38.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: According to our plan, June 30 we will be in Pyongyang.

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DR. BUNCE: Paragraph 1. In consulting with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, the Joint Commission shall be guided by the conditions stated in the letter of Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. V. M. Molotov, of 7 May 1947, and accepted by the Secretary of State of the U.S.A. George C. Marshall in his letter of 13 May 1947. The appropriate quotation from the letter of Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov is given below:

"The Soviet Commander in his letter of Nov. 26, 1946, advanced the following proposals as a basis for the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission:

1. The Joint Commission must consult those democratic parties and organizations which uphold fully the Moscow Decision on Korea.

2. Parties or social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission must not nominate for consultation those representatives who have compromised themselves by active (actively voicing) opposition to the Moscow Decision.

3. Parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission must not and will not actively oppose (voice opposition) nor will they incite others to actively oppose (voice opposition to) the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. If such be the case, such parties and social organizations by mutual agreement of both delegations will be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission.

The American Commander in his letter of Dec. 24, 1946, agreed to accept these proposals of the Soviet Commander with the following changes as the basis for the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission:

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"Proposal Number 1 to be interpreted as follows:

"Signing the declaration in Communique Number 5 will be accepted as declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation.

"Proposal Number 2. I consider it the right of a declarant party or organization to appoint the representative which it believes will best present to the Joint Commission its views on the implementation of the Moscow Decision.

"However, should such representative for good reason be believed to be antagonistic to the implementation of the Moscow Decision or to either of the Allied Powers, the Joint Commission may, after mutual agreement, require the declarant party to name a substitute spokesman.

"Proposal Number 3. It is suggested that it be reworded as follows: Individuals, parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission should not after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision.

"Those individuals, parties and social organizations which after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 do foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision shall be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission.

"The decision excluding such individuals, parties and social organizations shall be by agreement of the Joint Commission."

"With a view to expediting the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission and the creation of a temporary Korean democratic government, I am prepared to accept the amendments

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set forth above proposed by the American Commander."

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 1, subsequent to adoption of the words in General Chistiakov's letter, be adopted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCE: Paragraph 2. The Joint Commission will consult with Korean democratic parties and social organizations which are truly democratic in their aims and methods and which will subscribe to the following declaration:

"We _____ declare that we will uphold the aims of the Moscow Decision on Korea as stated in paragraph 1 of this decision, namely:

> 'The reestablishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles, and, the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea.'

"Further, we will abide by the decisions of the Joint Commission in its fulfillment of paragraph 2 of the Moscow Decision in the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government;

"Further, we will cooperate with the Joint Commission in working out by it with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government, of proposals concerning measures foreseen by paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision.

Signed _____

Representing the _____ Party or Organization."

GENERAL BROWN: I move that paragraph 2 be adopted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCE: Paragraph 3. Democratic parties and social organizations of northern and southern Korea are hereby invited to submit their applications for participation in consultation

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with the Joint Commission. Every party and organization must submit only one application through its central zonal organ.

The application should be accompanied by a text of the declaration given in paragraph 2 above, duly signed and sealed with the seal of its central organ and also signed by the designated representative. The application shall contain the following information:

a. The full name of the party or organization, the address of its central office, the date of establishment, the number membership and location of branches, and total membership.

b. The full name of a designated representative given in Chinese characters and, where possible, in English and Russian transliteration, the place and date of birth, position held in the party or organization and home address.

Applications for participation in consultation shall be submitted to the Joint Commission, Duk Soo Palace, Seoul or (address) Pyongyang by 23 June 1945.

DR. HUNCE: We need an address in Pyongyang.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There is a place where our representatives work but we do not know the name of the street.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 3 subject to the insertion of the street address in Pyongyang.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. HUNCE: Paragraph 4. Democratic parties and social organizations of Northern and Southern Koreа which have signed the declaration contained in paragraph 2 may submit to the Joint Commission in written form their considerations regarding the structure and principles of organization of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also the political platform for this Government, in accordance with a questionnaire approved by the

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Commission. This questionnaire shall be published in the press and printed copies will be available at the Joint Commission headquarters, Duk Soo Palace, Seoul and (address) Pyongyang.

The aforementioned considerations shall be submitted to the Joint Commission at the above addresses by 1 July 1947.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 4.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCE: Paragraph 5. Subcommission No. 1, upon receiving the applications for consultation, shall compile a list of all democratic parties and social organizations and their designated representatives of North and South Korea which have signed the declaration in paragraph 2.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 5.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCE: Following the approval by the Joint Commission of the list of democratic parties and social organizations and their representatives, mentioned in paragraph 5, the Joint Commission shall convene in Seoul on 25 June 1947 a joint meeting to which it shall invite the above mentioned representatives of parties and social organizations in South Korea. A similar meeting of representatives of parties and social organizations in North Korea shall take place in Pyongyang on 30 June 1947. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation shall preside over the meeting in Seoul, and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation shall preside at the meeting in Pyongyang. At such meetings the Chief of the Delegation in whose zone the assembly is being held will present a statement elaborated by the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 6.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCE: Paragraph 7. Representatives of parties and social organizations of both Northern and Southern Korea which are included in the list referred to in paragraph 5 above will be

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invited to individual oral consultation regarding the structure and principles of organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also regarding the political platform for this Government. For this purpose the Joint Commission will appoint the necessary number of subcommittees and shall notify each representative of the time and place he is to appear for consultation.

Oral consultation shall commence on 5 July 1947 and take place in Seoul and Pyongyang.

GENERAL BROWN: I move that paragraph 7 be adopted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCE: Paragraph 8. The Joint Commission will present the considerations and proposals received from the Korean democratic parties and social organizations of North as well as South Korea for study and elaboration of coordinated proposals to the corresponding subcommissions which will create, for this purpose, the necessary number of subcommittees. Advisors, experts and technical personnel for the work in the Joint subcommissions and subcommittees will be appointed by the heads of the corresponding delegations.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 8.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCE: Paragraph 9. For the purpose of consultation and aiding the Joint Commission in elaboration of recommendations regarding the structure and principles of organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and of the local organs of authority (Provisional Charter), and also the political platform for this government, representatives of parties and social organizations shall be invited from among parties and organizations included in the list mentioned in paragraph 5.

The number of such representatives of various parties and organizations shall be determined by the Joint Commission

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in accordance with their membership and, as far as possible, taking into account their influence.

The Joint Commission shall convene joint meetings with such representatives and may also call upon them to take part in the elaboration of recommendations by subcommissions and subcommittees. The time and the agenda of the joint sessions of the Joint Commission with such representatives will be approved by the Chief Commissioners.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 9.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCH: Paragraph 10. Democratic parties and social organizations of both northern and southern Korea shall have equal rights and opportunities in consultation with the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 10.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCH: Paragraph 11. The coordinated proposals elaborated by the subcommissions shall be submitted for consideration to the Joint Commission which shall examine such proposals and shall grant its provisional approval. Following this the Joint Commission shall appoint a drafting commission to which it shall give the necessary instructions regarding the compilation of the final text of the recommendations concerning the structure and principles of organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also the political platform for this government. The texts of recommendations elaborated by the drafting commission shall be approved by the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 11.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

DR. BUNCH: Paragraph 12. Following the approval of the texts of recommendations submitted by the drafting commission, the

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Joint Commission shall proceed with elaboration of recommendations regarding the personnel of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of paragraph 12.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

GENERAL BROWN: I move the adoption of the entire paper as has been approved, paragraph by paragraph.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We express our greatest gratitude of the Subcommission for the successful work they have done.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief of the American Delegation joins with the Chief of the Soviet Delegation in expressing gratitude to the Chairmen and other members of the Subcommission. May they continue this good work without let-up. Are the minutes ready, Colonel Edwards?

COLONEL EDWARDS: The minutes are not ready.

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GENERAL BROWN: The Chairman proposes to move for final approval of Joint Decision No. 6. The Joint Commission has accepted this document except paragraph 2 and 3. The American Delegation proposes that paragraph 2 be accepted deleting the words "and pro-Japanese elements".

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that paragraph 2 and 3 be left as they were written in this document, to approve the entire document and consider we have another document approved.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation moves that paragraph 2 be reworded as follows: Paragraph 2 to read:

"The elimination of Japanese influence

a. What measures should be undertaken for the elimination of the evil consequences of the long Japanese domination in Korea.

b. What measures should be taken by the Korean Provisional Democratic Government to classify and punish those Koreans who collaborated with the Japanese to the detriment of Korea and Koreans."

Subparagraph 3, the American Delegation proposes the elimination of the word "reactionary". That paragraph would then read:

"How should excessive private concentration of economic or political power and the activity of anti-democratic elements and elements attempting to undermine the Korean Provisional Government be prevented."

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I suggest a recess of twenty minutes.

The Commission recessed at 1435.

Meeting resumed at 1455.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has considered proposal submitted by the American Delegation and moves that in order that the work of the Joint Commission not be delayed to accept all points of the proposal - to leave paragraph 3 without any changes, to adopt the whole document.

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GENERAL BROWN: In order not to waste further time, the American Delegation will agree to that proposal. The Chairman moves the adoption of Joint Decision No. 6 with the agreed changes.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: All right.

GENERAL BROWN: The next order of business is the matter of the minutes of the last meeting which I think are ready.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We wish to congratulate the heads of Subcommission II, General Beckerling and General Lebedeff.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief of the American Delegation joins with the Chief of the Soviet Delegation in congratulations.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Saturday is a lucky day.

GENERAL BROWN: There is a lucky day coming up next week, the 13th. The Chairman very gladly turns over the Chairmanship Monday to the Chief of the Russian Delegation and will await his pleasure as to the next meeting.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We must decide on the date of the next session. I think we should not have a session on Monday -- it will depend on Subcommission III meeting - they will have a session Monday. I am afraid the Subcommission will be delinquent.

GENERAL BROWN: Is there any further business for today?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We will assign the work on joint communique.

GENERAL BROWN: Capt. Phillips, what is the status of the communique.

CAPT. PHILLIPS: It will be ready this evening. We will get to work on it right away.

GENERAL BROWN: Will you have it by 5:00 o'clock?

CAPT. PHILLIPS: Yes, sir, I think so.

GENERAL BROWN: The American draft of communique will be prepared by 5:00 o'clock today. If there is someone we could contact could we have by tomorrow morning.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Communique will state the subcommission work and that they worked out a decision.

GENERAL BROWN: Agreed.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then that is all.

GENERAL BROWN: The meeting will adjourn.

The meeting adjourned at 1500.

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TRANSCRIPT OF 33RD MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
11 June 1947 at 1030 hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV

GENERAL SHTIKOV; What are the comments on the agenda?

GENERAL BROWN: It is suggested that item 3 be considered ahead of item 2.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Are the minutes ready?

GENERAL BROWN: Yes.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Let us start on the consideration of Point 3. I propose that the draft decision which was prepared by the Secretariat be read. I propose that both points be read at the same time--first the Russian and then the English and that they be adopted.

COLONEL EDWARDS: (Reads proposed decision as follows)

"1. Release of Joint Communique No. 11 will be made at such time as to permit its appearing in the Korean press on 12th June, 1947.

"2. Distribution of instructions and questionnaires will be made by the Soviet in North Korea and by the U.S. in South Korea in accordance with theinstructions of Joint Commission Decision No. 4 (Revised), as elaborated in Joint Communique No. 11 beginning on 12th June 1947.

"3. An announcement will be made in the newspapers of North and South Korea that political parties and social organizations should send their answers to the questionnaire in duplicate. These answers will be transmitted to the Secretariats of the American and Soviet Delegations. The first to receive these answers in South Korea willbe the representative of the American Secretariat, who after the registration of these documents will distribute them between the American and Soviet Secretariats.

"The first to receive these answers in North Korea will be the representative of the Soviet Secretariat, who also after similar registration will distribute these answers between the Soviet andAmerican Secretariats.

"4. There will be arepresentative of the Soviet Delegation in Pyongyang, who, as the documents are received by him from political parties and social organizations, will forward them to Seoul.

"5. To insure identical Russian and English translations of the documents sent in by the Korean parties, an exchange of Russian and English translations should be establishedin the Secretariat."

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments on this?

GENERAL BROWN: Move the adoption of it.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I propose that instead of the word "instructions" we put "in compliance with the decision of the Joint Commission of June 7".

GENERAL BROWN: Where is that?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In the third line of paragraph 2. We should not call it a revised document. We should call it a ddeision andshow that it is an entirely new document. It would be wrong to call it a revised document as that would minimize its importance. I propose that this document be adopted in full after corrections are made.

Second point, approval of minutes.

GENERAL BROWN: Approved.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Third point is the report of Subcommission 3 on their work.

Mr. Balasanov has the floor.

MR. BALASANOV: Subcommission No. 3 found it necessary during the process of its work to make a study of the structure, functions and personnel of legislative, executive, and judicial authority existing in North and South Korea. Proceeding from this necessity, Subcommission 3 came to an agreement to exchange information on these questions. The document which was worked out by the Subcommission was fully agreed upon, and also the questionnaire, according to which the material will be furnished. Has Mr. Joyner any additions?

MR. JOYNER: I agree to the remarks of Mr. Balasanov.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Here I have an example for the restof the subcommissions. It is the first report with no stalemate.

GENERAL BROWN: I move that we put it at the head of the class.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Are there no comments:

GENERAL BROWN: No comments. The American Delegation concurs with the work submitted by Subcommission 3.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then we will adopt this document--approved it?

GENERAL BROWN: Recommend approval.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This document is being aproved. Inasmuch as we have no further questions as to what should be discussed, we will agree that the heads will determine the next session.

THE Commission adjourned at1150 hours.

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TRANSCRIPT FO THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
18 June 1947 at 1330 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL BROWN: Before proceeding with the meeting today, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation would like to introduce to the Soviet Delegation two new members of the Joint Commission. Career Minister Joseph E. Jacobs of the U. S. State Departmen is replacing Mr. William R. Langdon of the U. S. State Department who is being released to devote his entire time to his duties as American Consul. The other member of the American Delegation is Mr. Owen T. Jones of the U. S. State Department, replacing Mr. Calvin N. Joyner of the U. S. War Department. Mr. Joyner is being released to take up his work with the Military Government of South Korea. Mr. Jones will take over the duties as Chairman of Subcommission III. General Weckerling is absent sick.

The Chairman has the minutes of the 30th and 31st meetings which are ready for signature. Signature of these minutes brings the Joint Commission up to today's meeting on the minutes. The Chairman is wrong, we have two sets that will be ready before this meeting adjourns, those of the 32nd and 33rd.

Colonel Edwards, Secretary of the American Delegation, will be requested to submit a preliminary report on the arrangements for the meeting of 25 June with representatives of political parties and social organizations of South Korea.

COLONEL EDWARDS: The American Secretariat has made a study of the arrangements required for the open meeting and has secured the Legislative Hall in the Capitol Building for the meeting which is scheduled to be held at 1330 on 25 June. We have prepared a

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rough sketch of the arrangement within this room to provide for boeth delegations, the press and invited guests which we are ready to present for comment or concurrence of the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: The hall is the Throne Room at the Capitol Building. It is now used by the Interim Legislative Assembly of South Korea. It will seat on the ground floor approximately 300 persons. There is a raised platform now used as a speakers platform at the North end of the room which is shown on the sketch. It is the intention to seat the Chief Commissioners of the two delegations on that platform, to seat the respective delegations as shown below the platform, to seat the representatives of political parties and social organizations on the main floor and to use the gallery space to accomodate such guests as may be invited to attend the meeting. The galleries will accommodate up to 200 guests. Those members of the press, American and Korean, who attend will be accommodated in the wings on the ground floor, or if they desire to take photographs, in the balcony. The Chairman of the American Delegation moves the adoption of the Assembly Hall as the place in which the meeting will be held.

Dr. Bunce has called attention to the fact it is not the Throne Room. It is the General Assembly room. The Throne Room is another room on the next floor.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then the Throne Room will be left as a museum?

GENERAL BROWN: We do not know yet what the ultimate use of the Throne Room will be.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We move the adoption of this proposal.

GENERAL BROWN: Subcommission I has prepared a tentative program of the meeting. Dr. Bunce, the Chairman for this week, is requested to present the proposal.

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DR. BUNCE: Subcommission I reached an agreement on an agena for the meeting of the delegates on June 25 in the following order.

1. Open the meeting with the three national anthems, the Korean anthem will be played first, U. S. second, and USSR anthem third, in Seoul. In Pyongyang the Korean anthem first, USSR anthem second, and USA third.

2. General Shtikov will open the meeting and introduce General Brown.

3. General Brown will deliver his speech in English, it will bhen be translated into Korean and then into Russian.

4. General Shtikov will then invite the candidates to come forward and meet the two commissioners. While this is proceeding the orchestra will play music. Does Mr. Tounkin have any corrections?

MR. TOUNKIN: No comments.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The General moves this proposal be accepted. The first Subcommission has progressed.

GENERAL BROWN: The Subcommission is doing extremely well. We both congratulate them. Dr. Bunce, chairman for the week for Subcommission I is asked to present an agreement reached in the Subcommission concerning the preparation of the lists of political parties and social organizations to be consulted.

DR. BUNCE: This agreement was reached in consultation with the Secretaries and is simply a matter of administrative handling of the material which will come in.

ORDER OF COMPILATION OF THE LIST OF PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS.

1. The applications for participation in consultation and signed copies of the declaration which are received by the representative of the American Secretariat in Seoul from the parties

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and organizations of South Korea shall be transmitted without delay as a copy or a translation to the Soviet Secretariat. The above mentioned documents received from the parties and organizations of Northern Korea by the representative of the Soviet Secretariat in Pyongyang shall be transmitted in the same manner to the American Secretariat.

2. The information submitted by the parties and organizations, after translation will be forwarded by the Secretariats to the respective chairmen of Subcommission No. 1. On the basis of the aforementioned information, there shall be compiled a complete list of parties and organizations which have applied for consultation, and a separate list of their designated representatives.

3. The list of parties and organizations which had signed the declaration, as well as the list of their representatives, shall be discussed in Subcommission No. 1, and following agreement will be submitted for approval to the Joint Commission.

4. Following the approval of the list, the Joint Commission shall send to the parties and organizations included in the list notification of having been admitted to consultation, and also extend an invitation to their representatives to attend the joint meeting.

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GENERAL BROWN: I move the approval of the Administrative agreement

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree that this administrative handling be approved.

GENERAL BROWN: The next item on the agenda is the consideration of the speech to be delivered in Seoul by the Cheif of the American Delegation and in Pyongyang by the Cheif Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to the representatives of political parties and social organizations. This speech has been prepared by the Soviet member of Subcommission No. 1, and a parallel speech by the American member of Subcommission No. 1, the speeches are similar in substance, but the wording differs slightly, and it will be necessary for these subcommissions to come to final agreement on the wording. The Chief of Subcommission No. 1, chairman for the week Dr. Bunce, will be asked to present more fully a report on this matter.

DR. BUNCE: The main reason we have not been able to reach agreement on the speech has been a lack of time to resolve differences and have accurate translations made. As General Brown pointed out, the contents of the two speeches are very similar. My suggestion that General Brown give the speech we have prepared, in Seoul, and that General Shtikov give the speech that Mr. Tounkin has prepared, in Pyongyang, was not acceptable to Mr. Tounkin, and we have agreed to try and harmonize these two speeches so that we can have a uniform speech, the same speech, delivered in both places. I believe this can be done by putting into the Soviet text part of the American version and that we can reach agreement rather rapidly. I would suggest that the speech be subject to the approval of the two chief commissioners when agreement has been reached in the subcommission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: That is just exactly what I wanted to propose, and I move that this proposal be adopted.

GENERAL BROWN: Agreed. For the information of the Soviet Delegation, representatives of 266 political parties and social organizations have picked up copies of Joint Decision No. 4 as of this date. The

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total enrollment claimed by these 266 political parties and social organizations exceeds forty million. I wonder if the Chief of the Societ Delegation can add anything to this forty million from those who have picked up Joint Decision No. 4 in North Korea?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I believe that they won't exceed the number of the population that is there, which is eleven million.

GENERAL BROWN: Has the Chief of the Soviet Delegation any information yet as to the number who have applied in North Korea?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Right now there is no definite information, but tomorrow General Lebedeff will arrive, and there will be something more definite;; that is, the 19th of June, tomorrow. To date he has just been doing the work of accepting the signed declarations from th political parties and social organizations. There is a Russian song--"What Does the Coming Day Hold for Us".

GENERAL BROWN: Joint Bulletin No. 5 has been prepared for release after this meetig. I will read the bulletin: "The 34th meeting of the US-USSR Joint Commission, presided over by Maj. General Albert E. Brown was held at 1330, 18 June 1947. The first matter to come before the Commission was the final arrangements for the initial meeting of representatives of the Korean Democratic Parties and Social Organizations on 25 June 1947. The meeting will be held in the Legislative Hall of the Korean Interim Legislative Assembly under the chairmanship of Col. General T. F. Shtikov. Major General Albert E. Brown will address the Assembly representatives on behalf of the Joint Commission. The purpose of the meeting will be to outline to the representatives of the Democratic Parties and Social Organizations the historical significance of the consultation and its objectives. Only those Democratic Parties and Social Organizations who have applied for consultation and signed the declaration contained in Communique #5 by 23 June 1947 will be invited to the meetig on the 25th of June 1947. A similar meetig will be held at (blank) in Pyongyang. General Brown will be the chairman, and General Shtikov will address the representatives of the Democratic Parties and Social Organizations of North Korea. The next meeting

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of the Joint Commission will be held (blank)."

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that the paragraph before last be brought into conformity with point 4 of the accepted Decision. It is better that this paragraph be omitted because the document that was published contained the data. The order of proposals has been adopted today and the rest accepted.

GENERAL BROWN: I move that we leave that paragraph in, deleting the words "contained in Communique #5". The reason for that is simply a warning to everyone who attends the meeting on 25 June that they must sign and present the declaration by 23 June to be admitted to that meeting.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Do we have to needle up these people?

GENERAL BROWN: They all know it, but we have to keep reminding them of it.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I believe that this paragraph may be deleted, because all the parties and social organizations have been informed that they must present this information already. We should do it in order that they shall take care of themselves and not have us taking care of them. Otherwise we will have another 100 of them added, and then we will have not 260, but 360.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no great objection to omitting that because we will publish it in a separate statement, if the Soviet Delegation wishes to take it out of this bulletin.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then it is so.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no further business to offer today. The American Delegation has no need which it sees at this time for a further meeting this week. General Shtikov, who will take over the chairmanship Monday, should call the next meeting.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: That is accepted.

GENERAL BROWN: Since there is no further business we stand adjourned.

The meeting adjourned at 1415 hours.

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Meeting w/Representatives
of Parties
and Organizations

The Capital
Seoul, Korea

25 June 1947

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TRANSCRIPT OF 36TH MEETING US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Pyongyang, Korea
1 July 1947-1400 Hours

GENERAL BROWN: I hereby open this meeting of the Joint American-Soviet Commission with representatives of democratic parties and social organizations of Northern Korea. I give the floor to the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation of the U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission, Col. General Shtikov, who will present a statement on the aims and procedures of oral consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: (See attached speech)

GENERAL BROWN: I hereby close this meeting of the Joint Commission with representatives of democratic parties and social organizations, and now I invite the representatives of democratic parties and social organizations who are present at this meeting to meet the Chief Commissioners of the Soviet and American Delegations.

Meeting was adjourned at 1445 hours, 1 July 1947.

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Transcript of 37th Meeting
of US - USSR Joint Commission
1400 hours, 2 July 1947
Pyongyang, Korea

Chairman - General Brown

GENERAL BROWN: The meeting will come to order. Colonel Lincoln of the American Delegation is absent sick. The first order of business is the approval of lists of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission. I will ask Dr. Bunce, the Acting Chairman of Subcommission No. 1 for the week, to make a brief statement and then pass to Mr. Tounkin, Chairman of Subcommission No. 1 for the previous week, to elaborate on this statement.

DR. BUNCE: Subcommission No. 1 followed its instructions in paragraph 5 of Joint Decision No. 12 and compiled a list of all democratic parties and social organizations and the lists of their representatives of both North and South Korea. These parties and organizations have signed the declaration stated in paragraph 2of Joint Decision No. 12 and have applied for consultation with the Joint Commission under the terms agreed upon by the Joint Commission and set forth and published in Joint Commission. These lists are available both in English and in Russian. Mr. Tounkin, however, has several objections to parties and organizations included in the list and since he was Chairman last week we now call upon him to state to the Joint Commission these objections.

MR. TOUNKIN: Subcommission No. 1, in compliance with the decision of the Joint Commission, No. 16, concerning the order of compilation of parties and social organizations, compiled preliminary lists of parties and organizations which have signed the declaration and proceeded with the discussion of this list so that this list may

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be submitted to the Joint Commission and have this list of democratic parties and social organizations approved by them. To have the Joint Commission present an agreed list of parties and social organizations in the process of discussion of the preliminary list, naturally a question arose concerning parties and organizations out of those who have signed the declaration and should be included into the list in compliance with the Moscow Decision and Decision No. 12. When we were getting acquainted with this preliminary list, it turned out that a whole number of organizations which had submitted applications are not social organizations, but commercial organizations. Inasmuch, in compliance with the Moscow Decision, the Joint Commission has to consult with democratic parties and social organizations, I suggested that these organizations not be included in the list. I suggested that organizations which are not social organizations be not included into the list. My proposal was given concrete consideration. There was a proposal--a concrete proposal not to include into the list and to accept decisions on the inclusion into the list those who would be acknowledged by us to be social organizations. I made a proposal not to include into the list organizations of a lower nature. Inasmuch as according to the Moscow Decision and Decision No. 12, the Commission should not consult lower and insignificant organizations. In the Joint Decision No. 12 of the Joint Commission it is stated that organizations submit their application through their zonal central organs. That is why the Soviet Delegation proposed not to include into the list district organizations and other narrow local organizations of a narrow nature. Further on the Soviet side proposed that the parties and social organizations which had been created for the struggle against the Moscow Decision and those who are part of these organizations may be allowed for consultation on the

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terms if they state about their decision to leave this organization--in particular, The Committee of Struggle Against Anti-Trusteeship was meant. This committee was carrying out, and has been still carrying out, struggle against the Moscow Decision. In having submitted this proposal, the Soviet Delegation proposes that inasmuch as the signature of the declaration is considered as a goodwill to fill out wholly the Moscow Decision, the membership in such kind of organization is inconsistent with these obligations. Inasmuch as divergent views have arisen on the exclusion from the list of several parties and organizations, in order not to delay the beginning of consultation, the Soviet Delegation suggests to approve the list of parties and organizations concerning which there is no difference of opinion so that we may begin consultation with these parties and social organizations on the 7th of July. The American Delegation in Subcommission No. 1 objected against--in substance against all these four proposals and as yet we have not been able to come to an agreement on this list.

GENERAL BROWN: There had been presented to the Joint Commission by Subcommission No. 1 a list of parties and social organizations prepared by Subcommission No. 1, in accordance with paragraph 5, Joint Decision No. 12. In view of the fact that Joint Decision No. 12 provides the opportunity to challenge any party or social organization, or the representative of any party or social organization, which might appear for consultation at the time such party or organization or its representative appears for consultation and places in the Joint Commission a power of decision as to the justification of such a challenge, the Chairman fails to see why consultation cannot commence on July 7 under the list prepared and presented by Subcommission No. 1. The Chairman feels that it would be useless to discuss in the abstract, the qualification of any party or organization until a specific charge of disqualification has been

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made against such party or organization when it appears before the commission for Consultation as provided by Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The Chairman with those remarks will open the matter for discussion.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: According to Decision No. 16 which was approved by the Joint Commission on June 18, 1947 and stated in the Minutes #34, in point 3 it is said that list of parties and organizations which have signed the declaration and the list of their representatives is to be discussed in Subcommission #1, and after agreement submitted to the Joint Commission for approval. The Soviet Delegation understands well that the Joint Commission alone can make a final decision but we have set up Subcommissions, consisting of responsible members of respective Delegations, and it is assigned to prepare documents in such a way that the Joint Commission could discuss a given document and approve it. As yet we do not see a list which has been agreed upon. We only see a list of parties and social organizations which have signed the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 and filed their applications. This is not the same document which must be approved by the Joint Commission. We agreed both in the Joint Commission and in my personal conversation with General Brown that this list should be viewed as emphatically preliminary but not a final one. The first Subcommission should not hedge its task because it has been entrusted to compile a list the Joint Commission can approve. There is no such list. The Soviet representative in this first Subcommission objected to the inclusion into this list of social organizations which are not social organizations but commercial ones. It seems that this question should not arise for discussion whatsoever. The second proposal of the Soviet Delegation--to have local organizations excluded from consultation--was based upon the agreed decision, and it seems that this as well should not arise in the discussion. What was the argument given by the Soviet Delegation? In the South as well as in the North of Korea there are such enormous amounts of such organizations that it will delay the work of the Joint Commission. It is deemed that

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these local organizations should not be consulted by the decision that has been approved thus far. They haven't been and they should not be consulted according to the Moscow Decision and another decision which was approved here. The third question concerns the organizations which are antagonistic toward the Moscow Decision. The arguments given to this proposal are quite logical. It is logical that these organizations should not participate in consultation with the Joint Commission because both Delegations are informed that after the Commission started its work on May 20th, these organizations had not ceased to carry on their struggle against the Moscow Decision. This may well be demonstrated by their last demonstration which took place on June 23. It is not our function to try to persuade them. We can get along without them. The absolute majority of the Korean people and parties and organizations are for carrying out the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: After a long protracted discussion as stated by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, the Soviet and American Delegations came to an agreement as to the method to be followed in consultation with political parties and social organizations as provided under the Moscow Decision and as to those parties and social organizations which would be consulted. That meeting of minds of the Joint Commission was published to the world in Joint Commission Decision No. 12. Joint Commission Decision No. 16, to which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has referred, has for its title, I quote, "Order of Compilation of the List of Parties and Organizations", and it was agreed to by the Joint Commission as a general guide to Subcommission No. 1 of the order in which that Subcommission was to take up its work of executing the task assigned it by the Joint Commission and specifically stated in paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 which I now read: "Subcommission No. 1, upon receiving the applications for

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consultation, shall compile a list of all democratic parties and social organizations and their designated representatives of North and South Korea which have signed the declaration in Paragraph 2". It goes without saying that Subcommission No. 1, acting as agent for the Joint Commission, should scrutinize the list of those parties and organizations which signed the application and should recommend to the Joint Commission that any party or organization whose application clearly shows ineligibility should be eliminated. Those documents quoted were a written agreement of the Joint Commission duly signed by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation does not understand the remark of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that General Brown in oral consultation made an agreement concerning the list. General Brown has had no oral consultation with the Soviet Delegation which in any way amended, altered, added to, or changed the written agreement agreed to by the Joint Commission and signed by General Brown as an indication of his intention and the intention of the American Delegation to live up to the agreement reached. If the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation will go back into the record, and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has before him extracts from the record to show that the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation time after time attempted to get the Soviet Delegation to agree to a definition of a political party and a social organization which the Joint Commission might accept as representing such organization for eligibility for consultation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation also tried time after time to get the Soviet Delegation to agree to the exclusion of certain types of parties and organizations in order that the task of Subcommission No. 1 and the Joint Commission might be made simpler. It was impossible to get the agreement of

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the Soviet Delegation to any reasonable offer in this respect. The Soviet member of Subcommission No. 1 is now attempting to alter through addition an unwarranted interpretation of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 which has been agreed to by the Soviet Delegation and signed by its Chief Commissioner as his evidence of good faith in the intention of the Soviet Delegation to comply with the decision as agreed to by the Joint Commission as written and as promulgated to the Korean people.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The proposal of the Soviet Delegation is not a proposal to carry out a revision of any approved decision by the Joint Commission, and it is also not a proposal to revise the Joint Commission Decision Numbers 12 and 16. The Soviet Delegation has always approached consistently the decisions which face the Joint Commission and which face the Joint Commission now. The Soviet Delegation considers that Decision Number 16 and the point that I was citing does not contradict point 5, but only establishes a definite order of work for the First Subcommission. In my previous statement I have mentioned about my personal conversation with General Brown and about the agreement that was reached upon in the First Subcommission, and in making this statement I was guided by the following fact: the ceremonial meeting which took place in Seoul on 25 June and the one that took place in Pyengyang on 1 July should have been carried out after the approval of lists. This is stated under point Number 6 of our Joint Commission Decision Number 12. It reads, "After the approval by the Joint Commission of lists of democratic parties and social organizations and their representatives, contained in Paragraph 5, the Joint Commission will convene in Seoul on June 25, 1947, at a joint meeting to which it will invite the designated representatives of parties and social organizations of South Korea. A similar meeting of representatives

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of parties and social organizations of North Korea will take place in Pyongyang on June 30, 1947." So that all members of the Joint Commission have a clear view -- the members of both delegations -- of the Soviet Delegation as well as the American Delegation. It should be mentioned that in the First Subcommission a decision was approved that inasmuch as a compilation of lists would delay our work and such delay of the sessions is undesirable and inconvenient for the Commission, it was decided to have these meetings carried out. A similar conversation took place between me and General Brown. Now there is the question of whether this conversation has changed our decisions. Yes, it has changed them, but it has changed them on mutual agreement. As to the statement made by General Brown stating that the representatives of the Soviet Delegation in the Joint Commission are trying to change Joint Commission Decision Numbers 12 and 16. This is not so. The Soviet Delegation understands that as a result of the correspondence that took place between Foreign Minister Molotov and Foreign Minister Marshall there was a decision agreed on, and it is our task to defend and to assure the exact fulfillment of this decision. The Moscow Decision does not envisage that the Joint Commission should consult with commercial organizations or with organizations of district or local nature. Under point of our decision Number 12 it is said that "Democratic parties and social organizations of North and South Korea are hereby invited to present their applications for participation in consultation with the Joint Commission. Each party and organization should submit only one application through its central zonal organ." This is guidance for the Joint Commission. What does the American Delegation want to achieve in having all the organizations included? If this is a question of sensational numbers, then it should be said that this is not something that is not a measurement of our work. The proposal of the representative

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of the Soviet Delegation in the First Subcommission is not to include into the list organizations which are included in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or which are members of this committee. This proposal does not contradict the Moscow Decision or decisions agreed upon by the Joint Commission. In the decision which was accepted as a result of the correspondence which took place it is said, "Those persons, parties and social organizations which will after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 inflame or instigate active opposition against the Moscow Decision or against any of the Allied Powers, or against fulfillment of the Moscow Decision, will be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission." What is the understanding of the American Delegation on that, and of that opposition which took place on June 23rd by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and their ruffian attitude toward the Soviet Delegation? Should that not be considered opposition to the Moscow Decision? If we take the view to continue to defend these organizations it means that we will undermine the popularity of the Joint Commission. Let the American Delegation state arguments which would explain the opposition staged on June 23rd. Was it a help for the Joint Commission in its fulfillment of its work? We should not start a controversy and discussion here inasmuch as it was the duty of the American Delegation to present such a list of parties and organizations which would not include such parties and organizations which are helping to oppose the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is happy to hear the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation's statement that the Soviet Delegation is not attempting in any manner to revise the Joint Decision agreed to and published as

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Joint Commission Decision No. 12, and it also states that he recognized the Joint Commission Decision No. 16 does not constitute contradiction of Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is correct in stating that Subcommission No. 1 and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation both agreed to have a meeting with delegates in Seoul and in Pyongyang prior to review by Subcommission No. 1 of the applications of those who had requested consultation and the consolidation of the two lists of applications into a list for consultation. Such agreement did not in any manner alter Joint Commission Decision No. 12 nor was any alteration mentioned or discussed by General Brown with General Shtikov or as far as the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation knows by Subcommission No. 1. It is true, as stated by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, that the Moscow Decision does not specifically provide for consultation with mercantile or district organizations. It is also true that the Moscow Decision provides consultation with all political parties and social organizations. It fails in any way to define a political party or social organization and fails specifically to exclude from consultation mercantile, district, or any other type of organization. As a matter of fact, as stated by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has before him six typewritten pages of specific statements made by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that he favored broad consultation of political parties and social organizations and statements of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation.

I quote from the 28th meeting of the Joint Commission, page 6, General Brown stated: "It is necessary to agree on definition which will determine which parties and social organiza-

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tions shall be consulted." In the 31st meeting, page 4, General Brown stated: "that parties with which the Joint Commission will consult, all other conditions being equal, might be limited to those having a membership of not less than a thousand or 5,000 persons." He added that the American Delegation would consider any recommendation on this matter which the Soviet Delegation might present. General Shtikov declined the proposal of the American Delegation concerning the limitation of membership of parties or social organizations. General Brown in the 31st meeting, page 5, objected to General Shtikov's proposal that the number of political parties be determined after the commencement of consultation. He stated that the American Delegation opposed any change in the agreements reached in Joint Commission Decision No. 4 after the decision is approved. In the transcript of the 31st meeting General Brown again proposed a limitation on political parties and social organizations with whom discussion would be had and again recommended a definition. General Shtikov replied: "It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that it would not be expedient in the session of the Joint Commission and in this document to limit or to set any criteria for parties and social organizations which are included in the list by naming a number of members. This would contradict point 7. Point 7 was given such a wording by us that permits all democratic parties and social organizations which will sign the declaration stated in Communique No. 5 to participate in verbal consultation."

The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation at a later date may read this entire document into the record.

The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation asks what the American Delegation wishes to achieve by insisting on consultation with a large number of parties. The American Delegation seeks

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compliance with the Moscow Decision which directs the Joint Commission to consult the political parties and social organizations of Korea and have clearly indicated their intent for broad consultation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will at a later date read into the record quotations from the correspondence which passed between General Chistiakov and General Hodge and between General Marshall and Mr. Molotov which also indicates a desire of those individuals for broad consultation, and at the time he reads into the record the six typewritten pages to which he has previously referred, he will read into the record numerous statements made by the Chie f Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that he personally and the Soviet Delegation as a whole also favor broad consultation.

The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states that Joint Commission Decision No. 12 says that parties and organizations will submit applications through its central organs. How he can read into that statement a requirement that an organization which has no central organs through which to present its application can be barred from consultation is an enigma to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is attempting to exclude through neat quotations, which exclusion would not be recognized by the law of the land existing in any place.

The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation invites the attention of the American Delegation to that extract from the correspondence between the two Ministers which state that those who have signed the application do foment or instigate active opposition will be excluded from further consultation. He also calls attention to a disturbance which occurred in the city of Seoul on the 23rd of June and requests the reaction of the American Delegation concerning that disturbance. The Chief Commissioner of

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the American Delegation will now read a paragraph from the letter of December 24, 1946 signed by General Hodge to General Chistiakov, which paragraph states, I quote: "From a careful reading of paragraphs 2 to 8, both inclusive, (referring to General Chistiakov's letter of 26 November 1946) the impression I received is that the Soviet Delegation believes that proposals previously submitted by the United States Delegation appear to encourage 'reactionary parties and groups' to continue hostile opposition to the Moscow Decision. I assure you that the United States Delegation has no such intention and desires to cooperate with you in preventing such hostile opposition. Paragraphs 9 and 10 of your letter guarantee on the part of the Soviet Delegation complete freedom of expression to Korean political parties, social organizations and individuals 'regarding the formation of the Korean government and other questions connected with the realization of the Moscow Decision on Korea.' The views expressed in these paragraphs are identical with the position assumed by the United States Delegation."

For the information of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and the Soviet Delegation, I can inform them that no political party or social organization of South Korea, in so far as is known to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation or to the American Delegation, has fomented or instigated active opposition since signing their declaration. In so far as is known to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, who personally observed the demonstration of 23 June for a period in excess of 1½ hours, no parties or social organization which has submitted application for consultation with the Joint Commission participated in that demonstration after submitting their application. The political leaders who instigated that demonstration did not sign the application for consultation with the Joint Commission. This is based on the statements made to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation by three young men who professed to be leaders

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of the demonstration of 23 June. Further, active aggressive action has been taken by the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, to apprehend and punish those who engaged in the demonstration of June 23 and to prevent any repetition of the indignities reported by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation as having been belligerent against three cars bearing members of the Soviet Delegation. It is essential that the Joint Commission determine today the principle which will be applied in consulting with democratic parties and social organizations of Korea, because the Joint Commission has agreed to commence consultation orally on July 7. The Korean people have been so informed and it is essential that the Joint Commission keep faith with the people of Korea in working out their independence under the Moscow Decision.

At 1620 Joint Commission recessed for 10 minutes.

At 1630 Joint Commission reconvened.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has given fair hearing to the statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation and may state the following: The references of the American Delegation were stenographic minutes of the Joint Commission and the position taken by the Soviet Delegation and its statements are known to the Soviet Delegation. Also the extracts from those six typewritten pages are also known. They do not confirm the necessity for consultation with those parties and organizations which have nothing to do with the consultation with the Joint Commission. First of all, the Moscow Decision of the three Foreign Ministers on Korea states that the Commission should in the elaboration of its proposals consult with democratic parties and social organizations.

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I would like to have this word "social" underlined. As it is seen from the Moscow Decision and from our frequent discussions in the sessions of the Joint Commission, it was not stipulated that the Commission should consult mercantile or industrial organizations, but in the list that was submitted by the American Delegation there is a number of such delegations. I will enumerate some of these organizations. First, it is the organization that has a title, "The Mercantile and Industrial Organization of Suwon", "The Chamber of Commerce of Suwon". Should we consider this organization to be a social organization? The Soviet Delegation considers that this organization is by far not a social organization. The same kind are also in the town of Pusan and also in other places. Let us take for instance the organization of the "Korean Industrial Medical Institute". It is my opinion that this organization should not be considered a social organization, or the "Korean Research Institute of Buddhist Religion". Then there is another organization called, "Briquette Union". If we invite such organizations for consultation we will go too far and this attitude of ours will discredit the Moscow Decision. It is profitable for those who fight against the Moscow Decision, but not for those who have signed it. It is for the Allied Powers. Now this question--whether we should consult or not with local organizations. Let us take for instance such an organization, "The Korean Accounting Workers". It has 27 members. Or the "Society of Rendering Help to Patriots". There are 22 members in this society. Then there is another society which studies the Korean policy and economic state of Korea. It has 120 members. Then there is the "Society of Women for Building an Independent State". This society is in the town of Inchon. Or the "Society of Public Works in the District of Kunsan", etc. If we shall take this attitude which is not a serious attitude and we should approach with this measurement, these applications of political parties and social organizations of North Korea then we

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would have about a thousand. It would not at all further the work of the Commission, just the opposite, it would interfere and prevent the work of our Commission. If the Head Commissioner, and in particular, the head of the First Subcommission, Mr. Bunce, would have scrutinized this list, he would have come to the same conclusion. What we should have is not the number but that which is stated in the Moscow Decision. It is the parties and social organizations who express the opinion of the Korean people on the question of the creation of a Korean Government. General Brown, in his statement reviewed the Soviet Delegation that the Soviet Delegation did not want to limit the number of parties and social organizations which would be invited for consultation and that the American Delegation proposed to consider. General Brown stated that the Soviet Delegation refused to establish such a limit upon which the American Delegation insisted. Experience has proved that the statement of a limit is not a fact which would hold the parties and social organizations from rendering applications. What should be the explanation and by what could it be repudiated that states the criteria in South Korea that there were not 70, but 159,000,000 although we knew that the population in the South enumerates 17,000,000. That was a comedy which was performed by some parties and organizations and it deserves condemnation on behalf of the Joint Commission. Let us take the fact that the Soviet Delegation expressed doubt as to whether the number in the "Union of Builders and the Workers who Fixed Houses" was correct or not. It is just an example of this. It was stated that this organization has about 1,200,000 members, when it is knownthat in Korea there is only 1,000,000 workers. When the Soviet Delegation demanded that this number be checked, Mr. Bunce, representative of the American Delegation, First Subcommission, stated that the American Delegation has checked this list and that it turned out that such an organization does not exist at all. After having recieved such an answer, it possible

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for the Soviet Delegation to accept this list which was submitted by the American Delegation? It is quite logical that the Soviet Delegation cannot accept this list. We are serious people representing serious states, and it is our task to fulfill the commissions given by our governments. Does the above mentioned contradict the position of the Soviet Delegation or the Moscow Decision and the decisions of Joint Commission Decision No. 12? Certainly it does not. I would like to warn the American Delegation another time. The Soviet Delegation has always defended the wording in the accepted decisions and once the decision was accepted, it has always been willing to honestly and completely fulfill the accepted decision.

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GENERA L SHTIKOV: (Continued) Now as to the parties and social organizations which are included in the anti-trusteeship committee. The Soviet Delegation is being guided by our common agreement No. 12 which stipulates the conditions for the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation confirms this by the number of documents published and not repudiated by anybody. These documents state that the anti-trusteeship committee which embraces about 40 parties of South Korea has not been disbanded, but just the opposite--it has intensified its struggle against the Commission and the Moscow Decision. Here is one document which testifies to this: On June 17, the meeting of representatives of the anti-trusteeship committee opened. During this meeting, the question of methods of work against trusteeship was discussed. During this meeting differences of opinion on the question of consultation arose, some insisting in taking part in the consultation. Others were against it. Those who were for consultation were invited to clear the room. The argument ended in the proposal to leave the whole conference for those who had insisted upon consultation with the Soviet-American Joint Commission. It is stated that this meeting will be continued on June 18, 1947, or rather continued on June 18. It accepted the decision to continue the fight against the Moscow Decision. On June 20 newspapers report a meeting of the anti-trusteeship committee took place. It discussed the question of participation in the work of the Joint Commission and came to a decision to fully uphold the course taken by Rhee, Syngman and Kim, Koo, which corresponds to the spirit of the fight against trusteeship. It was further decided that all local parties as a rule would not particiapte in the work of the Joint Commission, but those who have given their consent to participate in the work of the Joint Commission will do so and will fight against trusteeship in the walls of Duk Soo. The committee has pledged itself to fully renounce trusteeship, first, and second in general not to participate in the work of the Joint Commission, to cooperate with Rightists which have already

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been included in the list for consultation with the Joint Commission in their fight against trusteeship and thus achieve full independence. (This article was published in the newspaper "Seoul Times" on June 20, 1947. This is a fact.) Ekke, for instance, the democratic parties which signed the declaration. What appearance does this party have after having signed this declaration. (In "Seoul Times" on June 21, there is published the following article which contains the declaration of the Chief of the Propaganda Section of the Korean Democratic Party on the creation of a Committee on Current Events. This Propaganda Section decided on the following platform and has explained it as follows:) (To establish a Korean Democratic Provisional Government through elections by fee expression of wishes and opinions of all Koreans. It is necessary, but the elected government should not permit trusteeship as a policy of interference into the internal affairs of the country, demanding that the so-called Chungking Provisional Government be used as a basis, changing only the title and its structure and construction-- to free all political prisoners which are imprisoned at present in North Korea for anti-trusteeship activities. This statement was made by the leader of the Democratic Party who is an official representative.) Now we should ask-- is the Soviet Delegation able to believe all such parties and organizations in their wish to participate and to help the work of the Joint Commission? Is this wish really sincere? The American Delegation referred to the letter of General Hodge, stating that if we read this we should see that this corresponds to the view on freedom of expression. The Soviet Delegation has never forbid these parties to express their views. The Soviet Delegation considers that these parties are antagonistic and that the Joint Commission should not consult with these parties because the facts speak for themselves. As to the disturbances--the events that took place on June 23, the Soviet Delegation is informed in a declaration signed by Kim, Koo that proves that this demonstration

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was carried out by the anti-trusteeship committee and was directed against trusteeship. It is true that only 2,000 persons participated in this demonstration and this fact confirms the popularity of this committee among the people of South Korea. I am not going to cite the declaration of the chairman of this anti-trusteeship committee, Kim, Koo. It is known to the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation considers that the first Subcommission should have a meeting and should compile lists of parties and social organizations--should check out parties and social organizations which arouse any doubt and start the consultation with these parties on July 7--and in our tomorrow's session whould approve the draft of proposals submitted by the Soviet Delegation concerning the order of oral consultation. Further, I propose to assign the first Subcommission to check on parties and social organizations against whom there are objections--so as to the rest of the parties to include into the list--and submit it to the Joint Commission for approval and further consultation.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has raised an issue of such seriousness, and one which is so vital to the future success of the work of the Joint Commission, that it would appear useless to request Subcommission Number 1 to further consider the list of political parties and social organizations until the Joint Commission can resolve the issues raised by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. As it is now 1740, time does not permit because of the dinner hour to discuss the many issues which are directly in conflict with the views of the two ministers of our respective nations and the agreement signed by the Joint Commission. It will take considerable time to properly discuss them. The chairman therefore proposes that the Joint Commission adjourn for today and that the next meeting be agreed on now between the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has made a proposal to ask the First Subcommission to compile the list of these parties and social organizations which do not arouse any doubt, which are above suspicion, and which can be invited for consultation, so this work of the First Subcommission should be done while we are discussing other questions.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is suspicious of so many parties, particulary those of a particular political affiliation, that it would be useless for Subcommission Number 1 to consider a list until the Joint Commission can have a definite understanding as to the principles under which Subcommission Number 1 is to proceed to the preparation of the list.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The principles of compilation are known.

GENERAL BROWN: Not to the American Delegation. The principles ennunciated by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation are not in accordance with the Moscow Decision, the agreement of the Foreign Ministers, nor are they in the interest of the future successful work of this commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: So it seems so to the American Delegation, but is it in the interest of the Joint Commission to have such district parties and social organizations included into the list which have nothing to do with the Moscow Decision?

GENERAL BROWN: It is the objective of the American Delegation to work out in conjunction with the Soviet Delegation the basis for the organization of a Provisional government for Korea and the eventual independence of Korea. If the two delegations are to successfully accomplish that purpose it is essential that they adjust and compromise their differences in points of view. If the Soviet Delegation adheres to their opinion expressed here today and are not willing to compromise on that opinion, then the future success of this commission is seriously threatened. The issue is to serious to further discuss it today. It must be discussed in a future meeting.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation will exactly fulfill the Moscow Decision and the agreement which has been reached between the foreign ministers during their last correspondence. The Soviet Delegation considers that the Provisional Democratic Government should be established and that Korea in compliance with the Moscow Decision should become independent. There is no other aim that the Soviet Delegation has. The Soviet Delegation does not envisage such contradictions and doesn't see such differences of opinion which could interfere with the exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and with the agreement reached by the foreign ministers in their last correspondence.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is scheduled to leave at 1330 tomorrow to return to Seoul. Does the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation desire that the Joint Commission meet prior to that time to continue this discussion, or should it be continued in Seoul?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has moved a proposal that the First Subcommission meet tomorrow morning in order to compile lists of parties which do not arouse suspicion so that the Joint Commission may meet at 1300. The Joint Commission will approve the proposal which will be reached by the First Subcommission and will also include the order of oral consultation, and will create subcommissions so that the American Delegation, as it was stipulated, could leave in the evening or in the afternoon. Further details on the work of the commission I propose to be discussed during a meeting of both head commissioners tomorrow morning at ten o'clock. During this meeting at ten o'clock we will work out the order of work of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation considers it useless for Subcommission Number 1 to meet until the Joint Commission has resolved the issue which has arisen today. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will be glad to meet the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation tonight or tomorrow at any hour which he states. The Chief Commissioner of the American

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Delegation will prepare a press release tonight announcing to the American press the basis of disagreement which now exists in the Joint Commission and will show it to the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation before it is dispatched, and will dispatch it by teletype to Seoul tonight. I will send it to General Hodge and suggest that he release it. If we can agree to a joint communique or joint bulletin covering today's meeting, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation would prefer that we have a joint bulletin, however, that bulletin should clearly state the differences in views which have arisen.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: After this question has been discussed we may discuss the question of a communique. The Soviet Delegation may also make a statement if it will be required, and expound its point of view on the attitude of both delegations as to the Moscow Decision and towards the agreement that has been reached on during the last correspondence with the foreign ministers.

GENERAL BROWN: That is the privilege of the Soviet Delegation. Does the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation desire that we prepare a joint bulletin, or does he prefer that we release a unilateral statement?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We have a definite order and the Soviet Delegation has not changed this order. It is that after each meeting of the Joint Commission a bulletin is written, and after each decided question, a joint communique is released. If the American Delegation wishes to make a statement, it is up to them.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will make an effort to work out a joint communique which will state the issue clearly and correctly.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that we meet with General Brown tomorrow at ten o'clock here in this hall.

GENERAL BROWN: Do you mean the full commission?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Just General Brown.

GENERAL BROWN: When do you propose that the Joint Commission meet?

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that we discuss this question, and it would be quite easy to have all the members of the delegation come to the meeting. There are enough soldiers to escort them to the meeting.

GENERAL BROWN: Are you proposing that the Joint Commission meet at ten o'clock in full session?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that we have a preliminary meeting with General Brown to discuss the question.

GENERAL BROWN: Then the next meeting of the Joint Commission will be held in Seoul? The American Delegation's present plans are to leave here at 1330 tomorrow.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: That is too early.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation then will plan on leaving at 1800.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: That is a suitable time.

Meeting adjourned at 1815 hours, 2 July 1947.

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Transcript of 38th Meeting of
US - USSR Joint Commission
1330 hours, 3 July 1947
Pyongyang, Korea

Chairman - General Brown

GENERAL BROWN: The Joint Commission will come to order.

Colonel Lincoln of the American Delegation is absent momentarily. He will be with us shortly. The first item on the agenda is the continuation of the discussion of yesterday of the approval of the list of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It would be better to ask first to discuss point three about the approval of the procedure of the work of consultation so that the subcommittees may be created and so that the subcommittees may prepare themselves for their work.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the most important task facing the Commission is to resolve the disagreement of the meeting yesterday as to the preparation of a list of parties and social organizations to be consulted. At the close of yesterday's meeting, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation made certain comments concerning preparation of the list of parties and social organizations in which he stated that the opinion of the Soviet Delegation was that there should be eliminated from the list those organizations which were not in fact social organizations; purely local organizations--that is, those without a central headquarters, and third, organizations specifically organized to fight the Moscow Decision, primarily those parties which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. While the American Delegation agrees that there may be a few organizations appearing on the list which, on their face, should be eliminated because of fraudulent facts or other conditions, the American Delegation cannot accept the broad provisions for elimi-

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nation proposed by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation desires to again point out that the agreement between the Foreign Ministers and Joint Decision No. 12, based thereon, provides elimination only by mutual agreement of the Joint Commission and then, only because of the fact that after signing the application for consultation, the organization challenged has fomented or instigated active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation mentioned the fact that those applying for consultation in South Korea had materially overstated the membership of their groups. It is desired at this time to point out that the thirty-six parties and social organizations of North Korea which have applied for consultation claim a membership of 13,300,000, while the known population of North Korea is only 9,500,000, thus these organizations have also greatly exaggerated their membership. In South Korea representatives of approximately 400 parties have registered to speak for a population of approximately 20,000,000. Certainly 400 representatives are not too many to correctly inform the Joint Commission as to the political views of 20,000,000 individuals. It is not believed of value to take time in the Joint Commission in discussing details involved in the broad question of consultation. The Joint Commission is scheduled to commence consultation on July 7. The Joint Commission has informed the Korean people of its intention to do so. There is a fundamental principle involved in the objections raised by the Soviet Delegation; that is, their proposal to exclude from consultation organizations specifically organized, as they stated, "to fight the Moscow Decision". Their views are without evidence or proof that certain parties who at one time were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee should be excluded. It is the intention of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation to first discuss in detail this principle

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of exclusion. The question of exclusion previously mentioned--namely, excluding the members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, so-called, is not acceptable to the American Delegation because it is contrary to the position of freedom of expression which has been consistently insisted upon by the United States Government; which has been accepted by the Russian Government, and which is one of the agreed principles under which the Joint Commission reconvened. Second, it attempts to write a new provision into Joint Decision No. 12, a decision reached by this Commission and signed by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, which decision rightfully incorporated within it the three agreements reached by the Foreign Ministers as the basis of reconvening the Joint Commission. The principle one of those agreements now governing the work of this Commission is that signature to the declaration contained in Joint Communique No. 5 shall make the party or social organization eligible for initial consultation; paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12, places on Subcommission No. 1 the responsibility to prepare a list of the parties and social organizations which have signed the declaration. The third reason why this condition is not acceptable is that it attempts to indict without proof certain parties and organizations which under the signed agreement, Joint Decision No. 12, can only be indicted for acts committed by them subsequent to the signing of the declaration and then only if those acts foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allies. When such indictment is made, it must be presented to the Joint Commission as a whole which is empowered under the agreement to act as a court in hearing the accusations, and I am certain that the Soviet Delegation would not contend that the Joint Commission would condemn a party

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or organization without competent proof. The position of the United States Government is well known to the Soviet Government. It has been stated by General Hodge in his exchange of letters with General Chistiakov. I will now read extracts from pertinent letters which made quite clear to General Chistiakov the American position. First I will go to the basic document, Moscow Decision, Paragraph 2 states, "In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations." This provision in the basic document places no restriction on freedom of speech or opinion regarding the Moscow Decision, nor does it make any other conditions such as the Soviet Delegation is now trying to write into that document for consultation. In his letter of 9 May 1946, General Hodge stated to General Chistiakov, "but the American Delegation cannot agree to exclusion of Korean democratic parties and social organizations and their leaders from consultation concerning the future of their nation because of expression of their political views on the Moscow Decision." In his letter of June 15, 1946, General Hodge stated to General Chistiakov, "The American Command stands ready to resume negotiations in order fully to carry out the Moscow Decision in accordance with the principle of freedom of expression as enunciated in the Atlantic Charter." In his letter of 12 August 1946, General Hodge stated to General Chistiakov, "There is nothing in the Moscow Decision that prohibits Koreans in conferences with the Commission or elsewhere from expressing freely their wishes and desires in the formation of their own government." In his letter to General Chistiakov of November 1, 1946, General Hodge stated, "The United States has always favored the exercise of freedom of speech in Korea. The United States believes that all Korean democratic parties and social organizations should be permitted to make known their desires in the formation of their own

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government. The representatives of the United States see a great difference between (1) the instigation of mass opposition to the work of the Joint Commission and the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision; and (2) the proper exercise of freedom of expression by Korean individuals, democratic parties and groups concerning their wishes and desires in the formation of their own government." In his letter of 24 December 1946, General Hodge informed General Chistiakov, "Paragraphs 9 and 10 of your letter guarantee on the part of the Soviet Delegation complete freedom of expression to Korean political parties, social organizations and individuals 'regarding the formation of the Korean government and other questions connected with the realization of the Moscow Decision on Korea.'" That this position was well understood by the Russian Commander in North Korea is illustrated by the following extract from General Chistiakov's letter of 26 November 1946 to General Hodge, "It is with regret that I have to conclude that the conditions upon which you propose to renew the negotiations of the Joint Soviet-American Commission, in substance, do not differ from the position laid down in our previous letters which in the opinion of the Soviet Delegation is in contradiction to the Moscow Decision on Korea. Actually you propose that the Joint Commission consult with any person, political party or social organization which adheres to and abides by the declaration published in Communique No. 5. Moreover such persons, parties or social organizations must not and will not instigate or foment opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Thus, according to this formula, the Joint Commission must consult not only the democratic parties and social organizations which uphold the Moscow Decision, but also with those parties and organizations which are hostile to this decision. Furthermore,

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these latter parties and organizations are even given an opportunity to continue their activities directed against the Moscow Decision with the exception that they should not instigate or foment mass opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision." This position, including the Soviet view, is further clarified by the exchange of notes of the Foreign Ministers and the full understanding of the problem and full agreement was reached by the two Ministers under which the Joint Commission has reconvened.

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In order briefly to review -- in his letter of April 8, 1947, Mr. Marshall informed Mr. Molotov, "The policy of the United States toward Korea has the following basic objectives:.....2. To insure that the national government so established shall be representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people." and, further on in the same letter Secretary Marshall adds: "To this end I ask that our Governments agree to instruct our respective Commanders in Korea to reconvene the Joint Commission as soon as possible and charge it with expediting its work under the terms of the Moscow Agreement on a basis of democratic right for freedom of expression." In his letter of May 2, 1947, Mr. Marshall informed Mr. Molotov: "In order to avoid any future misunderstanding with respect to the phrase 'exact execution', I wish to make clear my interpretation of the phrase. In my letter to you of April 8, I stated that the Joint Commission should be charged with expediting its work under the terms of the Moscow Agreement on a basis of respect for the democratic right of freedom of opinion. In making this statement I had and have in mind the well known position of the government of the United States and Korean representatives of democratic parties and social organizations shall not be excluded from consultation with the Commission on the formation of a Provisional Korean Government, because of opinions they might hold or may have expressed in the past concerning the future government of their country, provided they are prepared to cooperate with the Commission." In answer to Mr. Marshall's letter of May 2, Mr. Molotov quoted the 3 proposals of General Chistiakov's letter to General Hodge of November 26, 1946, and also General Hodge's proposed amendments of his December 24 letter with the statement that he was "prepared to accept the amendments set forth by the American Commander." These three proposals as amended constitute the specific formula for insuring freedom of expression and for determining which parties or organizations are eligible to cooperate with the Joint Commission. Secretary Marshall in his 2 May letter to Mr. Molotov

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stated: "These proposals were authorized by this government and are identical in purpose to the statement contained in the second paragraph of my letter of 2 May 1947." The Joint Commission prepared Joint Commission Decision No. 12 based on the proposals agreed to by the ministers and rightfully incorporated in that decision the basis of reconvention of the commission as agreed to. It is clearly seen from the facts above stated that the United States position on freedom of expression in consultation has not changed, nor will it change. It is clear from the agreement made by Secretary Marshall and Mr. Molotov that a party when it signs the application in accordance with instructions from the Joint Commission must be accepted for consultation irrespective of its previous actions. That a party or organization remains eligible for consultation unless after signing the declaration of Communique Number 5 it foments and instigates active opposition to the Moscow Decision or to either of the Allied Powers. A statement of opinion or any other passive action or indication of opinion is not cause for declaring apparty or organization ineligible. An overt act must be committed. In the absence of proof of such overt act, the party remains eligible for consultation."

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has given a hearing to the statement of the American Delegation which was made by it just now, and in listening to the statement the Soviet Delegation considers first, inasmuch as the American Delegation in its statement throws the whole history of the question connected with the correspondence between the Commanding Generals from the very moment when the work of the Joint Commission closed, since May, 1946, enumerating extracts from letters of General Hodge which are contained in his letters from 15 June, August 15, November 1 and December 24, 1946, and also some letters which were exchanged between the foreign ministers on the question of the resumption of the work. At the same time these quotations by the U.S. Delegation contain something totally different from what had been agreed to by the two Foreign Ministers.

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The American Delegation returns to its old position, contrary to the last agreement. The Soviet Delegation must have time in order to study this question and to expound its view in the next regular session. I should like to state again that the Soviet Delegation will not retreat from the Moscow Decision and from the agreement reached by the foreign ministers (in the latest communication) and that the Soviet Delegation and will not be guided by the earlier correspondence that took place between the commanding generals. I move not to have this question discussed today, and to postpone it until the next regular meeting so as to give the Soviet Delegation the opportunity to make a study of it and to expound its point of view at the next regular meeting. I ask you to give a full text of the statement in English because a question may arise later about mistakes.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is pleased to hear the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation state that the Soviet Delegation will not retreat from the provisions of the Moscow Decision and from the agreement reached by the foreign ministers. The American Delegation will also adhere strictly to the provisions of the Moscow Decision and to the agreement reached by the foreign ministers. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has read extracts from the correspondence which passed between General Hodge and General Chistiakov and from the agreement reached by the foreign ministers in order to clearly point out the well known and consistent policy followed by the government of the United States, by the American Delegation of the Joint Commission, and by the Commanding General of the U.S. Army Forces in Korea, General Hodge, in executing the policy of the American government concerning the right to freedom of expression by those individuals, political parties and social organizations which consult with the Joint Corrission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What is needed then is a study of the statement. Inasmuch as the history of this question was touched upon and I haven't had time for a study, I need time to make a study of all these documents.

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GENERAL BROWN: There is another question which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation desires to mention at this time. It is possible that the Joint Commission is magnifying to too great an extent the question of consultation. That is but one item in the task which faces the Joint Commission in working out a Provisional government for Korea and in securing the independence of a united Korea. It seems to me that it is contrary to the best interests of the Joint Commission for either delegation to take a position which favors one political group in Korea at the expense of another political group. It is a well recognized fact that there are two main political groups in Korea, namely, the so-called Right and the so-called Left. It is also a well known fact that the so-called Right group has a majority in the ratio of about three to two in the over-all political picture of Korea, and while it is not believed that the Soviet Delegation is intentionally endeavoring to eliminate from consultation the Rightist political party or to destroy the rightful proportion of these parties to proper consideration in the evolution of their future government, the effect of the Soviet proposal for elimination of parties and organizations from the list of those to be consulted by the Joint Commission would be that the Joint Commission would consult practically entirely with those representing the Leftist point of view. The Soviet Delegation must agree with me that the Joint Commission could not successfully achieve its mission if it were to approve and adopt any proposal which would lead to such undesirable results.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: So as to not to go into the details of this question, I wish to state to the American Delegation that we, the Soviet Delegation, as it is well known to the American Delegation from all the documents, has never made statements that it defends the Leftists and that it opposes the Rightists. The measurement of the Soviet Delegation in approaching the parties is a different one. During the previous work of the Joint Commission as well as at present, the Soviet Delegation has approved parties from the point of view of

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how these parties uphold the Moscow Decision--whether they be Rightist or Leftist parties. The political viewpoint expressed by the party--once a party upholds the Moscow Decision, does not matter, whether it is Left or Right,and the statement concerning the Soviet Delegation wishing to consult only Leftists does not correspond to reality.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation would like to ask the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation if by so stating, the Soviet Delegation fulfills the Moscow Decision and will accept for consultation those parties qualified under it. I would like to know whether his interpretation of the Moscow Decision limits the right of freedom of expression of those applying for consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Inasmuch as this question was touched upon in the statement of the American Delegation which has stated a number of accusations of alleged attempts to restrict freedom of speech as if the Soviet Delegation tries to restrict the right of freedom of expression, I will give a full answer of the position of the Soviet Delegation at the next regular meeting.

GENERAL BROWN: As it is now three o'clock, the Chairman proposes a ten minute recess.

The Commission recessed at 1500. Meeting was resumed at 1510.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has suggested that the first item on the agenda be not further discussed until the next meeting in Seoul. The American Delegation agrees with that request. However, before dropping the matter before us, the American Delegation desires that the position of the American Delegation be presented to the Soviet Delegation. The position of the American Delegation is that Korea must have the type of government which the Koreans desire. The Moscow Agreement, while placing on the Joint Commission the responsibility for establishing a democratic government, does not specify any particular form of government nor

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as read by the American Delegation does it visualize either the Soviet or American form of government. It is the position of the American Delegation that it visualizes the form of a democracy desired by the Koreans--not by one Korean political party but by all parties. In order to determine the desire of the Korean people, broad consultation must be had with political parties and social organizations as provided for in the Moscow Decision. The American Delegation can accept nothing less. The Soviet Delegation, in its effort during the past weeks to narrow those parties with whom oral consultation shall be had after its specific agreement in this conference to broad consultation, is merely wasting time. If restricted oral consultation is the ultimate position of the Soviet Delegation, it is desirable that they state their position frankly and clearly without equivocation. In other words "Put your cards on the table." I would like to ask the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation what he proposes to do about this engagement which we have with the Koreans on 7 July to commence oral consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In answering the question which has been presented by General Brown, I should reiterate that the Soviet Delegation must have time in order to study the statement of the American Delegation inasmuch as the statement is serious and time is needed in order to make a full study of it--in order to be able to give an exhaustive answer on the questions touched upon in this statement. I agree that the Moscow Decision does not predetermine the form of government, but it gives instructions that this government must be a democratic one, that this government must be the people's government, that the people's government should be created with the participation of Korean democratic parties and organizations. There are no equivocations on this question on behalf of the Soviet Delegation. Since the answer questionnaire--as soon as the answer questionnaires are submitted, the Soviet Delegation will start a thorough study of these submitted questionnaires and expound its point of view on the form of government. We are not discussing the question of the form of

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government. We are not discussing the question of the form of government now and besides the Soviet Delegation deems it necessary that in order to expound its point of view, it must first of all take into consideration the public view on this question. That is why the rebuke made by General Brown on the question that the Soviet Delegation brought about an impasse is wrong and the rebuke that the Soviet Delegation does not deserve. As to the consultation which should be started on July 7th, the Soviet Delegation has already new proposals. They are first of all, it is needed to approve committees, and second to compose lists of parties and organizations which do not arouse any suspicion and to start consultation with these parties inasmuch as there are a lot of such parties and organizations and the Joint Commission will be well engaged with this work. The Soviet Delegation does not visualize any trouble for the Soviet or American Delegation. Both of the delegations are in equal conditions, and I consider the proposals of the Soviet Delegation are the correctest ones and under these circumstances were created.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no intention of rebuking the Soviet Delegation nor did it intend any statement made by it to be considered as a rebuke. In view of the fact that the greater number of important Rightist political parties and organizations are under suspicion by the Soviet Delegation, the American Delegation believes it would be unwise to begin oral consultation until these parties can be removed from suspicion and are acceptable to the Soviet Delegation for consultation. Therefore, the American Delegation regrets that the work of the Joint Commission must be further delayed until this question can be settled to the satisfaction of the Joint Commission. It is considered advisable that the work of the Joint Commission during the past few days be furnished to the press of the world through the medium of a joint bulletin or communique. The American Delegation prepared and presented to the Soviet Delegation last evening a bulletin covering the work of the Joint Commission yesterday and matters upon which agreement could be reached. The Chief

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Commissioner of the American Delegation has not yet been informed as to the reply of the Soviet Delegation to that proposed bulletin. What does the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation propose he done concerning this matter.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I received a draft of the communique that was proposed by the American Delegation, but inasmuch as the American Delegation states the facts of yesterday's session not in an objective way, I consider that such a communique should not be published inasmuch as once a communique is published, the views expounded in it should be fair. If we decide to publish a bulletin at the same time, we should agree that this bulletin should be a short one. I suggest the contents of the bulletin, if we agree to publish such, be the following one: On July 2, session of the Joint Commission took place in the town of Pyongyang. On the agenda of this session there were the following items: the discussion of the lists of democratic parties and social organizations which will be invited for oral consultation with the Joint Commission--that it further state on July 3 there was another session of the Joint Commission in the same town--in the town of Pyongyang--and that the Commission discussed the question of lists but that this list was not approved and that the continuation of this discussion of this list will be postponed for the next regular meeting which will take place in Seoul on July 7. Inasmuch as the American Delegation leaves Pyongyang for Seoul on July 3--I have mentioned that the next regular meeting will take place in Seoul on July 7. I ask that those words be changed. Inasmuch as the American Delegation leaves Pyongyang for Seoul on July 3, the session of the Joint Commission will take place on July 7 in Seoul and that by this time the Soviet Delegation will have arrived in Seoul for participation in the work of the Joint Commission.

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GENERAL BROWN: As the Frenchman says, "touchee". The words unobjectively don't give true facts as used by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. In fact, "touchee" is a word without equivocation. The fact is acknowledged. We must explain the cause of the delay in consultation to the Korean people. The Joint Commission has made a solemn commitment to the Korean people to commence consultation at Seoul and Pyongyang on July 7th. The Korean people must be made to understand why the Joint Commission fails to keep its promises. The United States Delegation is willing to consult with all parties and organizations which have applied for consultation. The Soviet Delegation is not willing to do so and it appears to the American Delegation that the reason for this failure should be stated in any bulletin or communique issued by the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation did not object and does not object now to state the reasons why this list was not approved. The Soviet Delegation does not propose that the consultation be postponed but considers that this consultation must be and can be started on July 7th. Inasmuch as there are enough parties who could be invited for consultation if it is the wish of the American Delegation to do so. The Soviet Delegation agreed to have their ceremonial meeting on June 25 before the approval of the lists. It is not clear for us - why does the American Delegation wish to start consultation on July 7th. The action has been agreed upon. The order for procedure of consultation was submitted by the Soviet representative in the first subcommission on June 23 - the proposal of the Soviet Delegation on the order of consultation. I may read this proposal if the American Delegation desires to, but the American Delegation is informed of this proposal in the first subcommission.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation in order to keep faith with the Koreans propose that the notice be sent to all political parties

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and social organizations of North and South Korea with a membership in excess of 10,000 that they appear for consultation beginning July 7th. In this notice all the small controversial parties will not be summoned for consultation until further consideration can be given them by the Joint Commission. This proposal does not favor the right nor the left, nor North Korea nor South Korea, nor any individual, party or organization. It is believed a fair proposal and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is suggesting it against his best judgment and against the wishes of many members of the American Delegation in order that the Joint Commission may keep its faith with the Koreans.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation agrees to accept the proposal made by the American Delegation to commence consultation on July 7th with those parties and social organizations which have signed the declaration to fully uphold the Moscow Decision and have submitted applications and to have the question of local organizations and of non-social organizations discussed on a later date. The Soviet Delegation proposes that the Joint Commission makes a warning to parties and social organizations and social organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and have been carrying out a struggle, which have been opposing the Moscow Decision that they declare their intention of abandoning this committee. In having done this they will be eligible for consultation at any time commencing with July 7th. Does the General agree with this proposal that the question that arose, the argument will be thus settled? The Soviet Delegation wishes that parties whole-heartedly uphold the efforts made by both allied powers, by the Soviet Union and the United States, and that they be sincere and that they lay their cards on the table without - there is such a Russian proverb which means not to keep a stone in the bosom of one's shirt.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no objection to publishing broadly both in North and South Korea the conditions

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specified in the agreement with the two ministers under which consultation would be held and to state in such announcement that as required under the agreement by the Ministers those invited for initial consultation will not continue to be consulted with if they foment or instigate active opposition against the work of the Joint Commission or either of the Allies.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation would like to make this question more exacting, and ask could then the American Delegation consider those parties and social organizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship committee and which have been carrying out in opposition against the Moscow Decision and against the work of the Joint Commission and at the same time having signed the declaration contained in Communique No. 5? Does the American Delegation agree to consider these parties and organizations?

It is not the desire of the Soviet Delegation to punish those parties for their activities in the past. What the Soviet Delegation intends to do is that those parties and social organizations which do not desire to uphold the Moscow Decision and parties which by their actions in the present should not be given a fair chance during consultation. Let them express their views wherever they wish. This need not concern us.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation and both delegations have similar ideas. The American Delegation follows the principle- the principle of the common law - that a person is innocent until proven guilty. The agreement reached by our two Ministers and reached by the Joint Commission state that a politieal party or social organization which signs the application for consultation shall be admitted for initial consultation. It also states that if after signing the application for consultation, the political party or organization in-

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stigates or foments active opposition against the work of the Joint Commission or either of the Allies it shall be excluded from further consultation and it provides that decision shall be made by the Joint Commission. The Joint Commission then finds itself in the position of the court of law before which court a party or organization is indicted. No court of law will convict unless adequate evidence is presented to that court. If the Soviet Delegation indicts any party or organization appearing for consultation initially or subsequently and can advance the proof to show that that party or organization has actively fomented or instigated active opposition against the work of the Joint Commission or either of the Allies or the Moscow Decision, the American Delegation would have no other action to take than to recommend that that organization be excluded from further consultation.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: General Brown asked me to give a straight-forward answer without any detour in line, and now I in my turn would like the General to give a straight answer to this question. Can we consult with those parties and social organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship committee which has been carrying out the fight against the Moscow Decision?

GENERAL BROWN: The statement of General Shtikov that members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee have signed applications for consultation and since signing those applications have been carrying out the fight against the Joint Commission is a statement, not facts. If General Shtikov can produce facts to show that any party which is a member of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee has since it has signed its application for consultation fomented or instigated active opposition, General Brown will say to throw them out, but General Shtikov must present to us facts, and not simply make a statement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to mention some of the parties which are included in the list submitted by the American Delegation, who are considered to be by the American Delegation eligible for consultation. Specifically I point to an organization under the number 224, and its name is "All Korean Society of Friends Against Trusteeship"; then another one with the title of "The Detachment Against Trusteeship". All of these organizations are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and they participated in the disturbance on June 23. / Whether this opposition on the part of these organizations was the last one or the first one after their signature on the declaration, we don't know. The Soviet Delegation desires only to consult with those parties and social organizations who wholeheartedly and sincerely uphold the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation keeps referring to a United States list. There is no such thing as a United States list. Somebody had to do the work of recording the data concerning all parties and social organizations which had requested consultation. The Soviet Delegation did not do this work, so it was done by the American Delegation. The American Delegation

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had to collect and type it. They had the facilities to do this work. They did not compile a United States list, they compiled a list of all -- a Joint Commission list. The American Delegation does not know yet, with the exception of Dr. Bunce and one or two of his assistants, what parties and social organizations are on that list. It is a fact that the small parties now mentioned by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation claim about 3,000 members each, and they would not under the proposal made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation be initially invited for consultation. The Joint Commission will consider at a later date when they will be invited. Many of the parties of which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has expressed suspicion have, to the knowledge of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, broken from those leaders who uphold the principles of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and as stated yesterday by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation he personally believes that they are sincere in signing the application for consultation, and that they will, in fact, support the work of the Joint Commission throughout. The statement of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that three parties on this list are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee may be correct. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation does not know whether it is correct or not, but the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation questions the knowledge of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that those three parties did in fact participate in the demonstration of June 23. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation stood at the gates of the Duk Soo Palace for approximately 45 minutes prior to 12:00 o'clock noon and for approximately one hour after 1300, and personally observed the approximately 300 so-called hoodlums who demonstrated in front of the Duk Soo Palace. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation spoke to two or three Korean Political leaders whom he knew, who were being prevented from entering the Duk Soo Palace grounds to file their application for consultation because of the action of these hoodlums. While these

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political leaders were in the vicinity, to the personal knowledge of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, they did not participate in the disturbance. Three of the alleged leaders of the disturbance informed the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that they were supporting the policies of two political leaders of South Korea whom they mentioned by name. Neither of those political leaders has registered for consultation with the Joint Commission, nor do the political leaders now under suspicion of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation presently support their policy. In the present disturbed conditions of South Korea all sorts of charges and counter-charges are brought by the political leaders of one section against those of another section. It is possible to obtain almost any accusation which one wishes to obtain in reference to a rival political group. As a matter of fact, there is on record in the military command accusations against certain political parties of South Korea that would almost force their being barred from consultation with the Commission, if those charges were unearthed and presented to the Joint Commission. The Joint Commission must be above rumors and suspicion. It must insist on the exact fulfillment of the agreement of the foreign ministers, which specified that if a political party or social organization is challenged that the challenge is heard by the Joint Commission, which makes the decision as to whether or not that party or organization shall be eliminated. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation stated yesterday that he placed much store by an agreed formula. It is a fact that the two foreign ministers, Marshall and Molotov, have agreed on the terminology stated in the three principles upon which agreement has been reached, namely agitate and foment active opposition. It appears to me that the Joint Commission can best achieve success by adhering strictly to the decision of these ministers and following the methods prescribed for the elimination of parties and organizations.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation doesn't wish to accuse undeservedly any party or social organization. In order to be objective, the Soviet Delegation moves to commission the First Subcommission -- Mr. Tsunkin and Mr. Bunce -- or both head commissioners, General Brown and me to summon all the leaders of parties and social organizations who were members and who are members of that Anti-Trusteeship Committee and who have signed the declaration and who have submitted an application, so as to exactly define their position towards the Moscow Decision. If they manage to prove the opposite, they will be included in the list for consultation. This will be an official conversation of the Soviet-American Commission with political parties and organizations.

GENERAL BROWN: The proposal is not in accordance with the American concept of law. As previously stated, under the American concept of law, an individual is innocent until proven guilty. Why ask these people if they have signed a lie? If they have lied once they will lie again. The way to handle them is to exclude them when we have evidence that they are violating their signed agreement, not to exclude them on suspicion. Furthermore, the American Delegation cannot single out two or three or a half dozen parties and place them under question without placing all other parties under question. (The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation proposes the following press release as a Joint Commission press release: "The Joint Commission in its meetings of July 2 and 3 in Pyongyang agreed to initiate oral consultation on 7 July with all political parties and social organizations which have signed the declaration in Communique Number 5 and which have over 10,000 members. The final decision on parties and organizations with fewer than 10,000 members will be announced at a later date. (Paragraph) The Joint Commission reminds all such parties and organizations of the agreement between Secretary of State Marshall and Foreign Minister Molotov, which reads as follows: 'Parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission must not and will not actively oppose nor will they incite others to actively oppose the Moscow Decision and the

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work of the Joint Commission. If such be the case, such parties and social organizations, by mutual agreement of both Delegations, will be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission. Individuals, parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission should not, after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5, foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. (Paragraph) Those individuals, parties and social organizations which, after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5, do foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers, or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision shall be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission. The decisions excluding such individuals, parties and social organizations shall be by agreement of the Joint Commission.' Representatives of parties which have over 10,000 members should call at the Duk Soo Palace in Seoul or at the _____ in Pyongyang between 1330 and 1700 hours, July 5 or between 0800 and 1700, July 6 to learn of its scheduled time for consultation."

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation agrees to accept the draft of communique which has been just now presented by the American Delegation, with the following addition -- with that reservation: "That those parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and are fighting against trusteeship, and it means that they are fighting against the Moscow Decision, that the position of such parties and organizations be exactly clarified inasmuch as these parties and organizations have the program and as it is known from the press, they stated on June 23rd that they would continue their opposition in spite of the signed declaration. Those statements made on behalf of those parties and organizations in the press were not denied and that is why additional clarification of this question is needed."

GENERAL BROWN: The amendment proposed is not acceptable to the American Delegation. Before adjourning the Joint Commission, the

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Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation desires to express to the Commanding General, Soviet Forces in North Korea, to the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, to the members of the Soviet Delegation, and to those officers and men of the Russian Command who assisted in entertaining and showing hospitality to the American Delegation and the Americans who have come here to Pyongyang during their stay in Pyongyang, the sincere appreciation of the American Delegation. Is it the desire of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that the next meeting be held on July 7th in Seoul?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It would be better to have a meeting in Pyongyang tomorrow. Inasmuch as the American Delegation is leaving Pyongyang today, I agree to have the next meeting of our Joint Commission on the 7th of July in Seoul and will later state the time of the meeting. We will make it known to the American Delegation through the secretary.

GENERAL BROWN: The Commission will be adjourned.

The Commission adjourned at 1715.

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TRANSCRIPT OF 39TH MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
8 July 1947, at 1330 hours

Chairman - General Shtikov

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Has General Brown received the Agenda?

GENERAL BROWN: Yes.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Are there any comments?

GENERAL BROWN: No comments.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then we will discuss the question of Minutes No. 32 and 33 were not discussed in the Commission but they were signed by the Chief Commissioners. If there are no objections, we will approve those Minutes.

GENERAL BROWN: No objections.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that Minutes No. 34, 35, and 36 which were presented by the secretariats be approved.

GENERAL BROWN: I agree.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Now we will take up question No. 2 of today's Agenda. During last session of Joint Commission which took place in Pyongyang on the 3rd of July, it was agreed upon that the Soviet Delegation will study the statement done by the American Delegation and to make suggestions as to the questions which were touched upon in this statement. If there are no other proposals, then the Soviet Delegation stands ready to give its statement.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no other proposals at this time.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: (Then read the following statement):

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Soviet Delegation
US-USSR Joint Commission

STATEMENT OF THE CHIEF OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE MEETING OF THE US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION - 7 JULY 1947

At the meeting of the Joint Commission, 3 July, in Pyongyang, the Chief of the American Delegation made an extensive statement in which for the second time he gave the account of the history of the correspondence concerning the consultation from the moment of cessation of the work of the Joint Commission in 1946. It must be noted that each time the question of the precise fulfillment of the conditions of consultation on which the two Foreign Ministers agreed in the process of their correspondence on Korea is raised, the American Delegation refers to the history of the correspondence regarding consultation, and attempts to base its position on quotations from various letters which were exchanged between the Commanding General of the Soviet Forces and the Command General of the American Forces in Korea. The Soviet Delegation sees in this an attempt to raise again the questions upon which agreement between the two Ministers was reached so as to deviate from those concrete conditions on consultation established by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The Soviet Delegation holds that if the agreement by the two Foreign Ministers on the question of consultation is not to the liking of the American Delegation, then it must declare so, as General Brown stated at the last meeting of the Joint Commission "candidly, clearly and without equivocation."

I have already pointed out at the meeting of the Joint Commission on 3 July that the Soviet Delegation will strictly abide by the Moscow Decision, by the agreement between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and by the Joint Commission's Decision No. 12, but will not be guided by the previous correspondence regarding the consultation between the Soviet and American Commanding Generals in Korea.

The American Delegation attempted to present the matter in such a way as though the Joint Commission already has the list of parties

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and social organizations and that the matter in question is the exclusion of parties and social organizations from this list. The American Delegation accused the Soviet Delegation of a one-sided tendency to exclude certain parties and organizations from the list. Such an assertion has no basis. In accordance with Joint Commission Decision No. 16, the Joint Subcommission No. 1 compiles a list of parties and organizations which submitted applications for participation in consultation, and a separate list of their designed representatives. These lists are studied by Joint Subcommission No. 1 which, after reaching an agreement, submits them to the Joint Commission for approval. As it is known, Joint Subcommission No. 1 did not submit the agreed list of parties and social organizations. Therefore, the question now is what parties and organizations which submitted applications should be included in the list for the initial, oral consultation, in accordance with the Moscow Decision and Joint Commission Decision No. 12 in which the agreement reached by the two Foreign Ministers on consultation is strictly stipulated.

The list of parties and organizations of South Korea which submitted applications for consultation includes 425 parties and organizations. How was such a list compiled? The Soviet Delegation is aware of the fact that the American Delegation exerted considerable effort to have as many organizations as possible submit their applications for participation in consultation. Newspapers of South Korea published announcements of the American Delegation in which, without any explanation, all the organizations were invited to submit their applications for consultation; leaflets containing similar announcements were scattered, etc.

The American Delegation attempted to present a large number of parties and organizations which submitted applications in South Korea as a positive fact. But how can such a fact be considered positive, considering that a large number of organizations which submitted applications did not have the right to participate in consultation according to the accepted decisions? This led only to useless dis-

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cussions and to the delay in the work of the Joint Commission.

The total membership of parties and organizations of South Korea which submitted applications for participation in consultation with the Joint Commission is expressed by a fantastic figure of 70,000,000 members, whereas the entire population of South Korea consists of 17 - 18,000,000 people. If it is considered that the adult population (above 18 years of age) represents 50%, or 8½ - 9,000,0000 people, then it appears that in South Korea every adult Korean, man or woman, is a member of approximately eight organizations. It is understood that such a presumption is far from actuality. It cannot help but create doubt as to the accuracy of the information concerning the number of members submitted by the various parties and organizations. The Joint Commission will have to check the number of members of certain parties and organizations which submitted applications.

The preliminary list of parties and organizations of South Korea which submitted their applications has not been properly studied by Joint Subcommission No. 1 because the American Delegation has deviated from the concrete consideration of this list. However, non-existing organizations were already detected in the list. For example, the so-called Union of Builders and Repair Workers of Korea, listed as No. 19, indicated its membership as 1,220,00 The Soviet representative in Joint Subcommission No. 1, Mr. Tounkin, expressed his doubt regarding membership of this organization, indicating that it cannot have 1,220,000 members since all of Korea has less than one million workers. Later, the American representative in Joint Subcommission No. 1, Mr. Bunce, stated that investigation proved that such an organization is non-existent. Inasmuch as there is evidence indicating the submission of applications for participation in consultation by non-existing organizations, the Joint Commission will have to ascertain the existence of parties and organizations regarding which there is any doubt.

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In compliance with the Moscow Decision, the Joint Commission in elaborating its proposals regarding the question of the establishment of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government should consult with Korean democratic parties and social organizations. Meanwhile, among the organizations which submitted their applications for participation in consultation there is a certain number of such organizations which are not social organizations. There are applications of commercial and industrial enterprises, schools and administrative institutions. The following are given as examples: Korean Transportation Society (No. 43); Coal Briquettes Manufacturing Union (No. 119); Association of Korean Societies for Distribution of Goods (No. 144); Korean Horse Breeding Society (No. 337); Korean Institute of Industrial Medicine (No. 71), etc.

The Soviet Delegation considers that such organizations, as long as they are not social organizations, must not be admitted to consultation. The position of the American Delegation, which insists upon inclusion in the list of organizations which are not social in nature, in particular the inclusion of commercial and industrial companies, contredicts the Moscow Decision.

The Soviet Delegation insists that those parties and social organizations which were created to fight against the Moscow Decision or those which are members of organizations created to fight against this decision be excluded from the list of parties and organizations. The signing of the declaration by these parties and organizations cannot be accepted as an expression of good intention to support fully the Moscow Decision inasmuch as the aims of the mentioned parties and organizations are not compatible with the obligations contained in the declaration; namely, to support fully the Moscow Decision on Korea.

The Soviet Delegation has in mind first of all and mainly the Anti-Trusteeship Committee which was created especially for the fight against the Moscow Decision, and led and is leading an active fight against this decision.

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Following publication on 12 June 1947 of the decision of the Joint Commission concerning the order of consultation of the Joint Commission with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, the Anti-Trusteeship Committee not only did not cease its fight against the Moscow Decision and against the Joint Commission, but on the contrary, has intensified this struggle.

After lengthy discussion in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee concerning the question of participation in consultation, a resolution was passed that parties and organizations comprising the Committee, which will submit their applications for participation in consultation, shall fight against the Moscow Decision in the course of consultation with the Joint Commission.

This is what the newspaper "Seoul Times" reported on this matter on 20 June 1947:

"On 18 June a meeting of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee took place. The question of participation in the work of the Joint Commission was discussed at the meeting, and a decision was reached to support fully the course taken by Rhee, Syngman and Kim, Koo which conforms to the spirit of the fight against trusteeship."

Further it was decided, that all lower level parties, as a rule, will not take part in the work of the Joint Commission. Those however, which already agreed to participate, will take part in it and will fight against the trusteeship at Duk Soo.

"The Committee promised firstly to renounce the trusteeship completely. Secondly, not to participate in the work of the Joint Commission in general, cooperate with the rightists, already admitted for consultation with the Joint Commission in the struggle against trusteeship and by this to achieve complete independence.

The rightist parties, comprising the Anti-Trusteeship Committee organized during the second half of June 1947, a special committee for the fight against the work of the Joint Commission on formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government. The newspaper

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"Seoul Times" of 20 June, reported the following:

"The Committee is organized for unification of the opposition to the Joint Commission."

According to the report of the agency "The Korean Pacific Press", all rightist political parties and social organizations under the guidance of the Korean democratic parties, organized a committee for the formation by the Joint Commission of a Provisional Government. At this meeting held on 19 June at 10 A. M. in the Temple of Tai Koo, there were present more than 100 representatives of political and social organizations.

This committee is fully determined to lead unified opposition against the Joint Commission.

On June 23, 1947, the Anti-Trusteeship Committee organized in Seoul a demonstration meeting against the Moscow Decision. As the newspaper "Kaden Sinmon" reports on June 29, 1947, analagous meetings directed against the Moscow Decision were held in a number of cities and counties of South Korea. The Joint Commission received on 23 June 1947 a petition from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee in which a demand was made for an amendment of the Moscow Decision and which pointed out that the Committee sets as its aim the support of this petition by means of overpowering demonstrations of the entire population. The demonstration truly turned out to be true, but not of "the entire population", but, on the contrary, very insignificant. In this petition signed by the Chairman of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, it was partially said that "all persons desiring to sign the Communique No. 5, publicly declared their intention to oppose the trusteeship at the Conference table." In this petition the Committee took the decisive position against the work of the Joint Commission, stating that "any coalition government which may be formed by the Joint Commission will not succeed in view of the ideological differences which will tend to split it from within."

The American Delegation for some reason attempts to argue that in the demonstration of 23 June, the Anti-Trusteeship Committee had

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no part at all, while at the same time it ought to be well aware of the fact that this very committee was the organizer of the demonstration.

The Chief of the Department of Police of South Korea, Chough, Pyung Ok, made the following statement regarding the demonstration of 23 June, 1947:

"The Anti-Trusteeship Committee had long ago prepared for this demonstration on the day of the National Holiday of Dano. The police repeatedly warned the committee and undertook various measures but to our regret the demonstration nevertheless was held in Seoul under the guidance of the Korean Young Men's Organization for Independence and the Federation of the Students of All Korea."

From the statement of Chough, Pyung Ok, it is perfectly clear that the demonstration of 23 June, 1947, was organized by this very Anti-Trusteeship Committee.

The Soviet Delegation is amazed that the American Delegation, despite the indisputable facts, attempts to prove that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee had no connection with the demonstration of 23 June 1947.

The American Delegation cannot dispute the fact that the parties and social organizations comprising the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, having signed the declaration, thereby committed themselves to support fully the Moscow Decision on Korea. At the same time, continuing to be members of this Committee, these parties and social organizations leave their signatures on the program of this committee, containing the obligation to struggle against the Moscow Decision, and actually continue to participate in the struggle against the Moscow Decision. The two are incompatible.

Therefore, the Soviet Delegation considers that parties and social organizations which signed the declaration and which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee may be admitted for con-

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sultation only in case of their withdrawal from this committee and their discontinuing their fight against the Moscow Decision. The position of the American Delegation in this question is not clear. The American Delegation is avoiding direct answer to the question whether the membership in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee is incompatible with the obligation included in the declaration, to uphold fully the Moscow Decision. The Chief of the American Delegation declared that the American Delegation adheres to the principle, according to which a person is not considered guilty unless his guilt has been proved. [The Soviet Delegation considers that the fact of participation of one or the other party or social organization in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee indicates that this party or organization, even after signing the declaration, still continues the active struggle against the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision, and, therefore, in accordance with paragraph 3 of requirements for consultation, agreed upon between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, cannot be admitted for consultation.]

As it is known, the above mentioned paragraphs reads as follows:

"Individuals, parties, and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission should not after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision.

Those individuals, parties, and social organizations which after signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 do foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision shall be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission.

The decision excluding such individuals, parties, and social organizations shall be by agreement of the Joint Commission."

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The American Delegation repeatedly referred to this point, but, evidently, has no desire to practice it, at the same time aiming to protect those parties and organizations, which after signing the declaration, continue to oppose the Moscow Decision.

The Soviet Delegation does not understand the attitude of the American Delegation toward the present occurences. For example, according to the statement of the newspaper "Teton Sinmun", the Chief of the American Delegation, General Brown, received on 23 June, three representatives of the participants of a demonstration which took place on that day, who handed him a resolution, accepted by them at a meeting. I quote this statement:

"The 5th point of the resolution: We fully uphold the line of struggle for establishing independence led by Dr. Rhee, Syngman and Mr. Kim, Koo who are the leaders of thirty million Koreans. Reply: I welcome their efforts. Fight with all your might."
(Newspaper "Teton Sinmun" 24 June 1947)

How can such a reply by the Chief of the American Delegation be evaluated by the Korean public?.

Among the submitted applications for participation in consultation there is a certain number of insignificant, strictly local organizations such as: Union of Soongdong District Youth (No. 6), Union of Christian Youth of Tesu District (No. 183), Association of Friends of Poogak District (No. 229), Automobile Association of Esangu District,(No. 285), Association of Friendship of Dikyan District (No. 306), Youth Organization of Anam Street in Seoul (No. 344), Association of Women of Chandon Church in Seoul (No. 404).

It is quite obvious that the majority of local social organizations, which are numerous both in North and South Korea, being guided by the Joint Commission Decision No. 12 which was published for general public information, have not submitted their applications for participation in consultation. If /The Joint Commission

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should begin consultation with all local social organizations, its work would be greatly hampered and prolonged. This would contradict the Joint Commission Decision No. 12 which states that democratic parties and social organizations submit their applications for participation in consultation through their central zonal organs. Thus, the Joint Commission Decision No. 12 provides consultation with social organizations of zonal scale, and not with minor, narrowly-local organizations.

The Soviet Delegation considers that a sufficiently large number of central zonal parties and social organizations having branches on the periphery are included in the list in order to take into account local interests. The invitation for consultation of small local, unknown groups and organizations may only divert the attention of the Joint Commission and give a distorted picture of the true nature of public opinion in Korea. In addition to that, these organizations already have submitted their written considerations on the questionnaires, and thereby stated their position.

Drawing conclusion from the above mentioned, the Soviet Delegation considers that narrow-local social organizations must not be included in the list for participation in oral consultation.

However, taking into consideration the persistent aims of the American Delegation to admit local organizations which submitted applications for consultation, the Soviet Delegation introduces the following proposal regarding this question:

The US - USSR Joint Commission will take into account the written considerations submitted by local social organizations. Local organizations which submitted their applications are not included in the list. After completion of consultation with parties and social organizations, which will be included in the list, the US - USSR Joint Commission will announce that local

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social organizations which submitted their applications for participation in consultation may send their representatives for oral consultation if they wish to make any additions to their previously submitted written considerations.

The American Delegation in its statement made at the meeting of the Joint Commission on 3 July 1947 again broached the question of freedom of expression of opinion. At the same time, the American Delegation presented itself in the role of the defender of the freedom of expression of opinion, attempting thus to create an impression that the Soviet Delegation takes the stand against the freedom of expression of opinion. Firstly, the Soviet Delegation never took a stand against the freedom of expression of opinion, and secondly, it is doubtful whether the American Delegation has sufficient foundation to assume the role of the defender of freedom of expression of opinion. The Soviet Delegation feels that the policies of the Soviet Command in North Korea showed with sufficient clarity that the Soviet side stands for freedom of expression of opinion not only in words but in deeds. As it is known, the Soviet Command in North Korea did not prevent Koreans from expressing their opinions freely nor from rebuilding their lives on democratic beginnings and to eliminate the remnants of the long Japanese domination of Korea, as a result of which considerable progress in the field of democratization and development of national economy and culture has been achieved in North Korea.

In the letter of Foreign Minister, V. M. Molotov, to Secretary Marshall dated 19 April 1947, the following was said in connection with this matter:

"In connection with Northern Korea, during the period beginning with the capitulation of Japan, considerable progress was made in the field of democratic action, and also with respect to the restoration of national economy and culture. Wide democratic reforms have been made which guarantee political freedom and raise the standard of living of the population. I have in mind, first of

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all, the introduction of an over-all electoral right; a law on equal rights for women, the establishment of local authority agencies and the peoples committee of Northern Korea on the basis of free democratic elections; land reform, as a result of which 725,000 landless peasant farmers and those having little land received more than 1,000,000 hectares of free land, which formerly belonged to Japanese colonists and their accomplices in Korea; the nationalization of former Japanese industries, the 8-hour work day, safeguarding of labor and social insurance; CIC educational reform, as a result of which the Korean language has been reestablished, the network of schools was increased and the number of students was increased, etc. However, such wide democratic reforms have been carried out only in Northern Korea, where there is only two-fifths of the population of Korea."

The three conditions for consultation which were agreed upon by the two Foreign Ministers, in the opinion of the Soviet delegation, do not oppose the freedom of expression of opinion. The Soviet Delegation is anxious to achieve the exact fulfillment of these conditions, and it seems very strange, when these attempts are misconstrued as infringing on the freedom of expression of opinion.

The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation in his statement at the meeting of the Joint Commission on 3 July 1947, said that there exist in Korea two major political groups, so called-the rightists and the leftists, and that, supposedly, the rightists represent the majority, approximately in the ratio of 3 to 2. Besides, the Chief of the American Delegation tried to accuse the Soviet Delegation in the tendency to remove from consultation the represnetatives of the right wing political parties for the purpose of destroying, as he put it, the "just proportion" between the rightists and leftists. The Chief of the American Delegation, at the same time, made clear that the American Delegation defends the

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rightist parties and social organizations.

As regards the relation of strength between the rightists and the leftists in Korea, I do not intend to discuss this matter now, but I would like to point out that regarding the ratio mentioned by General Brown, wishful thinking is accepted by him as an actuality.

The Soviet Delegation welcomes the statement of the American Delegation that no one delegation to the Joint Commission should take a stand which would give preference to any one political group in Korea to the detriment of any other political group, because this would not aid the work of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation fully agrees with this and considers that the delegations should adhere in fact to the indicated provision in fulfilling the task given to the Joint Commission, keeping in mind that the future Provisional Korean Democratic Government must answer to the wishes of the Korean people.

The policy of the Soviet Government regarding Korea was clearly stated in the letter of Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov of 19 April 1947. I quote from his letter:

"The Soviet Government closely adhering their policy toward Korea to the program planned in the Moscow Agreement, believed the following to be points of primary importance:

"1. The establishment of Provisional Democractic Korean Government on the basis of a wide-scale of participation of Korean democratic parties and social organizations, in order to expedite the political and economic unification of Korea as a self-supporting state independent of foreign interference, which would do away with the division of the country into two zones.

"2. The establishment of democratic authority agencies throughout Korea by means of free elections on the basis of a general and equal electoral right.

"3. The aiding of Korean people in the restoration of Korea as an independent democratic state and in the development of its

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national economy and national culture."

The Soviet Delegation will strictly adhere to this policy.

The Soviet Delegation recommends the adoption of the above mentioned proposal regarding the compilation of the list of parties and social organizations. In order not to delay any longer the beginning of the oral consultation, the Soviet Delegation proposes to begin consultation immediately with the democratic parties and social organizations which have submitted the applications and which do not raise objections that the final list will be compiled by the Joint Subcommission 1 in the near future, and submitted for the approval of the Joint Commission.

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GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has listened attentively to the presentation of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. Due to the length of this document it will be necessary that it be translated and studied by the American Delegation before complete replies can be made to certain of the issues raised. To reply to the last proposal of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, namely that consultation commence now with those parties and social organizations which are acceptable to the Soviet Delegation, as stated by the American Delegation in Pyengyang at the last meeting of the Joint Commission, the American Delegation's position is that consultation cannot be commenced until the Joint Commission has agreed as to the parties and social organizations with whom consultation shall be held, unless the Soviet Delegation is willing to approve the proposal presented by the American Delegation at that meeting, namely that consultation be commenced at the earliest practicable date with all parties and social organizations with membership in excess of 10,000, and that the Joint Commission consider parties and social organizations with membership less than 10,000 in order to determine whether or not any such parties and social organizations should be denied the right of oral consultation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation desires to reply briefly to a few of the points mentioned in the paper presented by the Soviet Delegation. Concerning the statement that the American Delegation has reviewed all of the correspondence passing between the Commanding General U.S. Army Forces in Korea and the Commanding General Soviet Forces in Korea with a view to attempt to hedge from the position agreed to by the foreign ministers, this allegation is not well founded and is incorrect. As previously stated by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation at the last meeting in Pyengyang, the purpose of the American Delegation in presenting certain extracts quoted from the correspondence in question was to clearly point out the consistent policy followed by the United States Government and all of its agents concerning the right of the Koreans to freedom of expression of opinion which they might hold. With reference

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to the statement contained in the document presented that 425 parties were registered in South Korea, and that this large registration convinces the Soviet Delegation that the U. S. Delegation expended much effort to attract as many parties and organizations to registration as practicable, that statement is correct. The American Delegation accepted at face value the agreement of the Soviet Delegation to full consultation, believing that the Soviet Delegation when it committed itself in written document to full consultation desired that consultation be full, and not restricted. The American Delegation endeavored through the press to inform the Korean people of the Agreement reached by the Joint Commission, and to inform them of the fact that they would under that agreement be granted the privilege of full and free consultation. While it is not desired to reply fully to the contention that mercantile, industrial, educational and similar organizations are not under the meaning of the Moscow Decision "Social Organizations", it is our desire to invite attention to the fact which mentioned at the prior meeting in Pyengyang, that the Moscow Decision fails to define a social organization. The American Delegation feels that if the Soviet Delegation challenges commercial and similar organizations as non-social, that challenge might well be made against labor unions and other types of organizations which are not under the Moscow Decision defined as social organizations. The Soviet Delegation again touches on the question of parties which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and quotes as fact that such parties have committed acts fomenting and inciting active opposition against the Moscow Decision. While the Soviet Delegation states that facts are available to them which will support this contention, they have not yet produced those facts. Until the American Delegation can get the facts where they can look at them and see whether or not they are facts, the American Delegation cannot accept the statements made as facts. In this connection, copious quotations are made from newspaper articles appearing in the South Korea press. The Chief commissioner of the Soviet Delegation knows, as well as does the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation and many other individuals in

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Korea, that statements published in the Korean press cannot be accepted as reliable. Furthermore, he knows that statements published in the press throughout the world are not acceptable as evidence in any court of law. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has previously informed the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that certain assumptions which he has quoted as evidence are not in fact well founded and can readily be proven to be incorrect. In this connection the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation quotes a statement of bearing in one of the South Korean newspapers concerning an interview held by General Brown, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, with certain representatives of a group of Koreans who instigated a disturbance on June 23rd. He specifically quotes a statement charged by one of these individuals to General Brown that he approved of their Anti-Trusteeship demonstration. For the information of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, and in order to write into the record the facts, General Brown will quote from the memo prepared by him on June 23, 1947, a memo written for the record:

"SUBJECT: Conference with Representatives of Rightist Youth Groups.

Paragraph 3. About 1430 Chief Chang, Taik Sang came to General Brown's office and informed him that three of the leaders of this crowd desired to confer with General Brown. The three leaders of the Rightist Youth Groups, Commissioner Chough, Pyung Ock, Chief Chang, Taik Sang, a Korean interpreter and General Brown met the three youth leaders in the Duk Soo Palace. The conference lasted about 45 minutes. The chief spokesman, a young man of about 23 years of age, appeared extremely excited, sweating profusely and speaking in a loud and domineering manner. He presented four demands; namely: that trusteeship be defined at once, that assurance be given that there would be a general election, that an independent government to be established by Kim, Koo be recognized as the government of Korea, that they were supporting the policies of Rhee, Syngman and Kim, Koo and they would not employ force and they would not hinder the work of the Joint Commission. Two of the three youth leaders spoke. They stated that they represented the leadership of Dr. Syngman Rhee and Mr. Kim, Koo; that they had a

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hundred thousand followers. When informed that over 500 political parties and social organizations, representing 65 million Koreans, had registered to cooperate with the Joint Commission and that the 100,000 which they said they represented would be a very small minority opinion, they claimed that Dr. Syngman Rhee was leading thirty million Koreans in a unified move against trusteeship; that they would continue demonstrations against trusteeship; that they would die if trusteeship were forced upon them; that they would murder various individuals if trusteeship were forced on them; and that their demonstrations would be peaceful and they would not interfere with the Joint Commission in its work.

"Paragraph 4. General Brown informed them that trusteeship could not be defined at this time; that the Joint Commission, working with the Provisional Government, would work out the aid and assistance to be rendered to Korea, which in fact would then be a definition of trusteeship as it would be applied to Korea; that it would be several months before this definition could be arrived at and that they would have this period of grace in which to live before committing suicide; that if they intended to demonstrate until trusteeship was defined they would have a long period of demonstration; that it was his opinion that they could best serve their country and also most likely attain their objective by working with the Joint Commission and informing it as to their views." The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation reported a statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that various figures which he had seen indicated that throughout all Korea the Rightists bore a relationship of about three to two Leftists , and he accuses General Brown because of the statement made of supporting the Right. That is a very strange charge to come from the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. It is the opinion of the American Delegation that the Soviet and the American Delegations are working together in an effort to develop facts in order that they may establish a Provisional Government over a united Korea. If that government is to be established on misinformation, suspicion and opinions rather than

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on facts, then this great Joint Commission will do a very poor job, and one which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is not willing to have his name associated with when the history of this Commission is written, as it will one of these days be written. Had consultation commenced today, July 7th, as it was originally scheduled to commence, by the present moment approximately 80 or 85 consultees would have been heard. With the organization created to conduct consultation approximately 100 representatives of parties and social organizations can be heard daily. If the Joint Commission were to devote the time which it is now wasting in discussion and debate, on consultation, all of the objections raised by the Soviet Delegation would be resolved and the work of this great Commission would go forward. We can debate these issues and many others which can be found, and can debate each question for months, but if we continue to approach our task in that fashion, we will never accomplish the mission assigned to the Joint Commission.

Commission recessed at 1535 hours, and was resumed at 1550 hours.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: In its statement, the Soviet Delegation has clearly stated its position by which it will be guided when the compilation of lists of parties and organizations starts. The Soviet Delegation understands that the American Delegation has confirmed in the statement of General Brown that the American Delegation has been striving to attract as many parties and organizations as possible for the submission of applications. Probably it is because of that request of the American Delegation that such a great number of social organizations and local organizations have submitted their considerations, but the Soviet Delegation cannot give its consent on the inclusion into the lists for consultation of such organizations of local and not of a social nature. The Soviet Delegation has stated that it is ready to consult only with general and zonal parties and organizations. As to the statement of General Brown concerning the published article in the newspaper "Seoul Shinmun" on the conversation with the three representatives of the youth organization, the Soviet Delegation may to a certain extent be satisfied with this explanation, but at the present time considers that General Brown is an official and responsible person of the Joint Commission. That is why any representative of any organization may refer only to the facts which are mentioned. The Korean public knows only the statement published in the press--whether it is invented or not--and inasmuch as it has not been refuted by anyone, each organization may interpret it as it likes. It is the opinion of the Soviet Delegation that this lie should be refuted in order to give the correct point of view of the American Delegation to the Korean public on all the events that took place. As to the statement of the Soviet Delegation concerning the definition of Rightist parties and organizations, it is illogical--these statements which were made by General Brown on July 3 in which he accused the Soviet Delegation of Leftist organizations. As to the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and parties and organizations which are

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members of this committee, the Soviet Delegation believes that the statements-- that all these facts and examples which have been mentioned here have been sufficiently proved. It is known to everybody, and first of all the American Delegation, that public opinion is created maintly through the press. All the facts which were published in the press have really taken place. The meeting of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee took place on the 16th and 18th of June and decision was adopted. Certainly the Soviet Delegation may not now present the minutes of this meeting, and besides we don't need to. One would have to be blind and dead in order not to notice the actions of this committee. The Soviet Delegation on its back has experiences these actions on the 23rd of June. Here in our Commission, representatives Mr. Balasanov and Secretary of the Soviet Delegation, Mr. Avramenko, may prove it. How can this delegation after such deed say that this committee acts in a proper manner and wish them success in their work. The Soviet Delegation was always of the opinion that parties and organizations which are members of this committee will not be included into the list until they declare to the press that they will abandon this committee and until they sincerely uphold the Moscow Decision and cease their fight against it. The Soviet Delegation agrees to commence consultation with parties and organizations which number over 10,000 members, with the exclusion of parties and organizations which are members of the anti-Trusteeship Committee. For this purpose, I move that the First Subcommission be entrusted with the compilation of these parties and organizations and submit it for the consideration of the Joint Commission, and today, I move that we discuss the fourth point on our agenda and approve the order of oral consultation so that the subcommission may carry out any necessary arrangements. As to the other organizations which have less than 10,000, that will be another decision of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No objections. Any proposals as to time of next session.

GENERAL BROWN: No. 1:30 tomorrow.

(Meeting adjourned at 1630 hours.)

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TRANSCRIPT OF 40TH MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
9 July 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Upon arrangement which was done between the Head Commissioners of the Joint Commission, at our today's session a representative of our allied country Lt. General Charles Gairdner is present. I welcome him as a representative of our allied country and I am glad that he is present as a guest at a session of the Joint Commission which is entrusted with the task of establishment of Provisional Korean Government.

We will take up the first question of the agenda. What additional proposals are there on this question?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation desires to present a statement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: OK.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has considered the statement submitted by the Soviet Delegation in the Joint Commission meeting of July 8th. The American Delegation is amazed by the position taken by the Soviet Delegation. The position of the Soviet Delegation, as interpreted by the American Delegation, varies so radically from the position taken by Mr. Molotov in his exchange of correspondence with the United States Secretary of State, that the American Delegation is not able to understand how a subordinate agency of a great government can undertake to modify the terms agreed upon by their government with another sovereign power; specifically, the confusion arises from the conflict between the statements made in the paper presented by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation with the following statements

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made in the exchange of correspondence between Mr. Molotov and General Marshall.

In his note of April 8, 1947, to Mr. Molotov, General Marshall stated the following as objectives of the policy of the United States towards Korea:

1. To assist in the establishment as soon as practicable of a self-governing sovereign Korea independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations.

2. To insure that the national government so established shall be representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people.

3. To aid the Koreans in building a sound economy as an essential basis for their independent and democratic state.

In his reply of 19 April 1947, Mr. Molotov stated as a primary Soviet objective "the establishment of Provisional Democratic Korean Government on the basis of a wide-scale of participation of Korean democratic parties and social organizations." I wish to invite particular attention to the word "wide-scale" in Mr. Molotov's statement just quoted.

In his letter to Mr. Molotov of 2 May 1947, General Marshall stated: "I had and have in mind the well-known position of the Government of the United States that Korean representatives of democratic parties and social organizations shall not be excluded from consultation with the Commission on the formation of a Provisional Korean Government, because of opinions they might hold or may have expressed in the past concerning the future government of their country, provided they are prepared to cooperate with the Commission."

In his reply of 10 May 1947, Mr. Molotov stated: "Your proposal, as I understand it, is to the effect that before the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission, agreement should be reached concerning the conditions for consultation with Korean

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democratic parties and social organizations. This was the subject of my exchange of correspondence between the Soviet and American Commanders in Korea, as a result of which, as I already answered in my previous letter, the points of view of the two sides were brought considerably closer." Mr. Molotov then submitted the three proposals made by General Chistiakov in his letter of November 26, 1946. This resulted, as you well know, in mutual agreement on the following provisions:

1. "Signing the declaration in Communique No. 5 will be accepted as a declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation."

3. "Individuals, parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission should not after signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Those individuals, parties and social organizations which after signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 do foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision shall be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission. The decision excluding such individuals, parties and social organizations shall be by agreement of the Joint Commission."

The agreements above stated, including in addition the second agreement not quoted above, were properly published in Joint Commission Decision No. 12 as the basis upon which the Joint Commission would conduct consultation. The American Delegation must abide by the agreement of the two Ministers and the Joint Commission Decision No. 12 to which they agreed in formal meetings of this Commission. The only view which the American Delegation can follow, based on

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sound interpretation of these documents, is as follows:

1. Parties and organizations which submit a properly signed application for consultation as provided in Joint Commission Decision No. 12, which quotes proposal No. 1 of the two Ministers, must be accepted for initial, I repeat initial, consultation.

2. In view of the fact that the Moscow Decision is silent as to definition of a political party or social organization, the American Delegation must be guided in its acceptance of those parties and organizations which claim eligibility for consultation by the normally accepted definitions of these terms throughout the languages of the world, rather than some narrow definition which the Soviet Delegation seems to be attempting to apply.

3. After acceptance and appearance for initial consultation, a party or organization will only be denied further hearing if, under the provision of proposal No. 3 agreed to by the two Ministers, proper, adequate and credible evidence is produced (not newspaper reports) to show that after signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 the individual, the party or the organization did foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. When such evidence is produced, it shall be presented before the Joint Commission which shall hear the indictment and determine under proposal No. 3 whether or not the party should be excluded.

4. To eliminate parties from the list prepared of those submitting properly signed and attested applications for consultation as provided by Joint Commission Decision No. 12, only:

(a) Upon acceptable evidence of specific cause such as fraud or serious misrepresentation of facts required as basis for registration (exaggeration of membership, having been generally committed in both North and South Korea, shall not be an acceptable basis of elimination for fraud),

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(b) Upon presentation of adequate acceptable evidence to the Joint Commission that since signing the declaration, a party or organization has fomented or instigated active opposition to the Moscow Decision, and then only as stated above - that is, in strict accordance with the provision of the 3rd proposal agreed to by the Ministers.]

The task of the Joint Commission is to establish a Korean Provisional Democratic Government. We must face facts. No real progress has been made toward that end during the present meeting of the Joint Commission. While certain agreements have been reached we are generally at or near the point where the Joint Commission was adjourned on 6 May 1946. Our two governments have agreed to review the work of the Commission in July and August. If this review were to be made now it is certain that the two governments would not be pleased at the lack of progress.

The Korean people were told that consultation would start on 7 July. It is now 9 July and the date of consultation is still not fixed. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation presented a very lengthy statement of the Soviet position on 8 July. While the American Delegation is always glad to hear the arguments of the Soviet Delegation, it must be admitted that the statement in general contained little that has not been brought out before the Joint Commission before or previously reviewed in Subcommission No. 1.

The Chairman of the American Delegation could if he so wished present an equally lengthy statement of the American position but he is not going to do so for a very sound reason.

The American position is too well known for repetition. A lengthy statement of this position is unnecessary as it would undoubtedly lead to endless rejoinders on both sides. The American Delegation feels that the Korean people are entitled to better consideration. Let us get on with the work essential to

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the formation of a Korean Provisional Democratic Government.

The American Delegation wishes to proceed with the consultation with the Korean parties and social organizations at the earliest possible moment in order to meet our commitments with the Korean people. We can no longer with propriety delay action on this matter. We must commence consultation on the broad basis contemplated by the Molotov - Marshall correspondence. We can no longer keep the world and the press uninformed on the present disagreement. We must present the facts to the world unless we can reach an agreement within a very short time.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Is that all?

GENERAL BROWN: Yes.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: In yesterday's session, the Soviet Delegation stated sufficiently clear its point of view and has proven it by a number of arguments. I have to state that the position of the Soviet Delegation does not contradict the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached as a result of the correspondence which was kept up between the Foreign Ministers of the USSR and the USA. First, let us take up the question concerning consultation with parties and organizations on a broad basis. The Soviet Delegation does not object to consultation on a broad basis. As it is known to the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation has defended the point of view of consultation on a broad basis. How can the Soviet Delegation give her consent to consult with organizations of a non-social nature. For instance, with the "Korean Forest Society" which is an agency of the Military Government, or for "The Committee to Help Women to Find Work", Department of Health and Welfare, an agency of the Military Government; or to the "Society of Distribution of Food", and a number of such organizations. Let us take for instance local organizations such as "The Mercantile and Industry Chamber in Yosu"; then the "Union of Producing Medicine", and such like. Isn't it clear that this doesn't follow the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and contradicts the Joint Commission Decision No. 12. If we follow this line, then we will have in North Korea a great number of parties. In the town of Pyongyang we would have 65 parties and all the parties and organizations in the counties and provinces in North Korea, then we would get a number that would exceed 20,000. The Soviet Delegation considers that this will prevent ..... Why does the American Delegation not understand this? How consider with regard to the number of organizations. The American Delegation rebukes the Soviet Delegation that it doubted the numbers of some organizations. It is quite natural that having a population of 18,000,000 to have a membership of over 70,000,000. This is a fantastic number. It is certainly a lot. Was the Soviet Delegation correct to demand to correct the number of Society of Building Workers which claimed to have above 1,000,000 members, while

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the number of those workers all over Korea doesn't exceed 1,000,000. Later on Mr. Dunce stated that such an organization does not exist at all. Why does the American delegation then not agree to check on organizations which arise such doubt. Why does Mr. Dunce decline to consider the list. The Soviet delegation sees in this an attempt to postpone the work and the compilation of lists which was foreseen in the Joint Commission Decision No. 16. We should consider thoroughly and adopt the objected decision. The Soviet Delegation has moved, on quite sound reasons, not to include organizations which are members of the so-called "Anti-Trusteeship Committee". It is a committee for fighting against the Moscow Decision. Thus, does this committee exist in the past or does this committee exist in the present? The Soviet Delegation, again referring to the press, has given a sufficient number of facts which prove that it does exist in the present. The Soviet Delegation taking up these agreements, first of all by the agreements reached upon by the Ministers. Here I would like to cite this proposal, proposal No. 3: "The following wording of this point is suggested: Individuals, parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission should not after signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Those individuals, parties and social organizations which after signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 do foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision shall be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission." The Soviet Delegation moves that organizations and members of Anti-trusteeship Committee which organized the struggle against the Joint Commission and instigated the Korean people, not to have these parties and organizations included into the list. The American Delegation was represented

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by newspaper articles then the American Delegation said that these newspaper articles cannot be trusted. I believe that if we desire we may get the minutes of those meetings, so I have got them now. These are irrefutable facts. It is known on the 23rd of June and organizaed demonstration meeting which was directed against the Joint Commission took place. Similar meetings took place in other provinces and towns of South Korea. In North Korea a demonstration took place in which about 200,000 men participated. This was a demonatration which expressed the support to the Joint Commission and desire of the people to uphold the work of the Joint Commission of the Moscow Decision. If we take the demonstration that took place in Seoul, this was not a proper expression of the people because the people uphold the Moscow Decision. This was a protest of Syngman Rhee and Kim, Koo which the people do not want to listen to. But what did these young hoodlums do. They demonstrated against the Soviet Delegation. Why does the American Delegation not uphold the Soviet Delegation on this question? Should we consider this a friendly way of action? I have already said that we are not blind; neither are we deaf. If we take again the demonstration that took place in Pyongyang, in spite of the heavy rain, a great many people came to support the Joint Commission. What are the suggestions of the Soviet Delegation. First, that the Soviet Delegation moves to assign Subcommission No. 1, for tomorrows session, to submit a list of parties and organizations which in the opinion of the Soviet and American Delegation do not raise doubt. There will be a large number of such parties and organizations which will exceed by far the number of those which should not be consulted. Second, to entrust both Chief Commissioners--General Brown and General Shtikov, to consider the list of parties and organizations who are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and summon their representatives and to demand that they declare, through the press, that they will stop anti-trusteeship activities and that they will uphold the Moscow Decision and the

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Joint Commission. Third, to take up Point 3 of our Agenda and to inform committees and assign them with the task to start consultation not later than July 11 in Seoul and as soon as possible in Pyongyang. Here is the Soviet view of the consultation. Does it contradict with the minutes? No it does not. The Soviet Delegation does not hesitate to inform the world publicly to the reasons of the delay of the consultation.

GENERAL BROWN: It is now 20 minutes until 3. The American Delegation suggests that we recess until 3 o'clock.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Yes.

The Commission then recessed at 1440.

The Commission reconvened at 1500.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will discuss a few points mentioned by the Soviet Delegation which regards certain parties or social organizations which have requested consultation with the Joint Commission, as ineligible for consultation. On page three of the statement of the Chief of the Soviet Delegation at a meeting of the US - USSR Joint Commission, 7 July 1947, the question is raised as to whether certain parties and organizations which have requested consultation do in fact exist. If the Soviet Delegation can present a list of parties which have requested consultation and which are known by them to be non-existent, the American Delegation will, by mutual agreement, agree to their elimination. On page four, the Soviet Delegation raises the question as to whether or not certain organizations are in fact social organizations. The American Delegation is willing for Subcommission No. 1 to reconsider any organizations questioned by the Soviet Delegation on the ground that it is a non-social organizations and if Subcommission No. 1 can mutually agree, it should submit appropriate recommendations for elimination to the Joint Commission. In considering these organizations Subcommission No. 1 should be guided by the statement contained in paragraph 2, page 3 of the Chief of the American Delegation, 9 July 1947. I quote, "In view of the fact that the

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Moscow Decision is silent as to a definition of a political party or social organization, the American Delegation must be guided in its acceptance of those parties and organizations which claim eligibility for consultation by the normally accepted definitions of these terms throughout the languages of the world, rather than some narrow definition which the Soviet Delegation seems to be attempting to apply."

On page 4 of the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, the Soviet Delegation recommends the elimination of those parties and social organizations which were created to fight against the Moscow Decision. The American Delegation is willing to proceed, to consider any challenge made by the Soviet Delegation under the agreements of Foreign Ministers. I quote, "Agreement 1. Signing the declaration in Communique No. 5 will be accepted as a declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation."

Paragraph 3 as previously reported in the statement of the Chief of the American Delegation provides a basis by which any party admitted for consultation may subsequently be challenged and the challenge heard by the Joint Commission and elimination agreed to by mutual agreement. In this connection, the Chief of the Soviet Delegation continues to refer to evidence which he has obtained from the Korean press. The Chief of the American Delegation has several times stated that such evidence is not credible evidence and cannot be accepted by the American Delegation. In order to further illustrate the unreliability of extracts from the Korean press, I desire to quote from a translation of an item appearing in the Min Joong Ilbo under the heading "Anti-Trusteeship Demonstration in North Korea. More than a Hundred Thousand

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Patriots Rose Up and Demonstrated in Pyong Yang." I quote:

"On the opening of the Joint Commission at Dosauri, Pyong Yang on the 2nd of July, a big anti-trusteeship demonstration was held. Five or six hundred thousand people desperately participated in the demonstration with resentment of restriction and oppression. In North Korea even those who are only longing for South Korea are to b e punished. In such a situation, no one can anticipate that more than a hundred thousand people demonstrated within a morning. The participators desperately risked their lives. In other words, their actions were heroic in the true sense of the word.

"On this day, the crowds were coming from all lanes to the main street in Pyong Yang with Korean national flags. Without anyone's order or leadership, the crowds were crying, "Break down communists," "Disperse the People's Committee," "Anti-trusteeship and immediate independence," "Kill Kim Il Sang and Park Hun Yung," and "Hurrah for Dr. Rhee and Mr. Kim Koo."

"The North Korean police were surprised at this unexpected people's up-rising. Some of the police ran away, fearing it. Bad and cruel policemen under cooperation with the Soviet Army used machine-guns in order to disperse the demonstrating crowds. But the crowds were conquered. One was shot and fell down, and his blood was running out. The following person held the dead body, continuing the anti-trusteeship demonstration. Another Soviet Army came and shot at the North Korean people. By late night the crowds were dispersed.

"The demonstration affected all the people all over North Korea. It is reported that now North Korea is under great excitement.

In the demonstration, 472 persons were killed on the spot, and 2,000 seriously injured. Besides, those who were slightly injured are countless. The coming situation in North Korea will be paid much attention by the world."

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If the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation believes so explicitly what is published in the Korean press, I ask what he has to say about this article?

I again propose that if the Soviet Delegation desires to challenge any political party or social organization which has qualified itself by signing the declaration approved by the two Ministers, that they do so as prescribed under the agreement of the Ministers and not by attempting at this late date to write an additional agreement into the proposals accepted by Mr. Molotov for the reconvening of the Joint Commission.

On page 9 of his statement, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation stated his opinion that certain insignificant, strictly local organizations should not be accepted for consultation. The American Delegation at prior sessions of this Commission strongly urged the Soviet Delegation to agree to a limitation of 1,000 as a minimum membership which an organization or political party must have in order to be accepted for consultation. The American Delegation is willing to again discuss the question of a minimum limitation with the Soviet Delegation in order to save work, should the Soviet Delegation desire. In order to avoid further delay, the American Delegation proposes that all political parties and social organizations with membership in excess of 10,000 be placed on the list for oral consultation and that oral consultation commence at the earliest practicable date with those parties and social organizations, in accordance with Joint Commission Decision No. 12. That Subcommission No. 1 be requested to review those parties and organizations with membership less than 10,000 in accordance with the statements contained in those proposal of the American Delegation, and by mutual agreement, prepare a list of those parties and organizations with membership less than 10,000 which should be consulted orally with the Joint Commission. This list to include all parties and social organizations with membership of less than 10,000 which are not by mutual agreement of Subcommission No. 1 excluded from that list. Any further disagreement of Subcommission No. 1 on this will be referred back to the Joint Commission for further consideration.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is glad that at last the American Delegation is agreed to assign the First Subcommission to start its immediate obligations. The Soviet Delegation agrees that the First Subcommission consider the question of parties and organizations, the assistance of which is suspicious. The Soviet Delegation also accepts the proposal of the American Delegation that the First Subcommission considers the list of non-social organizations so as to define the rest of the organizations, as to include them into the list or not to include them. General Brown declared that the American Delegation will be guided by the statement made by the Head Commissioner of the American Delegation on July 9th. The Soviet Delegation will be guided by the Moscow Decision and Joint Commission Decision Number 12. The Soviet Delegation has never moved a proposal and has never unilaterally excluded from the list parties and any organizations, and considers that exclusions of parties and organizations can be done upon the decision of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation accepts the proposal of the American Delegation to consider the list of organizations for inclusion into the list for consultation which have a membership of about 10,000 and to consider the rest of the organizations at a later date. The Soviet Delegation moves that the First Subcommission also discuss the question of parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, that it considers the arguments and motives which will be presented by the Soviet Delegation, and that it decides upon each such party and organization personally as to whether to have this party included into the list or not. All the questions which will not be decided by the first Subcommission should be submitted for further consideration by the Joint Commission. As to the reference of General Brown and the citation of an article from the South Korean press, I can say that this article is of an anti-Soviet nature and was published with provocational aim against the Korean social organizations in the

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north and also against the Soviet Command in the north. The Soviet Delegation here in the Joint Commission can do nothing but express its regret that this article has been cited here. It is not know to us why this article has been cited here. Moreover, the American Delegation was present during those days in North Korea. Inasmuch as many articles of such nature were published in the South Korean press and no immediate rebuttal was made and they were not condemned by the Americans, the Soviet Delegation is morally satisfied that the American Delegation witnessed that in the north there is order and peace and that the people of North Korea are united and are burning with desire to uphold the work of the Joint Commission and its efforts in the creation of a Provisional Government. Those who were responsible for this article, such as Kim Koo and Rhee, Syngman -- they have another time shown their alienation fromthe Korean people and have shown whom the Korean people uphold and whom the Korean people follow in reality.

GENERAL BROWN: If the Soviet Delegation indisputably believes all that is being published in the Korean press, I would like to know what the Soviet Delegation wishes to say or do in connection with the quoted information.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation mentions here citations from the Korean press only such which it believes and which it considers to be reliable. The Soviet Delegation cites official statements, or official information, or such information which was eye-witnessed by herself.

GENERAL BROWN: The Soviet Delegation, in other words, accepts from the press that which it wishes to believe and discards that which it does not wish to believe. The Soviet Delegation is in fact attempting to convict certain political parties and social organizations which under the agreement of the Foreign Ministers and under Joint Commission Decision Number 12 are eligible for consultation by this Commission without a hearing. Joint Commission Decision Number 12 provides a method by which a political party or social organization may be indicted and may be given a hearing. The American Delegation cannot agree to convict a party or social organization on newspaper

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reports and without a hearing.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has never and no where approached things unilaterally and unobjectively. The Soviet Delegation has always suggested and is suggesting now to consider in strict conformity with those documents which were signed by our governments and by the Joint Commission. There has never been and will never occur an instance where the Soviet Delegation will independently, and without a decision of the Joint Commission accept any decisions. The Soviet Delegation has always in the Joint Commission and Subcommission given a fair hearing, and will always listen carefully to the arguments of the American Delegation, and it also wants to have a mutual attitude on behalf of the American Delegation as to questions. As it is known to the Soviet Delegation in the First Subcommission, and in the Commission, the wish of the Soviet Delegation was to completely discuss each party and organization. The American representative, Mr. Bunce, refused at all to consider this question. That is why the Soviet Delegation considers it to be a great achievement that we have assigned the First Subcommission to compile this list. The Soviet Delegation considers that we will thus leave this dead point at which we have been up to now and will thus in the next few days start consultation with parties and organizations.

GENERAL BROWN: In order to reach final agreement on the issue before the Joint Commission, the following joint decision is proposed for adoption by the Joint Commission: (1) All parties and social organizations with over 10,000 members shall be included in the list, unless excluded by mutual agreement in Subcommission No. 1; (2) Such parties and organizations shall be immediately notified and dates arranged for oral consultation; (3) Subcommission No. 1 shall review all parties and social organizations under 10,000 membership and by mutual agreement exclude those that are considered too small, or fraudulent, or not to be classified as social as defined in the minutes by the U. S. Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that these proposals of the American Delegation be typed so that we can look them over. I suggest a 15-minute intermission.

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The Commission recessed from 1620 hours and reconvened at 1655 hours.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has the following remarks: Point 1 of Joint Decision -- the Soviet Delegation moves to be set in the following wording "All parties and social organizations which have about 10,000 members will be, upon mutual agreement in the First Subcommission, included into the list for consultation with the Joint Commission." Point 2 is being accepted in the full wording which was suggested by the American Delegation. Point 3 -- the Soviet Delegation suggests the following wording: "The First Subcommission has to consider all parties and organizations which have less than 10,000 members and upon mutual agreement decide which of these will be included into the list for consultation and which of them will be declined for being too small, and those who have submitted fraudulent information, or those which cannot be considered social."

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GENERAL BROWN: The amendments proposed by the Soviet Delegation are not acceptable to the American Delegation. The reason why they are not acceptable are--paragraph 1 of the agreement reached between the Foreign Ministers prescribes, I quote: "Signing the declaration in Communique No. 5 will be accepted as a declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation." Paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12, as revised, states, I quote: "Subcommission No. 1, upon receiving the application for consultation, shall compile a list of all democratic parties and social organizations and their designated representatives of North and South Korea which have signed the declaration in paragraph 2." It is a fact that a list has been prepared as prescribed by Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The Soviet Delegation is now, contrary to the agreements which they have signed, endeavoring to include on the list only those which they will agree to. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to have the list reviewed and by joint agreement to exclude for cause.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is informed that the Joint Commission has adopted a decision and has assigned Subcommission 1 to compile a list of parties and organizations to consult with the Joint Commission. Point 5 of this decision reads: "Upon receiving applications on consultation, Subcommission No. 1 compiles a list of all democratic parties and social organizations of North and South Korea which have signed the declaration contained in paragraph 2 and a list of their designated representatives." In compliance with paragraph no. 5 of Joint Commission Decision No. 16, the following point no. 3 was included into this document: "The list of parties and organizations which have signed the declaration and the list of their designated representatives is being discussed in Subcommission 1, and after agreement submitted for approval to the Joint Commission." Here are two decisions of the Joint Commis-

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sion. The Soviet Delegation would like to know when the American Delegation intends to commence the fulfillment of these decisions. How much time will the American Delegation need in order to start the fulfillment of the decisions which have been approved by it. I suggest that Subcommission No. 1 commence its work tomorrow on the compilation of a list of parties and organizations to be consulted by the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation is not endeavoring to exclude any part or organization from the list inasmuch as such a list does not exist at all. It should be known to the American Delegation inasmuch as General Brown in his statement on July 3 stated: "The head of the Soviet Delegation proposes to continue to refer to an American list. Such a list does not exist. Somebody had to compile it. It is to be presented in the form of a tablet for information concerning parties which submitted applications for consultation. This list is not known to the American Delegation with the exception of Mr. Bunce and a few other members of his Subcommission. They do not even know which parties and organizations are included in this list." I earnestly ask the American Delegation and the head of the American Delegation to consider this list and give their conclusions in order not to waste any time. We have spent more than a week's time without having achieved any positive results on the issues.

GENERAL BROWN: (The Joint Commission will make little progress) if the Soviet Delegation continues to argue from error. Paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision 12 requires that a list be compiled. Paragraph 3 of Joint Commission Decision 16 states that the list compiled as required by paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 be referred to Subcommission No. 1. If a list is referred to Subcommission No. 1, the only thing Subcommission No. 1 can do with it is to remove certain parties and social organizations from that list. The effort of the Soviet Delegation to argue that paragraph 3 of Joint Commission Decision 16 requires Subcommission No. 1 to compile a list is an error and must be known to the Soviet Delegatio

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to be an error. Such argument only confuses the issue and wastes the valuable time of the Joint Commission. Furthermore, what does paragraph 3 of Joint Commission Decision No. 16 require that Subcommission No. 1 do? It requires that they exclude from that list by mutual agreement if in their judgment exclusion is necessary. Why by mutual agreement? The letter of General Hodge of December 24 quoted by Mr. Molotov and accepted by him as the basis for the reconvention of this Commission states that in all cases exclusion shall be by mutual agreement. This was purposely written to prevent unilateral exclusion such as is now being attempted by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation is also anxious to get on with the work of the Joint Commission and requests the Soviet Delegation to cease this useless effort of using erroneous interpretation of agreed documents to prove their contention. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation stated that on July 3, General Brown declared that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation continues to refer to a U. S. list, that he stated further there is no such list--such list is unknown. Had the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation gone through the transcript and read the entire record, he would know that he is again reading into the record an error because General Brown added in some detail the fact that the reason there was no U. S. list was because the Soviet member of Subcommission 1 had not participated in the work of preparing the list and that the work therefore was performed by the American members of Subcommission 1. It is recommended that/since it is now 5:20 P.M, that the Joint Commission adjourn for the day.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The only thing that I can say is to ask the American Delegation to carefully study the documents which were signed by us--the Joint Commission. Second, the Soviet Delegation, as it should have done, presented a list of parties and organizations of North Korea, and the Soviet Delegation asks the American Delegation to do the same--to present a list of parties and organizations of South Korea. I hereby declare the meeting closes. The next meeting will be tomorrow at 1300.

(Meeting adjourned at 1730 hours.)

US - USRR Joint Commission
TRANSCRIPT of Meetings
(Meetings # 41 to 50 Incl.)
(10 July 1947 - 1 August 1947)

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Transcript of 41st Meeting
US - USSR Joint Commission
1330 hours, 10 July 1947

Chairman - General Shtikov.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments on the proposed agenda today?

GENERAL BROWN: Approved.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: So we shall take up point 1 on todays agenda. The Soviet Delegation moves the following decision for consideration of the Joint Commission. In order to expedite the work of the Joint Commission and the beginning of the consultation with democratic parties and social organizations, the Joint Commission should adopt the following decisions: First, to assign Subcommission No. 1 to submit a list for consultation with the Joint Commission on parties and social organizations which have a number of members above 10,000 with the exception of parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. Second, to assign Subcommission No. 1 to present to the Joint Commission proposals on the question of the possibility of admission for consultation of parties and social organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, being guided that these parties and social organizations may be admitted for consultation with the Joint Commission only in case they abandon the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and cease their fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. Third, to assign Subcommission No. 1 to consider the question on the inclusion into the list of organizations which are not included into the list of organizations which are not social organizations, and also the question of organizations which have less than 10,000 members and to present their proposals on the order of admission of these for consultation with the Joint Commission, being guided by the Moscow Decision and Joint Commission Decision No. 12. Fourth, to assign Subcommission No. 1 to consider also the question of organizations where the membership of which and the effect of their existence is doubtful and submit its proposals to the Joint Commission.

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Fifth, to assign Subcommission No. 1 to prepare for the Joint Commission's session on July 12, a proposal on the date of commencement of consultation--the text for the announcement on the commencement of the consultation and the list of parties with which the Commission will commence the order of consultation during the first days.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is anxious to commence consultation at the earliest possible date with all parties and organizations, including those which were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or which may still be nominally held as members of this committee which have membership of 10,000 or in excess of 10,000. The American Delegation is willing to exclude from the list of parties and organizations those with membership of 10,000 or above, any party or organization which has fraudulently presented facts which have caused it to be accepted for inclusion on the initial list. The American Delegation is not willing to exclude from this list a party or organization simply because it at one time held or now holds membership in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or any other organization. The declaration signed by the parties and organizations which made them eligible for inclusion on the initial list under the agreement of the Ministers is acceptable evidence of its good faith to fully support the Moscow Decision and to cooperate with the Joint Commission. in the formation of the provisional government. Because of the long and consistent attacks made by the Soviet Delegation on the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and certain parties and organizations which have been included on the initial list prepared for consultation, the American Delegation has caused an exaustive investigation of this organization to be made by one of the alternate members of the American Delegation to the Joint Commission, Mr. Sargent. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will request Mr. Sargent to submit to the Joint Commission the results of his investigation into this organization, Mr. Sargent.

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MR. SARGENT: The American Delegation has carefully investigated the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. Special concern has been devoted to investigation of acts that might be construed to mean that any parties that have applied to the Joint Commission for consultation, and that at the same time are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, have committed an act that constitutes opposition to the Moscow Decision or an act of inciting or fomenting active opposition to the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers. This investigation considered the charges and alleged evidence proffered by the Soviet Delegation in its position that parties who are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee should be excluded from consultation. In addition to consideration of the specific items presented by the Soviet Delegation, this investigation by the American Delegation has been a comprehensive study of all other acts, in order to determine whether or not in any way the parties in question have committed any act that subsequently at some future date might be raised as grounds for exclusion. This investigation has produced no evidence of any basis for exclusion. As is possibly known to the Soviet Delegation, the original Anti-Trusteeship Committee was first organized in January 1946. It was re-organized in June 1946. After June 1946, the Committee lapsed and was not revived until May 19, 1947. The latter Anti-Trusteeship Committee is the one to which the Soviet Delegation presumably refers, dating from May 19, 1947, with membership very similar to that of the original Committee. The Committee organized in May claimed a membership of thirty-five political parties. It was under the nominal leadership of Rhee, Syngman and Kim, Koo. After one month's strenuous but unsuccessful effort to align all Rightist parties in active opposition to Trusteeship, the organization went into complete inactivity on 19 June 1947 after having completely failed to attain its objective. Since that time the so-called Anti-Trusteeship Committee has been, at most, in a coma and perhaps may be regarded as dead. For all practical purposes it is a defunct organization. Prior to 19 June 1947, the political parties that the Soviet

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Delegation charges have compromised themselves for consultation with the Joint Commission participated in conferences held under the auspices of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. However, these parties that the Soviet Delegation charges were unwilling to subscribe to the objectives of the Committee and insisted on supporting the orderly procedures of the Joint Commission. It is largely a result of the stand which these parties took, directly opposing the program of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and supporting the Joint Commission, that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee has gone into inactivity. After having withdrawn their support from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee's program of opposition to the Joint Commission, the parties that had decided to support the Joint Commission and participate in the activities provided by the Joint Commission, organized a group of all the political parties that had refused to support the Anti-Trusteeship Committee program and had insisted on supporting the Joint Commission. These parties were led into cooperation with the Joint Commission by the largest and most influential, the Hankook Democratic Party. This organization was known an the United Council. On 19 June the United Council made clear its position in the following declaration of its platform: (a) Establishment of the provisional government should be by national election throughout the North and South, in order to establish the provisional government according to the principle of self-determination. (b) After the provisional government has been formed in the manner above stated, if any measures of help and assistance are imposed infringing upon the Korean sovereignty, such measures should be resisted by the provisional government. (c) In the establishment of the provisional government, the legal tradition of the provisional government of the Republic of Korea should be followed. Among its charges the Soviet Delegation refers to a newspaper item from the Seoul Times of June 21, 1947. This item seemingly implies an intention to transplant the formerly so-called Chungking provisional government and Kim, Koo and to establish it and its personnel as the government of Korea. This erroneous item is obviously an incompetent translation of

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of paragraph three of the United Council's platform. The meaning of this paragraph has no feference to the personnel of the Chungking provisional government. It means merely that the United Council subscribes to the general structure and name (Republic of Korea) that were adopted by the first provisional government. It is well here to point out that neither Kim, Koo or Rhee, Syngman, nor parties under their direct control, have applied for consultation and consequently there can be no thought that either Kim, Koo or Rhee, Syngman should participate in consultation with the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation has charged that the parties in question were responsible for and participated in the demonstration of 23 June 1947. The investigation by the American Delegation is convincing that none of these parties had any part in the demonstration. Furthermore, prior tothe demonstration itself these parties were ignorant of the plans for the demonstration. All evidence collected in this investigation indicates that, especially in the final analysis, Kim, Koo was personally responsible for the demonstration, and of course he is disqualified for consultation. Actual directions for the demonstrations are believed to have been issued by Kim Koo's immediate subordinates. The demonstration was carried out by a students' organization which executed the demonstration independently and without participation of any political parties or other groups. On the day of the demonstration, Kim, Koo addressed a letter to the American Delegation of the Joint Commission acknowledging his responsibility for demonstrations, signing in the name of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. As a document of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, this letter may be regarded as a forgery. The Anti-Trusteeship Committee already had become inactive, and Kim, Koo, on his own, fallaciously purporting to represent the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, sent the letter, Knowledge and responsibility for the letter do not extend beyond Kim, Koo and his immediate following. It might be pointed out that even had the parties in question participated in this demonstration, which is not true, according to thestrictest observance of the agreements which affect the eligibility of a party to participate in consultation

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whereby a party is exonerated for acts committed prior to signing Communique No. 5, none of these parties could be regarded as ineligible; for most of the parties in question actually applied for consultation subsequent to the period of the demonstration.

The conclusion developed by this investigation is that in no way has any of the parties whose eligibility for consultation is question by the Soviet Delegation compromised itself or committed any act upon which a charge of ineligibility can be substantiated.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We will have a 10 minutes recess.

GENERAL BROWN: Yes.

The Commission recessed at 1420.

The Commission reconvened at 1430.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has gone over the information which has been presented by Mr. Sargent upon the results of the investigation of the activity of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and on the activity of the parties and organizations which are members of this Anti-Trusteeship Committee. Judging by this information, one can make a conclusion that this committee does not exist but inasmuch as in the South Korea press very often many articles appear on behalf of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and consequently these parties and organizations which are members of this committee willingly or unwillingly hold responsibility before the public and before the Joint Commission and they should hold such responsibility for the public and the Joint Commission. If these parties and organizations have signed the declaration and decided to sincerely uphold the Joint Commission, then the activities of those persons who are still in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and who represent their parties, compromise themselves and create a wrong impression about these parties. In order to avoid long, and it may save accusations which are not deserved to which these parties are subjected, then consequently they should after this investigation which has been carried out by the American Delegation and their own reasons that all these parties which are members and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, publish their declaration

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that they would have nothing to do with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and that they abandon it and that by signing declaration contained in Communique No. 5, they render all kinds of assistance to the work of the Joint Commission in order to expedite the work of the Joint Commission in the establishment of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government. Thus all arguments on this question will be ceased in the Joint Commission. If they do so then Kim, Koo will not succeed anymore to compromise the Democratic Party and other parties. This is the proposal of the Soviet Delegation which should be accepted before the Joint Commission. The work which has been done by Mr. Sargent is great and it should not be spent in vain.

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GENERAL BROWN: The parties and organization to which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation refers have signed the statement declaring specifically, I quote: "We,(party), declare that we will uphold the aims of the Moscow Decision on Korea as stated in paragraph 1 of this decision, namely: 'The reestablishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles, and, the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea'. Further, we will abide by the decisions of the Joint Commission in its fulfillment of paragraph 2 of the Moscow Decision in the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government . Further we will cooperate with the Joint Commission in working out by it with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government of proposals concerning measures foreseen by paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision". Under the agreement of the Foreign Ministers, I quote:"Signing the declaration in Communique No. 5 will be accepted as a declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation". The fact that a list of the parties which have signed the declaration, which I have read, will be published in the newspapers will place everyone on notice that the parties to which the Soviet Delegation takes exception have in fact signed a solemn agreement to cooperate with the Joint Commission. The American Delegation does not approve the request on these parties that they sign further statement of good intention. The American Delegation wishes to specifically invite the attention of the Soviet Delegation to the fact that under the first agreement, as just read, signing of the declaration entitles the party to initial consultation. Whether or not the party shall be consulted beyond the initial consultation depends entirely on whether the party con-

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tinues to subscribe to that declaration which it has signed. If at any time after initial consultation it departs from its pledge, provision is made by which it can be eliminated from further consultation. That provision is found in paragraph 3 of the agreement of the two Ministers. The American Delegation is not willing to go beyond those agreements.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation in making suggestions has considered them quite natural and logical. If in the press and official documents, Kim Koo everywhere declares that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee acts, then consequently those parties and organizations which are members of it act together with this Committee. Each party and organization, therefore, which has self-respect should once and for all declare that it has nothing in common with this Committee. If a party or organization does not wish to do so, why should the Soviet Delegation then not believe that the parties and organizations which have signed the declaration did so in order to carry on their struggle against the Joint Commission during its work. This is proved by the official document signed by Kim Koo. Up until now, this has not been refuted by anyone. The Soviet Delegation, as it is known, has made a proposal that it together with the American Delegation investigate this question so that, as General Brown stated, an innocent person be not punished. For some reason, the American Delegation has preferred to unilaterally investigate this without inviting the Soviet Delegation to participate. In order to be impartial and so that the Soviet Delegation may be convinced of the sincerity of these parties and organizations, we move that Mr. Sargent and Mr. Balasanov be assigned to repeat this work. When this work is done, the Soviet Delegation will be convinced that the facts and documents which it has at its disposal are incorrect and that these parties sincerely uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. Then, we shall without doubt consult with these parties and invite them for work with the Joint Commission. This does not contradict agreements reached by the two Foreign Ministers. The Soviet Delegation does not wish to undertake unilateral acts but wishes to be strictly gided by point 3 of the agreed conditions of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The American Delegation maintains that the Soviet Delegation has no reason to accuse these parties and organizations. The Soviet Delegation has presented facts--examples which have not yet been refuted. Kim Koo is still the

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chairman of this Anti-Trusteeship Committee. He has organized demonstrations and provoked the attitude toward the Soviet Delegation. Let those parties and organizations which are members of this Anti-Trusteeship Committee be responsible until they abandon this Committee. If we ask--Are these demands of the Soviet Delegation legitimate?--Yes they are because the facts which were presented by the Soviet Delegation are irrefutable.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states that the Soviet Delegation believes the press which states that Anti-Trusteeship Committee parties or that parties affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee have signed the declaration in order to organize a struggle against the Joint Commission. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation read into the record a day or two ago an article from the Korean press which he has no doubt that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation fully believes because apparently the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation believes everything he reads in the Korean press. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation wishes to read another article from the Korean press which no doubt the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation will also believe. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation may find 100 such articles. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation must take great interest in reading and believing these articles. I read from an article of July 9 in "Hyern Dai Ilbo": "It is reliably reported that the Democratic Council, with the name of Dr. Rhee, sent a request to General Hodge asking him to investigate the anti-trusteeship demonstrations in leading towns in North Korea which brought about over 400 persons killed and 2,000 wounded. The Chairman of the Democratic Council will send an appeal to the United Nations and General Marshall and Mr. Bevin of England and Foreign Minister Won of China asking them to uphold human rights and investigate the anti-trusteeship demonstrations and manslaughtering done by Russians in North Korea". The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delega-

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tion charges that the U. S. Delegation conducted a unilateral investigation and asks that Mr. Sargent and Mr. Balasanov repeat this investigation. Mr. Sargent conducted no investigation of any political party or social organization. He inquired as to the facts concerning the accusation of the Soviet Delegation that certain parties had falsified their signature to official documents--a very serious charge and one which has not yet been substantiated by any evidence produced by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation does not desire and considers it beneath the dignity of the Joint Commission to question the sworn statement of any party or organization of an official document without adequate proof of falsification. If these parties are to be investigated, then all parties should be investigated, and the first investigation should be conducted to determine why only parties representing the People's Front have been registered in North Korea. Why is it that all the 13 million people are represented by only one political complexion of parties. If the Soviet Delegation will throw North Korea open to free investigation, then this Joint Commission can well devote the next six months to investigating political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea, and there is no doubt but that much valuable and interesting information would be developed as the result of such investigation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states that the Soviet Delegation has given facts--examples and proofs which have not yet been shown wrong. If the Soviet Delegation has given any facts, any examples, or any proofs, they have done so in such a tone of voice that they could not be heard by the American Delegation. The American Delegation has been requesting that the Soviet Delegation produce facts, and after all the three weeks of argument, the Soviet Delegation has not yet produced one fact. They have merely produced certain oral statements from the Korean press. The American

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Delegation today laid the facts on the table before the Soviet Delegation, which delegation does not desire to believe them and apparently is not willing to accept them. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation asks if the Soviet Commander's demands are not legitimate. He does not state why he is repudiating the agreement signed by his Minister nor is he stating why he is repudiating the agreement of the Joint Commission contained in Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and signed by him. The American Delegation again suggests that the Joint Commission get on with its work of consultation, and at the earliest possible moment commence consultation with all political parties including those which were at one time members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation declared at the close of the meeting on 9 July that the Soviet Delegation had presented a list of political parties and social organizations of North Korea for consultation, and chided the American Delegation for not doing the same for South Korea and for thus delaying consultation. The following is a review of the facts of the case: Subcommission No. 1 presented the Soviet Delegation with lists, in the prescribed form, of both the South Korea political parties and social organizations that had applied for consultation and their designated representatives on 24 June 1947, the day after the deadline for receiving applications. This list included a complete list of those groups which applied for consultation in South Korea and fulfilled the prescribed conditions as presented in Joint Commission Decision No. 12, which made no provision for unilateral rejection of applications for consultation by either Delegation. Because of the large number of applicants, and the desire to complete initial consultation in two weeks, the American Subcommission No. 1 worked out a plan for completing all consultation in South Korea in eleven days. Under this plan, the Joint Commission would have fulfilled the obligation assumed in Joint Decision No. 12 to consult with all groups who fulfilled the stated conditions, although the representatives of the smaller

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organizations would have been heard in groups. Instead of discussing this plan, the Soviets launched new efforts aimed at unilateral exclusion. American Subcommission No. 1 also recommended to the Soviets on the 25th and 26th of June the deletion of three names from the South Korea list because of fraudulent claims of membership and duplication. It also called attention to other errors in membership figures, and made necessary corrections. American Subcommission No. 1 compiled lists of organizations of both North and South Korea with 10,000 or more members, and on 3 July proposed that consultation with all these organizations begin on 7 July, as had been announced to the Koreans. The Soviet Delegation consistently rebuffed these American attempts to arrange for consultation as agreed upon in Joint Commission Decision No. 12, and persisted in manoeuvers which would give them the power to exclude unilaterally from consultation those groups with whom they differ in political outlook. A comparison of the two lists indicates: North Korea: The Soviet list includes 38 organizations, almost all of which are affiliated with the Peoples' Committee, and represent the "official" North Korea point-of-view. In effect, a very substantial body of people in North Korea, the non-Communists, will have little or no voice in the North Korea consultations. The same rules for applying for consultation were in effect both north and south of the 38th parallel. The Soviets have claimed that if local organizations had applied in North Korea their applications would have numbered in the hundreds. Just why did not at least one or two such organizations apply for consultation? Is the North Korea list actually the list of those organizations which applied for consultation, or is it a list compiled by the Soviets and the Peoples' Committee? The latter answer is strongly implied in the Soviet stand against certain types of organizations, notwithstanding the fact that Joint Decision No. 12 does not define groups eligible for consultation, and in the lack of any but the officially controlled groups in their list. South Korea: This list is long, and includes many small local organizations, as predicted by the American Delegation when the Soviets refused to agree to inclusion in Joint

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Decision No. 12 of elimination of local organizations, as well as those with less than 5,000 members. However, the list includes a wide diversity of organizations, representing all shades of political, economic, and social opinion, and therefore should provide a sound instrument through which to get a true cross-section of Korean opinion, as provided for in the Moscow Decision. The North Korea list certainly cannot give this same cross-section of political opinion in North Korea. The American Delegation proposes that the Joint Commission cease this useless discussion and commence at the earliest possible moment with consultation with all political parties and social organizations, including those former members or now members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee which have in excess of 10,000 members, and that decision as to consultation with those parties and social organizations with less than 10,000 members be reserved for later determination.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to receive a copy of the last statement that was made. It is hard for me to keep in mind all the questions that were touched upon by General Brown and to give answers to these questions, but I shall try to answer some of them that I could keep in mind. The first question touched upon by General Brown was /concerning the statement of the Soviet Delegation that all the parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee declare in the press that they have abandoned this committee and that they have nothing in common with it. As it is seen from the statement of the American Delegation, this proposal of the Soviet Delegation is unacceptable to the American Delegation, but the reason why this proposal is unacceptable by the American Delegation may be supposed by the Soviet Delegation from the attitude of the American Delegation towards those parties and organizations which carry on a struggle against the Moscow Decision. This attitude proves that the American Delegation sympathizes with these organizations -- we might say that it encourages them. Second point, that the Soviet Delegation believes too much what is being published in the press. General Brown on behalf of the American Delegation wanted

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to make the Soviet Delegation not believe as presented a number of inspired articles of an anti-Soviet content. This was done yesterday and the same thing has been done today in today's session. This was done with such circumspection that the Soviet Delegation cannot help suspecting which are the sources of similar articles; moreover, that the American Delegation was present during that time in Pyengyang. The Soviet Delegation has not presented during all the sessions a single article which would be of anti-American character. It is clear to the Soviet Delegation why the American Delegation shows such an interest in articles of an anti-Soviet nature. The last statement of the American Delegation makes it understand why does the American Delegation have such an interest towards these articles. General Brown stated then that he is not willing to repeat such an investigation inasmuch as an investigation has already been done by Mr. Sargent. Here I would like to add that General Brown stated that the American Delegation did not conduct an investigation, but only looked through the facts which were presented by the Soviet Delegation. It seems to me that the American Delegation does not remember clearly what has been said in today's session. It is impossible to deny things which have been mentioned, and especially when these things are mentioned in a session. When Mr. Sargent made his report he stated, "The American Delegation has thoroughly investigated the Anti-Trusteeship Committee", and further he stated, "The investigation indeed has proven that there doesn't exist any reasons for exclusion." How is it that a reporter says one thing and says that this was an investigation, and the chairman says just the opposite -- that it was not? Whom should we believe then -- should we take the document of the American Delegation then? Then General Brown mentioned that the American Delegation considers it beneath its dignity to not believe parties and organizations which have signed the declaration. In answering this question I would like to say that the Soviet Delegation considers it beneath its dignity to be deceived, and after the signing of the declaration to receive stones into the breast of the Soviet Delegation. Further on General Brown stated, "If we

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start investigation, then let us investigate other things, such as why in the north, with a population of 30 million there are presented parties only of one political view?" The Soviet Delegation may state that all existing democratic parties and social organizations which wish to participate in the consultation with the Joint Commission and which are zonal organizations, and parties have signed the declaration and submitted it, are eligible for consultation with the Joint Commission. Further, General Brown remarks that in North Korea all 38 parties and social organizations are connected with the Peoples' Committee and that they are almost all of them Communistic. In answering this I would like to say, yes, all these 38 parties and social organizations are connected with the Peoples' Committee, because there is not a single party or organization in the north which did not participate in the political power. Not a single party and organization which existed in North Korea from 1945 has been disbanded. Not a single leader of any party or organization has been imprisoned, in spite of the political convictions that they hold. As to their membership in the Communist party -- first, they are not Communists, and second, the democratic party in North Korea and the party which is Chung Dong Pyo (?) and others represent such strata of the population which are not yet able to become Communists. General Brown asks, "Who has compiled a list of parties and organizations in Northern Korea?", and he himself tries to answer this question -- that this list was probably compiled by the Soviet Delegation together with the People's Committee. As it is known, the People's Committee is an administrative power in Northern Korea, whether the American Delegation likes it or it does not like it, and the People's Committee was elected by the people. The list of representatives which was submitted to the Joint Commission was compiled by the Soviet Delegation on the basis of those applications which were sent in. The American Delegation has got them as well. General Brown expressed his doubt in saying that this list was compiled by the People's Committee. The American Delegation in this respects its personal experience, inasmuch

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as the American Delegation has proposed all parties and organizations of a non-social nature, and of an economic nature, to submit applications. This experiment is not quite successful, and contradicts the Moscow Decision. Further, General Brown stated that parties and organizations of North Korea applied for consultation, and he cannot see that the real wish of the people of North Korea was through these representatives. In this connection I would like to give the American Delegation the following text which proves that these parties and organizations express the will of all the strata of the population of North Korea. These parties and organizations have conducted elections of their local organs of power, and to vote for the candidates and slogans came 99 persons of all the entire electorate, and 97 of them gave their voices for these local organs of power. This was done by free election. If the American Delegation wishes to investigate this fact, the Soviet Delegation doesn't mind to organize such an investigation. The Soviet Delegation made its proposals during yesterday's Joint Commission session, and moves its proposals today to have these proposals done by the Soviet Delegation passed in today's session.

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GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation thinks that the American Delegation sympathizes with one political party. The American Delegation sympathizes with all political parties and believes that the Joint Commission should take the attitude that all political parties are entitled to equal consideration by all members of the Joint Commission. Unless the Joint Commission can take that point of view, it cannot succeed in its task. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation refers to the use by Mr. Sargent of the word "investigation". That word includes many meanings. Mr. Sargent might well have used the word "inquiry". An inquiry is an investigation. Mr. Sargent was not speaking of a formal investigation, but he was speaking of such an inquiry as would produce facts to answer statements which were erroneously made by the Soviet Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation speaks of the pleasure derived by the American Delegation from certain articles read by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. He probably intended to use the word "humor" instead of "pleasure". The articles had much humor in them and certainly the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation enjoyed the humor in those articles. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation asks who inspired these articles. Most inspired articles appearing in the South Korea press have in the past been inspired by the Leftists. It is a new departure for a Rightist paper to produce an article such as read by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. These articles quoted by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation were merely to prove the unreliability of the Korean press which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states he believes so firmly. Instead of the Americans inspiring the Korean press, as intimated by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, to write such articles the papers which published them were severely

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taken to task by the Commanding General of the United States Armed Forces in Korea and were informed that they faced the possibility of being closed down if they published such lies. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has disclosed much interesting information concerning the political situation in North Korea. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation appreciates this information and thanks him for it. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation regrets if he has misunderstood any facts regarding the political situation in North Korea. He has been guilty of the same fault as the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation in believing that which he has read in the press.

In order to proceed with the work of the Joint Commission, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation proposes that the Soviet Delegation prepare and furnish to the Joint Commission a list of those parties and social organizations which in their judgment should be barred from initial consultation and state the reasons which in their judgment should bar such parties from initial consultation and state specifically that agreement reached between the foreign ministers and that agreement presented in Joint Commission Decision No. 12 upon which they base their contention that the parties and social organizations which they recommend not be initially consulted are barred.

The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation now proposes that the Joint Commission adjourn until Monday - that during the time of adjournment a Joint Communique be prepared - that this Communique fully state the divergent views which face the Joint Commission in order that the press of the world may be fully informed as to the impasse now facing this Commission and as to the views of the Soviet Delegation concerning the agreed proposals of the Ministers, their interpretation of Joint Commission

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Decision 12 and the similar views of the American Delegation concerning these documents.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation agrees that we have the next regular meeting of the Joint Commission on Monday, but in order not to waste two days the Soviet Delegation moves a new draft of Joint Decision with a list of parties and organizations to be considered by the First Subcommission yesterday and that recommendations of whether these be submitted for Joint Commission consideration on Monday.

Concerning the communique, the Soviet Delegation does not mind working at the proposed communique during these days. Now, for General Brown's information I would like to cite General Brown's statement on July 8.

"The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has cited the statement which was made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation concerning the co-relation between the Rightist and Leftist parties -- the number of the membership in the proportion 3-2, and doing so he hinted that General Brown was thus upholding the Rightist wing. It is a very strange accusation of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation."

Further, the statement mentions that it is not fair from the point of your history. Today General Brown has told the Soviet Delegation that it defends one political school. In answer to this, the Soviet Delegation wants to state it does not defend any political school -- what it does defend is the Moscow Decision, and further if General Brown will attempt to make the same accusations then I will give him the same answer because the saying says, "Sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

Here I hand to the American Delegation the proposed draft of the Joint Decision of the Soviet Delegation and a list of parties and organizations with a membership about 10,000 people attached

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to this draft. The first point of this proposed draft reads, "To assign Subcommission I to consider the attached list for consultation of the Joint Commission of parties and organizations of South and North Korea with applications with a membership of about 10,000 people each". This draft contains four points which state the order of inclusion into the list. Further, I suggest that General Brown and myself be given two days leave.

GENERAL BROWN: General Brown would like two days leave but it is going to take two days to write this joint communique.

The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation requested the Soviet Delegation to present to the Joint Commission on Monday a list of those parties and social organizations which they recommend be removed from the list of parties and organizations as now prepared and as it stands before the Joint Commission, state their reasons why they recommend the elimination of such parties and social organizations, basing that reason on a specific paragraph of an agreement reached by the Foreign Ministers or a specific paragraph of Joint Commission Decision 12, the agreement reached by the Joint Commission.

The American Delegation cannot agree to have Subcommission I consider any list except the full list. The American Delegation cannot accept the principle that the Soviet Delegation by unilateral action can decide what parties go on the list. The list has been prepared in accordance with Joint Commission Decision 12, agreed to by the Soviet Delegation, and in accordance with that decision a natural and proper list of all parties and organizations for private consultation. The problem facing the Joint Commission is not to create a list but consider the Soviet request to remove certain parties and organizations from an existing list. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will accept the

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document handed him by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation merely as information and for analysis and for no other purpose. In order to save two days time, if the Soviet Delegation cares to continue working on this problem the American Delegation proposes; one, that Subcommission I meet and consider the list as now prepared under the following conditions:

All parties and social organizations over 10,000 members shall be included in the list unless excluded by mutual agreement in Subcommission I. Such parties and organizations shall be immediately notified and dates arranged for oral consultation. Subcommission I shall review all parties and social organizations under 10,000 and by mutual agreement exclude those that are considered too small or not to be classified as social as defined in the minutes by the United States Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The American Delegation headed by General Brown made such a statement because it has not yet made a study of the new draft which was presented by the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation considers that the proposals of the Soviet Delegation will be presented for consideration by the Subcommission I and those three proposals which were presented by General Brown are similar to those presented in the new draft of the Soviet Delegation. That is why I consider we continue our work and assign Subcommission I to continue its work tomorrow.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will review with much interest the proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation and in addition those proposals which have been prepared in accordance with the principle which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has just read. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will request Dr. Bunce to contact Mr. Tounkin and arrange a meeting of Subcommission I. I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No objections.

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TRANSCRIPT OF 42ND MEETING
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
14 July 1947 at 1330 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL BROWN: The Joint Commission is all present. Are there any comments on the agenda as proposed?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No objections.

GENERAL BROWN: The first item on the agenda is the Joint Communique. The American Delegation has read carefully the communique presented by the Soviet Delegation which differs in form from that submitted by the American Delegation. The American Delegation has made one slight change in the communique which it previously presented to the Soviet Delegation. On Page 5 it has added the following two sentences to the second paragraph: "The U. S. Delegation has many times offered to review systematically the whole list of parties and consider any and all objections by either delegation to various parties and organizations in order to make a decision as to which should be excluded through mutual agreement. The Soviet Delegation has repeatedly refused such proposals." The American Delegation considers that the press release prepared by the American Delegation suggests more clearly and in better form the divergent views between the two delegations than does the press release prepared and submitted by the Soviet Delegation. It is the proposal of the American Delegation that the press release prepared by the American Delegation be released by them and that if the Soviet Delegation desires to release a press release prepared by the Soviet Delegation, that they do so. In issuing these communiques they should be issued without further change by either delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has also considered and studied the press communique submitted by the American Delegation. Those amendments which were made by the American Delegation on its original draft communique are new, not only in this communique, but they are new as to the sense of the question. Inasmuch as this amendment was received by the delegation here in the Joint Commission at the

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beginning of the session, we are not able to check on the stenogram in order to find out when and during which session the American Delegation made such a proposal. As it is known to the Soviet Delegation, the American Delegation has not only not moved, but just the opposite, it declined such proposals when the Soviet Delegation moved them. That is why if this amendment of the American Delegation is not for the communique, but for the sense of this proposal, I have then a proposal that the Joint Commission today agrees to direct Subcommission No. 1 to check on the whole list of applicants and consider the objections to each party from each side, and then include into the list upon mutual agreement. If this is acceptable, the Soviet Delegation is ready to start its work, inasmuch as this coincides with its frequent proposals on this question. Concerning the question of the contents of the communique which was presented by the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation moves that the draft of the communique presented by the Soviet Delegation be published, inasmuch as this draft presented by the Soviet Delegation is mostly impartial, and truthfully reflects the positions of both delegations which were taken here during the sessions of the Joint Commission. The proposal which was made by General Brown that separate communiques be published is not on the agenda today. The question that is being discussed today is the publication of a joint communique.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation desires to quote from the transcript of the record of the 40th meeting. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation stated during the discussion in that meeting, "The Soviet Delegation has never moved a proposal, and has never unilaterally excluded from the list parties and any organizations, and considers that exclusion of parties and organizations can be done upon the decision of the Joint Commission." A short time later the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation made the statement, "All parties and social organizations which have about 10,000 members will be upon mutual agreement in the First Subcommission included into the list for consultation with the Joint Commission." I

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ask the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation how he can defend his statement made by him that he has never proposed that the Soviet Delegation shall have the power of exclusion, when within the next two pages he proposes that the Soviet Delegation be given a veto power over any party and decide whether or not it is to be included in the list. If this is not exclusion, I don't know what the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation can think exclusion is.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Yes, the Soviet Delegation during the 40th session declared that it has never intended to unilaterally exclude any party or organization, and moved then the proposal that all these political parties and organizations which have a number of members over 10,000 should be included into the list, including those parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and that this inclusion into the list be mutually agreed upon. This proposal the Soviet Delegation stated in its stenogram, and it is the proposal of the Soviet Delegation which has been done. Concerning the word "veto", the Soviet Delegation has never used this word, and has never endeavored to apply this word in its actions. Now why does the American Delegation take such a liking to this word? It is probably on account of this that the American Delegation wants to unilaterally do away with Point 3 of the agreement of the ministers, which reads, "Those persons, parties and social organizations which after the signing of the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 will inflame or instigate active opposition against the work of the Joint Commission, or against any of the Allied Powers, or against fulfillment of the Moscow Decision, will be excluded from consultation with the Joint Commission. The decision of excluding such persons, parties and social organizations will be made upon agreement of both delegations in the Joint Commission." It is this point that the American Delegation tried to put a veto on. I still would like to have the American Delegation cite the places in the stenogram which would reflect its proposal which is being added to the draft of the communique by the American

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Delegation. I would like the American Delegation to give a direct answer to this question. "The American Delegation has many times proposed a systematic check on the whole list of applicants and to look through all the objections from the side of each delegation concerning various parties and organizations in order to find out which parties should be excluded upon mutual agreement." I would like to know when, during what session, and what is the number of the stenogram in which this proposal of the American Delegation was done. I would like to have an answer to this question.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is considerably confused. He does not understand the question of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The American Delegation has moved an additional proposal to its original draft of the communique, and this additional proposal of the American Delegation reads as follows, "The American Delegation has many times proposed a systematic....." I would like to underline the words "many times"..... "a systematic check on the whole list of applicants, and to look through all the objections of either delegation concerning the various parties and organizations, in order to find out which parties should be excluded upon mutual agreement." The Soviet Delegation has not received such a proposal from the American Delegation. In not a single session has this proposal been received by the Soviet Delegation, and that is why the Soviet Delegation would like to hear now during which session this proposal was made, and ask the American Delegation to cite this proposal from the stenograms which were done.

GENERAL BROWN: On Page 16 of the transcript of the 40th meeting of the Joint Commission held in Seoul, Korea, on 9 July 1947, at 1330 hours, there is the following: "GENERAL BROWN: In order to reach final agreement on the issue before the Joint Commission, the following joint decision is proposed for adoption by the Joint Commission: 1) All parties and social organizations with over 10,000 members shall be included in the list, unless excluded by mutual agreement in Subcommission Number 1. 2) Such parties and organizations shall be

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immediately notified and dates arranged for oral consultation. 3) Sub-commission Number 1 shall review all parties and social organizations under 10,000 membership and by mutual agreement exclude those that are considered too small, or fraudulent, or not to be classified as social, as defined in the minutes by the U. S. Delegation." That is at least the third time which the Chief Commissioner of the U. S. Delegation made a similar proposal. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again inviting the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation's attention to his statement previously read from the record, that the Soviet Delegation does not desire the right to exclude unilaterally, asks the Soviet Delegation why if that is a correct statement of their intent, they cannot accept the proposal made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation in the 40th meeting of the Joint Commission, as just read.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Yes, there is such a proposal of the American Delegation in the minutes of the 40th session, but this proposal does not coincide with the amendment which was made by the American Delegation to its original draft communique. I would like to read again this proposal which has been presented by the American Delegation, and invite the attention of the American Delegation to it, and at the same time I would like the American Delegation to compare these proposals submitted by her with the three points. "The American Delegation has many times tried to systematically check on the whole list of applicants....." I would like to have the words, "the complete list of applicants" underlined..... "and to consider all possible objections from both delegations concerning various parties." "Objections from both delegations." I would like that underlined as well. ".....in order to find out which parties should be included upon mutual agreement." Those three points of the American Delegation which are read into the minutes don't deal with the checking of all parties and organizations. They only refer to parties and organizations, the membership of which is about 10,000 people. That is why the Soviet Delegation moves the following proposal. If those amendments made by the American Delegation are reliable -- that is, if we can believe in these amend-

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ments, then I would like to repeat again the proposal of the Soviet Delegation to direct Mr. Bunce, the representative of the American Delegation, and Mr. Tounkin, the representative of the First Subcommission in the Soviet Delegation, to check on the whole list of applicants and to consider all objections from both sides concerning each party, and have the question of inclusion in the list solved by mutual agreement. Then if this is so, the American Delegation should not object, and there is no place for further disagreement at all, for Subcommission Number 1 will be able to complete its work in no more than two days.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation wants to again read what he just read, and which apparently the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation did not understand. The extract from the 40th meeting which General Brown read a moment ago appears on Page 16 of the copy of the transcript now before the American Delegation. It reads: "1) All parties and social organizations with over 10,000 members shall be included in the list unless excluded by mutual agreement in Subcommission Number 1. 2) Such parties and organizations shall be immediately notified and dates arranged for oral consultation. 3) Subcommission Number 1 shall review all parties and social organizations under 10,000 membership, and by mutual agreement shall exclude those that are considered too small, or fraudulent, or not to be classified as social, as defined in the minutes by the U. S. Delegation." That does not take a portion of the parties, it takes all parties -- those above 10,000 and those below 10,000. When you add the two together, you have a whole -- every party. The difference in the Soviet point of view and the American point of view is this: There is now before the Joint Commission applications signed by approximately 460 parties who have applied for consultation. If in Subcommission Number 1's meeting the question as to whether or not a party is to be excluded from the list comes up, that matter is discussed. Those 461 parties having applied for consultation have been placed on a Joint Commission list. It is the American Delegation's

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contention that they can only be removed from that list by mutual agreement. As the American Delegation understands the Soviet Delegation's contention, it is that there is at present no list in existence, that in order to prepare a list both delegations must mutually agree to place a party on the list. The American Delegation cannot accept that proposal because it would give the Soviet Delegation the power through objection to bar any party from being placed on the list. That is the veto power to which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has referred. Under the agreement of the foreign ministers, and under the agreement reached by this Commission in Joint Commission Decision Number 12, all parties and social organizations applying for consultation have been placed on, and are entitled to a place on the list until they are removed under the provision of Joint Commission Decision Number 12.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have already stated in my foregoing statement, the American Delegation has not made its proposal in the form in which it is stated in its amendment to the original draft communique. Here it is stated the American Delegation proposed to check on the whole list of applicants and this proposal has not been done to check on the whole list of applicants. It seems that this point was given a wording in order to have it published in the press and doing so to put the American Delegation in the position that the American Delegation has frequently done this proposal before. As to the list of parties and organizations, the Soviet Delegation believes that such a list in reality does not exist and this work was explicitly stated in General Brown's statement during Joint Commission session on July 3rd. Here is a statement done by General Brown. "The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation continues to refer to the American list. Such a list does not exist. Somebody had to compile it. It is to give this list the form of a tablet and to include information concerning parties and organizations which have applied for consultation. This list is not known to the American Delegation with the exception of Mr. Bunce and a few members of his Subcommission. Moreover, they do not know which parties and organizations are included into this list." This citation which I have just now presented has been done strictly to the stenogram. Now I would like to cite the decision which states who should present the list. This decision is No. 16.3.

"List of parties and organizations which have signed the declaration, and the list of their designated members is being discussed in Subcommission No. I and after agreement presented for approval of the Joint Commission."

Such approved list has not been compiled by the First Subcommission and has not been presented. The American Delegation in

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spite of frequent proposals of the Soviet Delegation has refused to assign this task to Subcommission No. I -- the list of parties and organizations which the Joint Commission should consult.

Moreover, on July 10 the Soviet Delegation has moved two drafts of proposals. The first drafted proposal by the Soviet Delegation was declined by the American Delegation in the session when it was moved, while the second proposal was promised to be started by the American Delegation and to later on inform the Soviet Delegation when the American Delegation agrees to have the work of the Subcommission start or commence. Such a promise on behalf of the American Delegation did not follow. Moreover, when Mr. Tounkin rang up Mr. Bunce and asked whether the American Delegation was ready to start its work, the answer was negative. The Soviet Delegation itself, without having the agreement of the American Delegation, cannot make Subcommission No. I work, but inasmuch as the American Delegation has moved an additional proposal the Soviet Delegation believes that if it is possible Subcommission No. 1 may start its work on this basis of the proposal. In case this proposal is not for the press, but it seems to me that if this proposal of the American Delegation was originally intended for the press the American Delegation would define it. As is seen from all documents which are included into the stenograms of the Joint Commission, the proposal on checking on the whole list of parties and organizations was done by the Soviet Delegation but not by the American Delegation. Why did the American Delegation need now in today's session move such an amendment to its original communique. It has been done in order that this point may be published for the public and the American Delegation thus be placed in a very radiant light before the public. Facts and documents are things which cannot be denied.

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GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is delighted to hear that facts and documents cannot be denied. He will now proceed to produce facts and documents which show that seven times since this issue first arose between the two delegations he has proposed a solution which has been seven times opposed by the Soviet Delegation. It is quite likely that if a thorough search is made of the transcript the figure seven may be materially increased. Before proceeding to do that, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation wants for the third time to correct an erroneous statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. Namely, that in a meeting on July 3 General Brown stated that there was not a list of parties and organizations. General Brown has written into the record his views on this matter and has twice previously informed the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that what General Brown stated was that there was not an American list -- that the American members of Subcommission No. I had in accordance with Joint Commission Decision 12 prepared a list of all parties and social organizations which had applied for consultation as required by paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision 12. This list was the Joint Commission list, not the American list. Provision for that list is made by paragraph 5 of a document agreed to by the Soviet Delegation and signed by their Chief Commissioner. I do not know why the Soviet members of Subcommission I were not present and did not assist in the preparation of this list. The fact is that they did not assist in its preparation. That does not destroy the fact that it is a Joint Commission list prepared in accordance with an agreed decision.

On July 3, page 15 of the transcript, General Brown proposed sending notice to all political parties and social organizations

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of North-South Korea with a membership in excess of 10,000 that they appear for consultation beginning July 7, small controversial parties not to be summoned for consultation until further consideration can be given them by Joint Commission. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation accepted this proposal except that he insisted that party members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee be warned against what he considered certain unfavorable actions.

In the 39th Meeting on July 8 the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again proposed that consultation be immediately started with all parties and organizations with membership in excess of 10,000 and that consultation with the others be delayed until the list could be reviewed by Subcommission No. I.

In the 40th Meeting of the Joint Commission on July 9, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation stated -- I propose to read this rather lengthy statement because it brings into focus the error recently stated by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation.

"If the Soviet Delegation can present a list of parties which have requested consultation and which are known by them to be non-existent, the American Delegation will, by mutual agreement, agree to their elimination. ....., the Soviet Delegation raises the question as to whether or not certain organizations are in fact social organizations. The American Delegation is willing for Subcommission No. I to reconsider any organizations questioned by the Soviet Delegation on the ground that it is a non-social organization and if Subcommission No. I can mutually agree, it should submit appropriate recommendations for elimination to the Joint Commission. In considering these organizations, Subcommission No. I should be guided by the statement contained in paragraph 2, page 3 of the statement of the Chief of the American Delegation, 9 July 1947, I quote, "In view of the fact that the Moscow Decision is

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silent as to a definition of a political party or social organization, the American Delegation must be guided in its acceptance of those parties and organizations which claim eligibility for consultation by the normally accepted definitions of these terms throughout the languages of the world, rather than some narrow definition which the Soviet Delegation seems to be attempting to apply.'"

General Brown regarding parties and social organizations which were created to fight the Moscow Decision states:

"The American Delegation is willing to proceed, to consider any challenge made by the Soviet Delegation under the agreements of Foreign Ministers. I quote, 'Agreement 1. Signing the declaration in Communique No. 5 will be accepted as a declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation.'"

General Brown again refused to accept articles from the press and stated: "I again propose that if the Soviet Delegation desires to challenge any political party or social organization which has qualified itself by signing the declaration approved by the two Ministers, that they do so as prescribed under the agreement of the Ministers and not by attempting at this late date to write an additional agreement into the proposals accepted by Mr. Molotov for the reconvening of the Joint Commission."

With regard to the question of local organizations, General Brown pointed out that at prior sessions the American Delegation had strongly urged the Soviet Delegation to agree to a limitation of 1,000 as a minimum membership which an organization or political party must have in order to be accepted for consultation. He stated, "The American Delegation is willing to again discuss the

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question of a minimum limitation with the Soviet Delegation in order to save work, should the Soviet Delegation desire." General Brown then proposed, "In order to avoid further delay, the American Delegation proposes that all political parties and social organizations with membership in excess of 10,000 be placed on the list for oral consultation and that oral consultation commence at the earliest practicable date with those parties and social organizations, in accordance with Joint Commission Decision No. 12. That Subcommission No. I be requested to review those parties and organizations with membership less than 10,000 in accordance with the statements contained in this proposal of the American Delegation, and by mutual agreement, prepare a list of those parties and organizations with membership less than 10,000 which should be consulted orally with the Joint Commission. This list to include all parties and social organizations with membership of less than 10,000 which are not by mutual agreement of Subcommission No. I excluded from that list. Any further disagreement of Subcommission No. I on this will be referred back to the Joint Commission for further consideration."

Again at the 41st Meeting of the Joint Commission on July 10, 1947 General Brown stated, "The American Delegation is anxious to commence donsultation at the earliest possible date with all parties and organizations, including those which were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or which may still be nominally held as members of this committee which have membership of 10,000 or in excess of 10,000." And again later in the same session, General Brown again proposed that the Joint Commission get on with its work of consultation with all political parties including those which were at one time members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and finally in the concluding stage of that Meeting, General Brown

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proposed that Subcommission I meet and consider the list as now prepared under the following condition: "All parties and social organizations over 10,000 members shall be included in the list unless excluded by mutual agreement in Subcommission I. Such parties and organizations shall be immediately notified and dates arranged for oral consultation. Subcommission I shall review all parties and social organizations under 10,000 and by mutual agreement exclude those that are considered too small or not to be classified as social as defined in the minutes by the United States Delegation."

It is not the purpose of the American Delegation in writing a sentence or two into a communique to seek publicity. Those sentences are written into the communique to announce to the world facts which are duly recorded in the transcript of this Commission and should be known to the world. The American Delegation believes that it will be useless to try to resolve the divergent view point in the joint communique. It is common knowledge that there is considerable disagreement in the Joint Commission. The reason for this disagreement is not known, nor the views of the Soviet and American Delegations known. The Korean people were promised that consultation would take place on 7 July. It is now 14 July. If consultation had commenced on 7 July it would be approximately two-thirds complete by this time. It is time that the world, and particularly the Koreans, be informed of the divergent views. The American Delegation therefore proposes to issue a statement to the press unilaterally and at the same time recognizes the right of the Soviet Delegation to take the same action. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to attach to its press release the exact text of the offer which the American Delegation has made to the Soviet Delegation at least seven times and as read a few minutes ago by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation from the transcript of the 40th Meeting of the Joint Commission.

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GENERAL BROWN: It's 3:30 and I propose a ten minute recess.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Inasmuch as the French Consulate is celebrating an occasion at the French Consulate, maybe we should adjourn today at four o'clock, so I propose that we not have a recess. General Brown stated that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has long decided General Brown's statement in Joint Commission session on July 3 in Pyongyang. I have General Brown's statement in the exact wording which is written into the stenographic record as it was translated and put down by the stenographers of the Soviet Delegation . As to the list of parties and organizations which was compiled by the American Delegation and the accusation that the Soviet Delegation did not, for an unknown reason, participate in the compilation of this list, I would like Mr. Tounkin to give a statement to make this clear.

MR. TOUNKIN: General Brown has just now stated that there is a list of the Joint Commission and that it is unknown to him why the members of the Soviet Delegation did not participate in the compilation of this list. General Brown's comments come as a great surprise to me. It was agreed that both the Soviet and American representatives in Subcommission No. 1 compile lists of parties and organizations which have submitted applications for consultation in North Korea and in South Korea. Such lists were compiled by both the Soviet and American Delegations in Subcommission. The order of procedure of compilation of this list was given the exact wording in Joint Commission Decision 16. Point 2 of this decision reads: "Information submitted by the parties and organizations after translation will be forwarded by the Secretariats with the respective chairmen of Subcommission 1 on the basis of the aforementioned information and/shall there be compiled a complete list of parties and organizations which have applied for consultation and a separate list of designated representatives. The list of parties and organizations which had signed the declaration as well as the list of their representatives shall be discussed in Subcom-

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mission 1 and full agreement will be submitted for approval to the Joint Commission." In compliance with this decision, Subcommission 1 on June 25 started the discussion of a preliminary workable list. During the first session of Subcommission 1, it was discovered that among those organizations who submitted applications for consultation, there were non-existent organizations. It was discovered that there were three such organizations, and they were thus excluded from the workable list. It was also discovered that there were organizations which gave such a number of members as to arouse suspicion. Subcommission No. 1 dedicated three sessions to discussing the preliminary list--June 26, 27 and 28--and during these sessions, the Soviet Delegation moved a number of proposals, and moved the proposal to check on the existence of a number of organizations, the existence of which aroused suspicion and the number of members in organizations which aroused suspicion. Further, inasmuch as the list itself had already shown that many organizations were not of a social nature, the Soviet Delegation moved to discuss and, if necessary, to check so it could convince itself that we did not include into the list organizations which should not be included on the basis of the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation also made a proposal concerning local organizations and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. After this, the American representative of Subcommission No. 1, Mr. Bunce, quite unexpectedly stated that the preliminary list which was discussed in Subcommission 1, from which three non-existent organizations were excluded, should not be submitted for any changes and that it should be presented to the Joint Commission as it was. Point 3 of Joint Decision No. 16 clearly states that a list which should be primarily agreed upon should be presented. As a result of the position of the American Delegation in Subcommission 1, the Subcommission did not go further on the discussion of this list. That is why the statement of the Soviet Delegation that such a list

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which was foreseen by Decision No. 16, point 3, and Decision No. 12, point 5, does not exist. Such a statement of the Soviet Delegation corresponds to reality.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is known that the Soviet Delegation has a number of times proposed to consider suggestions in Subcommission 1 with regard to the order of oral consultation and the creation of the necessary number of subcommittees. The Soviet Delegation has proposed that consultation be started immediately with parties and organizations which both sides are not suspicious of. The third proposal of the Soviet Delegation was that Subcommission 1 start its work of checking on parties and organizations which have submitted applications for consultation of a local nature and also to discuss the question concerning parties which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The Soviet Delegation has presented a number of facts and examples which prove its position. Even after the statements which were made by Mr. Sargent that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee does not exist, articles that are published in the newspapers prove that such a committee does exist, and not only does it exist but there are articles referring to its activities. Further, the Soviet Delegation proposed that the question concerning the existence of some organizations be made clear. What was the reason for such proposal? The Soviet Delegation has every right to demand this inasmuch as 152 standard answers which were quite identical in nature were received, and these presented documents prove that they were printed at one printing shop and seemingly they were directed under the guidance of the Democratic Party. The Soviet Delegation suspects that this list has non-existing parties--parties which are branches of the Democratic Party which have no right to be consulted. The Soviet Delegation, having sincerely taken the American Delegation's amendment to the original draft communique on this basis moves the following proposal: The Joint Commission directs Subcommission No. 1--Mr. Bunce and Mr. Tounkin--to start the work and to check on all the applicants on the lists,

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and to consider the objections of both delegations in regard to various parties and organizations, so as to find out which parties and organizations should be included into the list upon mutual agreement. Concerning the question of a communique, it is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that such a communique should be released and that it should be a joint communique--not a unilateral one. I have no further comments, and I suggest that we adjourn.

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GENERAL BROWN: In order that there can be no misunderstanding as to what was said by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation concerning the preparation of allist, an abstract of the 38th meeting o of the Joint Commission, 3 July 1947, Pyongyang, Korea, page 19 will be read: "The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation keeps referring to the US list. There is no such thing as a US list. Somebody had to do the work of recording the data concerning all parties and social organizations which have requested consultation. The Soviet Delegation did not do this work, so it was done by the American Delegation. The American Delegation had to collect and type it. They had the facilities to do this work. They did not compile a US list, they compiled a list of all the Joint Commission list." Mr. Tounkin in his statements has referred to what he called the "working list". He stated that non-existant organizations were removed by Subcommission No. 1 from the "working list". He also refers to a "preliminary list". He stated that Subcommission No. 1 had devoted three days to discuss the "preliminary list". Joint Commission Decision No. 16, paragraph 5 refers to "a list". Joint Commission Decision No. 16, paragraph 2 refers to a "complete list". So we have five names for it. The Chief of the Soviet Delegation called it the "American List". The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation calls it the "Joint Commission List". Joint Commission Decision No. 16 calls it "The Complete List", Joint Commission Decision No. 12 calls it "the list", and yet, Mr. Tounkin in closing his statement states that there is "no list". It is rather difficult for the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation to follow such a line of thought. It is intimated by Mr. Tounkin that three words written in paragraph 3 of the Joint Commission Decision No. 16 were written into this decision for the express purpose of giving the Soviet Delegation the veto power over the list prepared by the Joint Commission. I will quote the three words "and following agreement". If one follows the logic of Mr. Tounkin's remarks, the list, whether he calls it a "working list",

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a "preliminary list", a "list", a "complete list", an "American list", or a "Joint Commission list" would remain buried in Subcommission No. 1 until a complete agreement could be reached in that Subcommission on every comma, semicolon, paragraph, name, etc, in the list. Mr. Tounkin knows that this is an absurd contention. If some individuals wrote these three words into Joint Commission Decision 16 to accomplish any such purpose as that, he has failed miserably because no thought would uphold that contention anywhere in the world. What happens if a Subcommission cannot agree? This disagreement is referred to the Joint Commission. That is what happened in this instance. The reason why Subcommission No. 1 did disagree was because the Russian member of that Subcommission tried to write an addition proposal into Joint Commission Decision No. 12 after the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation signed that Decision which his Delegation had agreed to. Naturally the American member of Subcommission No. 1 could not agree to such a proposal. Disagreement occurred and the matter was properly referred to the Joint Commission. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation again proposes that the list be referred to Subcommission No. 1 to review this list in order to include on the new list that they are going to prepare, only those parties and social organizations which the Soviet Delegation agrees to put on that list. The American Delegation can never agree to a proposal of this sort. It is quite apparent from the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that the Soviet Delegation feels that the right of a hearing should be denied a large segment of Korean people. He mentioned the fact that 152 Rightist Parties submitted similar answers to the questionnaire but he fails to mention the fact that the answers received from the members of the "People's Front" both North and South Korea, are almost unanimous. The American Delegation is willing to hear the Leftists and is willing to hear the Rightists. It insists that the Joint Commission must hear both the Right and the Left. It makes no difference whether we like the Right or the Left, this

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Commission is an impartial international body. It is created by a treaty solemnly agreed to by our governments. It is guided by an agreement recently reached by the Ministers of our governments. That fact that a few individuals on this Commission may not like the words "right" or "left" is no excuse for this body to proceed to waste time in the way that we have been doing recently and to delay the proper prosecution of the task assigned to us. As far as the Communique is concerned, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again informs the Soviet Delegation that the American Deo.gation believes it will be impossible to get an agreement on a Joint Commission Communique. It believed that the Korean people and the people of the world are entitled to have the facts concerning the present divergence in viewpoint. The American Delegation, therefore, proposes to issue the Communique which it has prepared and transmit to the Soviet Delegation. It has no objections to the Soviet Delegation likewise issuing the Communique which it has prepared and transmitting it to the American Delegation.

If the Soviet Delegation wishes to adjourn for today, the American Delegation has no objections. Does the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation desire to take a 10 minute recess or does he desire to adjourn?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has stated its opinion concerning the Joint Communique and has moved a suggestion that this Communique be a Joint Communique because this corresponds to Joint Commission Decision on this question. The Communique of the Joint Commission will expound the viewpoints of both Delegations. Further the Soviet Delegation understanding is that the statement of the American Delegation concerning a list of that which already exists contradicts Joint Commission Decision No. 16 which states that this list should not be a unilateral one but should be compiled in Subcommission No. 1 for further consideration by the Joint Commission and for final decision by both head Commissioners. Concerning the statement of General Brown on July 3rd in Pyongyang, I cannot accuse my steographers for having made any mistakes because

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they have taken down what was translated during that session concerning General Brown's statement. As to the question of "rightists" and "leftists", as it is well known to the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation has no left, and never insisted upon the exclusion of rightists. This may be well proved by the list of parties and organizations with a membership of over 10,000 members which was submitted by the Soviet Delegation on July 10. There are both "rightists" and "leftist" organizations. I don't mind that the meeting of our session be adjourned.

GENERAL BROWN: If the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation continues to tell the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that he plus two equal five, he may eventually believe it, but it will take more practice yet before he gets in that state of mind. It is a fact that the list submitted by the Soviet Delegation on the 10th of July excluded 24 rightist parties with a total membership of 17,260,000, including probably the most important, if not one of the most important parties in South Korea and I might incidentally add one of the most hated by certain of our "leftist" friends, the so-called "Hankook Minju Dang", or Democratic party. It is quite evident to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is accepting too literally some of the advice being given to him by certain politicians of South Korea.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation did not include into its list some Rightist organizations--the Democratic Party that has been referred to--because these parties are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. As to whether this party is a leading party or not, I want to say that such party represents the views of the majority of the people. As to the remarks made by General Brown not to closely follow the advice of some politicians, I will have to say that I am guided not by the advice of politicians but by the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by the Foreign Ministers and Joint Commission decisions.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is again stating that two plus two equal five. Of the 24 parties which he has eliminated, 9 belong to the Anti-Trusteeship Committee.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation moves the proposal to have these lists checked and would like to know why the American Delegation declines this proposal.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation declines the proposal because it excludes without cause from a prepared list, certain parties who have qualified for consultation by signing the declaration and submitting applications for consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is known to the Soviet Delegation that the American Delegation has been defending parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee--which have been carrying on their fight against the Moscow Decision, but it is not known to the Soviet Delegation why the American Delegation does not defend the Moscow Decision. I move that we adjourn and continue our work tomorrow.

GENERAL BROWN: Just one more thing--the American Delegation believes in fair play. It believes in carrying out its agreement, and it will defend any party that has applied for consultation

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which has signed the declaration and which has qualified under an agreement signed by the American Delegation--whether that party is Right, Left, Center, membership in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or the Dogcatchers Committee or anything else.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Even those who do not exist, the American Delegation continues to defend.

GENERAL BROWN: And, if any of these parties violate their agreement, the American Delegation will challenge them as provided by the agreement between the two Ministers and will not attempt to challenge them under a new rule worked up by the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has presented proof that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee exists and that it continues to carry on the struggle against the Moscow Decision which is inconsistent with the agreement reached by the Foreign Ministers and stated in point 3.

GENERAL BROWN: If the Chief of the Soviet Delegation considers what he has stated before the Joint Commission as proof, I would hate to have him sit on a court and try me for murder.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It seems that we should stop the incriminations because it does not do us any good. We will be judged publicly.

GENERAL BROWN: That is the reason why we should issue a communique.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I don't mind publishing a joint one.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will publish one prepared by it. The Soviet Delegation may publish the communique prepared by it.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is up to the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: Shall we adjourn? When would the Soviet Delegation like to meet again.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: General Brown in the chairman.

GENERAL BROWN: I will let the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation know tomorrow.

The meeting adjourned at 1700 hours.

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File

Capt Jones
Mr Dooley

Transcript of 43rd Meeting
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Duk Soo Palace
1330 hours, 16 July 1947

Chairman - General Brown.

GENERAL BROWN: Is the Agenda approved?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Accepted.

GENERAL BROWN: The Joint Commission will resume its discussion of approval of the list of democratic parties and organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission. Has the Soviet Delegation anything that they wish to suggest at this time?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Besides those proposals which were submitted by the Soviet Delegation on July 10 and which were not answered by the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation has no other proposals.

✓GENERAL BROWN: On July 14, the Soviet Delegation submitted a proposal headed "Joint Decision No. _____" which reads, "The Joint Commission directs Joint Subcommission No. 1, Mr. Bunce and Mr. Tounkin to set to work and verify the whole list of applicants and review all the objections of both Delegations concerning various parties and organizations in order to make clear which parties and organizations should be included in the list through mutual agreement." The American Delegation proposes to change the words "included in" to the words "excluded from" and to accept the decision as submitted with the change noted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation moved this proposal in order that Subcommission No. 1 may commence its work. A list practically does not exist. There exists a list submitted by the American Delegation including parties and organizations of South Korea and a list submitted by the Soviet Delegation including parties and organizations of North Korea. We should have one list according to which the Joint Commission could start consultation with parties and organizations. That is why the Soviet Delegation moves that its wording proposed on July 14 be accepted.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation proposes that we adopt the list submitted by the Soviet Delegation from North Korea and the list submitted by the American Delegation from South Korea and refer

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those two lists to Subcommission No. 1 for mutual agreement as to what parties and organizations shall be excluded from the list and for what cause they shall be excluded.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation agrees that Subcommission No. 1 commence consideration of the list of democratic parties and social organizations as submitted by the American Delegation and of the list of parties and social organizations submitted by the Soviet Delegation. This consideration should follow the aim to compose a general list of parties and organizations upon mutual agreement and which will later on, be submitted by the First Subcommission for consideration of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation agrees to take up each objection of both sides concerning each party and social organization and that the final decision concerning the inclusion or exclusion of any party or organization be given to the Joint Commission--the right to make the final decision concerning the inclusion or exclusion of any party or organization be given to the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The Soviet Delegation is well aware of the fact that there is at present a list of parties and social organizations eligible for consultation by the Joint Commission. The fact that the Soviet Delegation compiled the list for North Korea and that the American Delegation compiled the list for South Korea did not make either list a Soviet list or an American list but was simply a means which the Joint Commission used to have essential work performed for the Joint Commission. The two lists--the North Korea list compiled by the Soviet Delegation and the South Korea list compiled by the American Delegation--being brought together in fact constitute the Joint Commission list of parties and organizations which have requested and qualify under the agreement of the Ministers for consultation with the Joint Commission. The American Delegation cannot agree that Subcommission No. 1 should start and make a new list. The American Delegation can only agree to have Subcommission No. 1 review and examine the list which has been prepared for the Joint Commission and to submit appropriate recommendation for the elimination from that list of any party or organization which in the

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opinion of either representative should be eliminated from the list. The American Delegation therefore, cannot agree to the proposed Soviet Decision submitted on July 14 unless the Soviet Delegation will agree to change the words "included in" to the words "excluded from".

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Only then, when the general list will be compiled and approved by the Joint Commission, it may be considered official and serve as a basis for consultation with the democratic parties and social organizations.

GENERAL BROWN: It apparently is not possible to get the Soviet Delegation to agree to any reasonable basis upon which Subcommission No. 1 can go to work. It therefore, becomes necessary for the Joint Commission to undertake the task assigned to Subcommission No. 1. While this will take a greater time, the American Delegation will now reluctantly approach that task.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Would you kindly make the proposal?

GENERAL BROWN: I didn't make a proposal, I made a statement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that members of the Commission have enough questions to be considered and elaborated. That is why I again insist that the First Subcommission commence its work. All questions that may arise and cannot be solved by Subcommission No. 1, I move to be considered to be referred back to the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has before him a paper, not dated, which appears to have been submitted by the Soviet Delegation on July 11. This paper contains a list of parties and organizations with membership in excess of 10,000 which parties and organizations, apparently the Soviet Delegation is willing to commence initial oral consultation. In reviewing this list, it appears that the Soviet Delegation has failed to include on the list of parties and organizations subritted by it, twenty-four parties and organizations which have requested and qualified themselves for oral consultation by the Joint Commission in accordance with the agreement of the two Ministers and the names of which parties and organizations

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which appear on the Joint Commission list of those eligible for consultation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation would like to ask the Soviet Delegation whether the Joint Commission can regard the list submitted by the Soviet Delegation of 10,000 members and above as a formal statement of those political parties and social organizations with which it wishes to consult? If not, what additions or deletions to the list does the Soviet Delegation desire to make? When will these additions and deletions be made available to the American Delegation?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has, along with the list submitted, proposals consisting of two items. These proposals include those instructions to the First Subcommission which it has to carry on regarding the submitted list of the Soviet Delegation and those parties and organizations which are not included in the list, thus, there is basis for the commencement of work by the Joint Subcommission.

GENERAL BROWN: In going over the list submitted by the Soviet Delegation it is noted that certain parties and organizations which have qualified themselves for consultation under the agreement of the two Ministers, and which appear on the initial list, are omitted from the list submitted by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation is now going to request why the Soviet Delegation omitted each of those parties and organizations. One of the parties omitted from the Soviet Delegation list is that which appears as No. 356 on the Joint Commission list, "Union of All Women's Associations in Korea". They claim a membership of 4,525,150. The American Delegation would like to know why the Soviet Delegation eliminated that party from their list.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The only reason for exclusion of this organization was that this organization is a member of the "Anti-Moscow Decision Committee" (Anti-trusteeship Committee). If the American Delegation has any data which would prove this the opposite then this data should be considered by Subcommission No. 1 to check whether this data is a reality or not.

GENERAL BROWN: [illegible] not the

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GENERAL BROWN: Why was the "Women's Association for Rapid Realization of Independence", No. 413, omitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: For the same reason.

GENERAL BROWN: Why was No. 37, "The Young Korea Party" omitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: For the same reasons.

GENERAL BROWN: Why was No. 412, "National Patriotic Party of Chungdokyo" omitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: All democratic parties and social organizations with a membership of above 10,000 persons were included into the list by the Soviet Delegation and submitted by it on July 10, excepting parties and organizations which are members of the "Anti-Moscow Committee" (Anti-trusteeship Committee).

GENERAL BROWN: That statement is not correct. As far as is known to the American Delegation, the "National Patriotic Party of Chungdokyo" is not, and never has been a member of the "Anti-trusteeship Committee".

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This proves another time on the necessity to start the work of Subcommission No. 1 so that all objections concerning each party be considered by Subcommission No. 1 and the data be checked and that the question of which parties and organizations may be consulted by the Joint Commission be decided by it. The Soviet Delegation proposed and is moving the proposal now that Subcommission No. 1 commence its work. This will economize our work to about 80 percent if not 90 percent.

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GENERAL BROWN: The Soviet Delegation has delayed the work of the Joint Commission unnecessarily for two weeks, and the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has not answered the question asked by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is going to ask a question and requests that it be answered. Why was party #412, the National Patriotic Party of Chungdokyo, which has qualified for consultation under the agreement of the Ministers deleted from the list proposed by the Soviet Delegation?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have already answered. The reason for this exclusion was that this party is a member of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee according to the data that the Soviet Delegation possesses. In regard to delaying the work of the Joint Commission, the Soviet Delegation cannot consider itself guilty of this inasmuch as it has many times submitted a proposal to start consultation with those parties and social organizations which do not arouse suspicion on the stated date--July 7th. The American Delegation has, as it is known, declined this proposal. Consequently, the work of the Joint Commission was delayed, not by the Soviet Delegation but by the American Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: Why was #357, the Independent Laborers Federation of Korea, omitted by the Soviet Delegation from the Soviet list?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have already answered, that organizations which have a membership of above 10,000 persons and which were not included into the list submitted by the Soviet Delegation during the Joint Commission session on July 7 were not included only because of their being members of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee. Besides the given union is a subject for further checking inasmuch as the membership stated by it arouses suspicion. Korea does not have such a number of workers, and the presented membership of this union is 1,007,000. It is obviously a falsehood.

GENERAL BROWN: Why was #271, the Working People's Party, omitted from the list?

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The laborers' party was not included into the first list submitted to the American Delegation as the result of an erroneous translation and typing, in which it was stated that this party had a membership of 8,000. Later on, it was discovered, on checking, that this party had a membership of 220,520. When this membership was discovered, the Soviet Delegation included this party into the list which was then submitted to the American Delegation. It is now stated on page 5.

GENERAL BROWN: The political complexion of this party then had nothing to do with its original exclusion?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The political complexion had nothing to do with it, and here is the list which proves this was done by mistake.

GENERAL BROWN: #389, the Korean Restoration Youth Association--why was it omitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The reason that I shall state now is the one I have already stated. This party could not be included only because it is a member of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee (Anti-Trusteeship Committee). There could not have been any other reason.

GENERAL BROWN: Why was #354, the Democratic Party of Korea, omitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have given an efficient answer to this question stating that all parties and social organizations which are members of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee (Anti-Trusteeship Committee) were not included into this list by the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: Why was #326, Korean National Reconstruction Association omitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It seems that the reasons for having excluded these organizations are the same.

GENERAL BROWN: Why was #371, the Korean Military Affairs Association omitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has moved to instruct Subcommission 1 to consider this list. I do not intend to give any other answer. Let Subcommission 1 discuss this question, and when it submits an agreed upon list, I agree to have each party and organization which arouses suspicion taken to the Joint Commission

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session.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again asks a question. Why was #371, the Korean Military Affairs Association omitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I asked the American Delegation and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation whether they agreed that Subcommission 1 start its work. The Joint Commission should go on with the consideration of those questions which it is encumbered with and not waste time on the work which ought to be done by Subcommission No. 1. The Soviet Delegation moved a proposal on July 10 which was neglected by General Brown. That was rather tactless. That is why I would like to again inquire whether it is acceptable to the American Delegation that Subcommission No. 1 start its work and that the American Delegation express its views on the proposals submitted by the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation feels that it is entitled to have its question answered. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again asks why #371, the Korean Military Affairs Association, was omitted from the Soviet Delegation list?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has the right to know the reason that the proposal submitted by it cannot be discussed rather than negligently thrown away.

GENERAL BROWN: The last three meetings and twelve hours have been devoted to discussing the Soviet proposal, and the American Delegation has informed the Soviet Delegation in detail why its proposals are not acceptable. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again requests a reply to his question. Why was #371, the Korean Military Affairs Association, deleted from the Soviet list?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet proposal with the list of parties and organizations was submitted for consideration at the end of Joint Commission session on July 10. That is why the reference to the discussion of this proposal on three sessions is an erroneous one. General Brown has probably forgotten that after July 10th, there was only one Joint Commission session, on July 14th, and as the

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stenogram shows, the item for discussion of this session was the joint communique. That is why I believe we should not make statements which do not correspond to reality. The Soviet proposal submitted then, up until now, has not deserved the attention of the American Delegation for consideration.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation regrets the necessity to leave the issue under discussion to acquaint the Soviet Delegation with certain passages from the meeting of Subcommission No. 1 on 28 May 1947. Dr. Bunce asked Mr. Tounkin a question. "Do you believe that an individual shall be excluded because of the opinion he holds and because of expressing his opinion?" Mr. Tounkin replied, "The question is not correctly stated. You confuse two problems, one, freedom of opinion, eligibility for consultation, two, admission to consultation". Mr. Tounkin further stated, "If a party has opposed the Moscow Decision saying it is not correct, opposing it vehemently, and urging all Koreans to oppose it, this, in my opinion, would constitute active opposition. Opinions privately held or expressed are not active opposition. Opinions expressed in public are active opposition". Mr. Tounkin further stated, "They may express their opinions as much as they wish, but if what they say opposes any paragraphs of the Moscow Decision, we won't consult with them because we want to consult with those who wish to take part in its fulfillment, not those who wish to oppose it." That is Mr. Tounkin speaking for the Soviet Delegation. Our proposal is: "(1) Parties and organizations desiring to consult with the Joint Commission should sign Communique 5 without reservation. (2) The Joint Commission should choose, if practical, a limited number of parties and organizations to consult with." This is the essence of our proposal. The matter now referred to by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has been under constant discussion since the 28th of May. Mr. Tounkin and the Soviet Delegation withdrew from the untenable position announced by Mr. Tounkin on May 28th, which the Soviet Delegation apparently realized was contrary to the agreement of the

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Ministers, and the Soviet Delegation rightfully agreed to Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The American Delegation thought that when the Soviet Delegation agreed to it and the Chief Commissioner signed that decision, that the Joint Commission was in a position to rapidly progress with the task assigned the Joint Commission by the two Ministers. However, we are now discussing a list attached to a Soviet proposal of 10 July. If the American Delegation is going to correctly understand the Soviet position, it is essential that it obtain answers to certain questions which the submission of that list raises. Furthermore, it will be noted in the transcript of the 41st meeting of the Joint Commission, held 10 July 1947, that the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation made the following statement after glancing at the list and proposal submitted by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. I quote from page 22 of the transcript. "The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will accept the document handed him by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation merely as information and for analysis and for no other purpose. The American Delegation will review with much interest the proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation, and if those proposals have been prepared in accordance with the principles which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has just read, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will request Dr. Dunce to contact Mr. Tounkin and arrange a meeting of Subcommission No. 1." That ends the quotes. Not only did the Soviet proposal fail to agree with the American proposal, to which reference has just been made, but it took the Soviet Delegation back to the position enunciated by Mr. Tounkin in Subcommission No. 1 on May 28, 1947.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation believes that it is useless to here and there look into the stenograms of the previous sessions of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation remembers well the proposal which was moved by its representative in Subcommission No. 1 when the question of the elaboration of Joint Commission document

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#12 was discussed. In the statements which were made by Mr. Tounkin, there was nothing that would contradict the Moscow Decision or the decision reached by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The Soviet Delegation stated and states now that parties and organizations are not being excluded for their past activities, but they are excluded for their present activities against the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation moved a proposal, both in Subcommission 1 and in Joint Commission session, not to include for consultation parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee (Anti-Trusteeship Committee). As it is known both to the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation as well, and it is obvious from the statement made by Mr. Sargent in Joint Commission session on July 10th, that parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee (Anti-Trusteeship Committee) have continued their activity even when the Joint Commission resumed its work, that the committee held its last session on June 19th. Now I would like to know whether the Soviet Delegation is right in objecting to having these parties included into the list for consultation--that is parties which are members of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee. Yes, the Soviet Delegation is right in doing so inasmuch as these parties and organizations continue their fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. It is being testified to by the Korean press which states that this fight still goes on. The Soviet Delegation cannot prohibit them from expressing views on the Moscow Decision. It is up to them, but the Soviet Delegation does not wish to consult with these parties and organizations on the question of fulfillment of the Moscow Decision unless they cease their fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. In making this demand, the Soviet Delegation is strictly guided by the agreement that was reached between the Foreign Ministers and stated in points 1 and 3. Recess?

The Commission recessed at 15[3]0 hours.

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Meeting resumed at 1540 hours.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation asks why party number 371, "Korean Military Affairs Association" was omitted on the Soviet Delegation list?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have already given a sufficiently clear answer to this question.

GENERAL BROWN: Can the American Delegation then assume that this party was omitted from the list because it was a member of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have answered the question.

GENERAL BROWN: There remains on the list of parties and organizations omitted from the Soviet Delegation list sixteen parties. Of those 16 parties information available to the American Delegation shows that but 2 are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has stated that all parties omitted from the Soviet list were omitted because they were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The American Delegation is not able to understand this answer, it is not a correct answer. The American Delegation again requests that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation inform the American Delegation as regards each party omitted from the Soviet Delegation list as to why it was omitted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has submitted a long list, a draft of proposals consisting of 5 items. Inasmuch as the American Delegation has not carefully enough studied these proposals, I shall read them, and I consider that after I have read them over again it should be clear why parties and organizations were included and not included, and what the reason was for this. Here are the proposals of the Soviet Delegation: (1) Instruct Subcommission 1 to consider the list for consultation with the Joint Commission of parties and organizations of South and North Korea which presented a number of members of over 10,000 persons each. (2) Instruct Subcommission 1 to discuss these organizations among those included into the list mentioned in Point 1 which are not social, and submit to the Joint Commission proposals on the exclusion of these organizations from the above-mentioned list. (3) Instruct Subcommission 1 to check on the

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existence of parties and organizations from among those included into the list mentioned in Point 1, and also to check on the number of members of parties and organizations existing, or the number of members of which respectively arises suspicion. Subcommission Number 1 submits to the Joint Commission its consideration on the question of exclusion from the list of non-existent parties and also if such will be discovered in the list, and those parties which presented to the Commission wrong data on the number of their members. (4) To instruct Subcommission Number 1 to present to the Joint Commission proposals on the consideration of the possibility of the aims of consultation of parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, being guided by the fact that parties and organizations may be admitted for consultation with the Joint Commission only if they withdraw from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and cease their fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. (5) Parties and social organizations which presented a number of members more than 10,000 persons not to include into the list. Respective subcommittees on the deliberation of proposals will take into consideration recommendations presented by these parties and organizations in the written answers to thequestionnaires. After consultation with these parties and organizations which are included into the list is over, the Commission will announce that to parties and organizations which submitted for consultation and included into the list, if they have something to add, to be presented, consideration in written form, may send in their representatives for oral consultation. These proposals of the Soviet Delegation give answers as to the list and what should be done with this list in Subcommission No. 1.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will accept the Soviet Delegation's proposal with the following modifications: Paragraph 1 to read as follows: "To direct Joint Subcommission Number 1 to study the Joint Commission list of all parties and social organizations in South and North Korea with a declared membership of over 10,000 for consultation with the Joint Commission". Paragraph 3: Delete the last clause, which reads: "and also the organizations which have submitted incorrect data as to the number of their members." Delete paragraph 4 entirely. Add a paragraph 6 - "The agreements reached in Subcommission Number 1, or the views of each delegation as presented in Subcommission Number 1, if

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agreement is not reached, to be presented to the Joint Commission for final action by the Joint Commission."

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation considers that the amendments submitted by the American Delegation to the draft of the proposals of the Soviet Delegation are not acceptable.

GENERAL BROWN: It appears desirable that the two delegations being unable to agree on a basis of commencement of initial oral consultation, that certain of the basic reasons underlined of their failure to agree be examined. The American Delegation assumes that the Soviet Delegation desires as much as does the American Delegation to carry through the task assigned the Joint Commission by our governments in accordance with the agreement of the ministers of those governments, to successful conclusion. The American Delegation being unable to understand the position of the Soviet Delegation which departs so radically from any reasonable interpretation which can be placed on the agreements reached by the two ministers, and departs equally radically from Joint Commission Decision Number 12 which the Soviet Delegation agreed to and which was signed by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, it appears necessary to further explore a few of the basic elements involved in this disagreement. The principal point at issue is the question of freedom of expression of opinion by the Korean who is invited for consultation. Does the Soviet Delegation reaffirm its position that anything said or done by a political party or social organization prior to the signing of the declaration shall be forgiven and forgotten?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that there are no questions from which there cannot be reached a joint decision of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation did not retreat, and does not retreat from the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached as a result of the correspondence between the ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and of the US. The Soviet Delegation, as it is known to the American Delegation has always held elaboration of drafts of decisions and has defended its point of view on any question, but once a decision was reached and signed by both delegations the Soviet Delegation was guided by this decision and its exact fulfillment.

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GENERAL BROWN: The transcript of the record up to the present meeting of the Joint Commission has not shown that that is a correct statement of fact. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation suggests that the Joint Commission discuss a few of the basic issues involved, which have brought about the difference in viewpoint of the two delegations in order that we may try to reach a common agreement that may lead to some decision, rather than waste further time talking generalities.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree to have these points discussed.

GENERAL BROWN: I will ask the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to again state the position of the Soviet Delegation in respect to the question. Does the Soviet Delegation reaffirm its position that anything said or done by a political party or social organization prior to the signing of the declaration shall be forgiven and forgotten?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This question was very clearly answered in detail by the Soviet Delegation in its statement in the Joint Commission session on July 8th. Is there any necessity to have this statement read again?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation would like a brief answer to the question asked.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I reiterate that the position of the Soviet Delegation on this question was stated in its statement in the Joint Commission session on July 8, 1947. The copy of the Soviet Delegation's statement was handed in to the American Delegation during the same session. This statement in part states, "The Soviet Delegation insists that parties and social organizations which are created for the struggle against the Moscow Decision and which are members of organizations created against this decision not be included into the list. The signature of declaration by these parties and organizations cannot be accepted as an expression of good faith to fully uphold the Moscow Decision inasmuch as the aims of the parties and organizations are inconsistent with the obligations contained in the declaration to fully uphold the Moscow Decision in Korea. The Soviet Delegation has in mind first of all members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee which was created specifically for the struggle against the Moscow Decision, and which is carrying out the fight against this decision. After June 12, 1947 there appeared in a publication the Joint Commission decision on the order of consultation

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with the Korean Democratic Parties and social organizations. The Anti-Trusteeship Committee did not cease its struggle against the Moscow Decision and against the Joint Commission, but just the opposite -- it has still more intensified its struggle. Further the statement goes on with illustration of texts and examples of activities of these Anti-Trusteeship Committees -- parties and organizations which are members of it -- and which carry on the fight against the Moscow Decision. Further, the statement states in part, "The American Delegation cannot deny that parties and social organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and which have signed the declaration have thus taken upon themselves the obligation to fully uphold the Moscow Decision on Korea, and being still members of these committees, these parties and organizations leave their signature under the program of this committee which contains the obligation to fight against the Moscow Decision, and continue practically to participate in the Moscow Decision -- that one is inconsistent with the other." That is why the Soviet Delegation believes that parties and organizations which have signed the declaration and which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee may be admitted for consultation only if they withdraw from this committee and cease their fight against the Moscow Decision. Here is the position of the Soviet Delegation. Now I have a question of the American Delegation. Does the American Delegation believe that the membership of parties and organizations in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee is inconsistent with the obligations contained in the declarations submitted by these parties - whether these parties and organizations are antagonistic towards the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission?

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is unable to answer a question which is based on assumptions which have not been proven to be facts. He will give a full reply tomorrow as to the American position. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has asked the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation a question which he refuses to answer. Therefore the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation must answer it for him. In order that there be no misunderstanding the question must be repeated. Does the Soviet Dele-

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gation reaffirm its position that anything said or done by political parties or social organizations prior to the signing of the declaration shall be forgiven and forgotten? The Soviet Delegation, through its Chief Commissioner, has answered that question several times, and its answers are recorded in the record as yes. Based on that answer then, the American Delegation asks how with the absence of any proof that either the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or any of those members of it have fomented or instigated opposition since the signing by these parties in question of their application for consultation, can the Soviet Delegation exclude those parties? The Soviet Delegation has not even attempted to show when these parties signed their application for consultation. In order to give them certain information which they lack, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will now inform them as follows: On page 5 and 6 of the transcript from which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation just read he makes certain allegations against the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, which according to his own statement took place on 18 June to 23 June, inclusive. He has stricken 24 organizations from the Joint Commission list. Of these 24 organizations 9 are in fact members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. 15 are not. Of the 9 members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee 8 signed and submitted their application for consultation after the demonstration on 23 June. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is making wild and absurd statements and is delaying the work of the Joint Commission based on assumptions which are not correct.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: I am not informed of such particulars. I can only state the fact, that this proves that the people did not uphold it and the demonstration was a failure and then as a result of this they were forced to make their way by false means to get on the list for consultation. As it is known, June 23 was the last date for acceptance of declaration contained in Communique No. 5. It seems that they were getting on quite badly and that the Soviet Delegation is correct in demanding that these parties and organizations publicly declare their intention to withdraw from the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee and to sincerely uphold the work of the Joint Commission and the Moscow Decision. People of Korea are eagerly waiting for their government. It is not a desire of those who were participants in demonstration of June 23.

GENERAL BROWN: It begins to look as though the Soviet Delegation intends to deny to the Korean people that government which they are so eagerly waiting for.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It appears that the American Delegation wishes to wreck fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. That is why it takes a small portion of parties and organizations which do not represent the people of Korea and which are broken away from these people, as the demonstration of June 23 proves, in order that this government not be created. The Korean people have the right and will have their government created on the basis of the Moscow Decision whether the present American Delegation wishes or not.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has a few more questions it would like to ask. Does the Soviet Delegation believe that a representative of a party or social organization can express freely his ideas regarding trusteeship when consulting with the Joint Commission under paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What we discuss now is not paragraph 3, but paragraph 2 of the Moscow Decision and it is at present we work to fulfillment of this paragraph. When we start discussion of paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision, the Soviet Delegation will state

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its point of view on this question.

GENERAL BROWN: I quite agree with the answer of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and ask him why he objects at this time to a party which is a member of an Anti-Trusteeship Committee being denied the right for initial consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Only for that reason that these parties carried out and have been carrying on a fight against the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation does not divide the Moscow Decision into four points but takes the Decision as a whole document including point one to point four, but the work of the Joint Commission is divided into two stages.

GENERAL BROWN: Why then does the Soviet Delegation attempt to deny participation in stage one to those who may have some slight views concerning a discussion which is to take place in stage two?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has during all the work of the Joint Commission defended, and will further on defend, the Moscow Decision of the three Ministers of Foreign Affairs against all those who apply all methods to compromise this decision. It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that this Decision is a decision of great Allied Powers accepted upon their good faith and the guarantee to the Korean people of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and the democratic development of Korea and with the help of these allied powers the independence of Korea in the shortest time in history. Here is the reason why the Soviet Delegation does not wish to speak with and consult those which carry on a fight against the Moscow Decision even if it is one word or one point in any item of the Moscow Decision. But the American Delegation refused to answer my question, namely, does the American Delegation consider consistent if the parties which signed declaration contained in Communique No. 5 still remain in the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee and continue their activity against this Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: What does the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation mean by struggle against?

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is that which the Soviet Delegation experienced on June 23 and the activities of this organization which mislead every day public opinion with their publications and which carry on. I would like that my question would be answered in the sense of this question.

GENERAL BROWN: Small children frequently throw gravel at my car. I do not assume that they are struggling against the Moscow Decision when they do that.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This joke is out of place. Those were not children. Inasmuch as the Joint Commission has a document which was submitted to it and was signed by the leader of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee under whose guidance this demonstration was carried out, Kim Koo. If Kim Koo and his supporters are children, then there is nothing more I can say.

GENERAL BROWN: Does that document state that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee threw stones at the Soviet cars?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I believe this question to be out of place.

GENERAL BROWN: It is a perfectly proper question. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has no evidence whatsoever that any member of an Anti-Trusteeship Committee, party or organization threw gravel or stones at his car. His statements are similar to all of the evidence that he has tried to introduce here to prove that Rightist parties are not to be accepted into consultation. It appears to the American Delegation that he is attacking members of one political cult on flimsy, if not purely manufactured evidence.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has never stated the Moscow Decision as a formula inasmuch as this is a document that was signed by three influential representatives of great powers. That is why the attempt to explain the Anti-Trusteeship actions of certain parties and organizations as children's jokes is at least not a serious approach to this question. As to the demonstration of June 23 and those hoodlum's activities in this demonstration, if the American Delegation wished to say whether this were really facts it could have done so inasmuch as there was a protest from the Soviet Delegation to make a discovery and besides there were eye-witnesses -

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American soldiers. Further I consider the accusations of the American Delegation in view of the document presented as a protest against the activities of these hoodlum elements improper and unfriendly. I consider the statement done by General Brown an insult towards the Soviet Delegation and that this statement be not taken back by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, I shall report this to the Soviet Command and ask him for instructions on this.

GENERAL BROWN: It certainly is not an unfriendly act nor an insult to point out to the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that he has produced no evidence which shows that members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee threw stones or gravel against the cars of members of his Delegation. It is common practice in South Korea for members of certain political parties to accuse members of other political parties with responsibility for any act which occurs which it is to their disadvantage to be accused of. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has been informed by certain Koreans that members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee did throw stones and gravel against Soviet cars. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has produced no evidence to show that such statements, if made, were correct. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again calls his attention to these facts and requests that he produce the evidence which will enable the American Delegation to act intelligently on his chargew against the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The American Delegation is yet without such evidence.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: After the stenogram has been deciphered, inasmuch as there is a statement that these facts may be falsely manufactured facts concerning throwing stones at the Delegation -- I have signed a document of protest not on the basis of facts

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submitted by members of parties but on the basis of facts submitted by members of the Soviet Delegation; by Mr. Balasanov, and by the General Secretary of the Soviet Delegation, Colonel Avramenko. That is why I again consider that unless General Brown take back his words I shall bring it before the Soviet Command and ask instructions.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation apparently did not understand what General Brown said or else the matter has not been properly translated. General Brown did not question his statement that stones had been thrown at the cars of the Soviet Delegation. General Brown did state that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has failed to show that such stones were thrown by members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and that it is quite possible that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has been informed by certain persons that those stones were in fact thrown by members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and that information is not correct and the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation may even have been misinformed by Koreans for a purpose. General Brown will be very happy to have his exact words read back and to correctly interpret them to the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. He meant no offense to the Soviet Delegation or to the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. I am not accusing the Soviet Delegation of stating untruths, but I am stating they are not producing credible evidence. "Manufactured" by Koreans is what I meant.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation understood General Brown's statement as it was mentioned by General Brown in his statement. If General Brown in his statement wanted to say something else and not what he said, then let the American Delegation make corrections in the transcript inasmuch as the Soviet Delegation does not intend to listen to any more insults from the American Delegation.

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The document that I signed and that was addressed to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation and in which I stated a protest of the Soviet Delegation from the participants of demonstration organized by the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee and their source is reliable.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will check the transcript of the record in order to determine exactly what he did say and he will discuss it further with the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. Since it is now 20 minutes to 6, suggest that we adjourn until 1:30 tomorrow.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

Meeting adjourned at 1740 hours.

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TRANSCRIPT OF FORTY-FOURTH MEETING OF
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
18 July 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL SHTIKOV: General Lebedeff will come in about 15 or 20 minutes.

GENERAL BROWN: Does the General wish us to wait on him?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No.

GENERAL BROWN: There are two matters that the American Delegation would like to take up before going on to the agenda. The first is the question of exchange of questionnaires. Referring to paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision No. 14 approved 11 June 1947, that paragraph reads: "To insure identical Russian and English translations of the documents sent in by the Korean parties, an exchange of Russian and English translations should be established in the Secretariat." In accordance with that, 68 English translations have been delivered to the Secretary of the Soviet Delegation. The Secretary of the Soviet Delegation has not yet delivered any Russian translations. It is requested that they be delivered as soon as possible. There is another matter I would like to take up. Is there any information on that question?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: From information that has been just now presented by the General Secretary of the Soviet Delegation, the Secretariat of the American Delegation presented 31 translations of submitted answers. The Soviet Secretariat stands ready to hand into the American Secretariat 10 translations of the questionnaires of parties and social organizations of South Korea. This will eventually amount to 172 answers. Our Secretariat has made translation of the greatest organizations, such as the Democratic Party, and other large organizations and we have checked on the contents of the rest of the submitted answers and discovered that their contents are exactly

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identical in nature, so it will make the whole 172 answers.

As to the answers presented from democratic parties and social organizations of North Korea, the Soviet Secretariat has translated 30 of these answers, and only 4 of these answers because of lack of facilities were typed. But the main parties of North Korea, their questionnaires have already been translated, and further on as soon as new translations are made the Soviet Secretariat will give these translations to the American Secretariat.

GENERAL BROWN: Thank you very much. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation in checking with the American Secretary finds that both delegations have approved the Minutes of the 36th Meeting, but that the Minutes of the 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, and 43rd Meetings have not yet been approved. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has requested that the Secretary of the American Delegation make every effort to expedite action on the Minutes in order that the Joint Commission may keep up to date on clearing the Minutes as rapidly as possible. It is requested that the Soviet Delegation also make an effort to expedite clearing of the Minutes of the Meetings.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is only today that I have taken up this question and given similar instructions to our Secretariat. I believe that we should give the Secretariat one day for this work and deprive Colonel Edwards of his Saturday so that the Minutes are ready to be approved in Joint Commission session in Monday's meeting.

GENERAL BROWN: At the last meeting of the Joint Commission, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation asked the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation to answer two questions. The first question was a reply to a statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation and written into the record. The second question was related to the views of the American Delegation concerning Korean political parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation with the Joint Commission and which

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might be members of an Anti-Trusteeship Committee or similar committee. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will now proceed to answer both questions.

At the 43rd meeting of the Joint Commission, 16 July 1947, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation questioned the following statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation: "The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has no evidence whatsoever that any member of an Anti-Trusteeship Committee, party or organization threw gravel or stones at his car. His statements are similar to all of the evidence that he has tried to introduce here to prove that rightist parties are not to be accepted into consultation. It appears to the American Delegation that he is attacking members of one political cult on flimsy if not purely manufactured evidence."

The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation stated: "I consider the statement done by General Brown an insult toward the Soviet Delegation."

The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation apparently thought that the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation was questioning the accuracy of a written statement submitted to him by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation on 23 June which complained that certain Soviet cars were stoned by demonstrators.

Concerning the entire statement, General Brown read into the record in the 43rd meeting on July 16 statements which should have fully clarified his remarks. He stated, among other things: "It is common practice in South Korea for members of certain political parties to accuse members of other political parties with responsibility for any act which occurs which it is to their disadvantage to be accused of. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has been informed by

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certain Koreans that members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee did throw stones and gravel against Soviet cars. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has produced no evidence to show that such statements if made were correct." Also, "The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation apparently did not understand what General Brown said or else the matter has not been properly translated. General Brown did not question his statement that stones had been thrown at the cars of the Soviet Delegation. General Brown did state that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has failed to show that such stones were thrown by members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and that it is quite possible that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has been informed by certain persons that those stones were in fact thrown by members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and that information is not correct, and the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation may even have been misinformed by Koreans for a purpose."

The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has carefully reviewed the transcript and finds nothing in it which, if properly interpreted, can be construed as an insult to the Soviet Delegation. If the Soviet Delegation desires, the American Delegation will furnish the Soviet Delegation a copy in English of the American transcript of the record.

The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is thoroughly familiar with the political situation in South Korea. He knows that the so-called rightist political parties are in a decided majority; that the so-called leftist parties are better organized and more concentrated for action under the Democratic People's Front; that there is considerable rivalry, some hatred and continuous bickering between these political factions; that the so-called leftist faction has in the past shown considerable hostility to the United States Government in South Korea; that their papers have published much misinformation concerning the United States and its government and

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troops; that neither faction would hesitate to make statements to the disadvantage of the opposite faction if such statements could be made in such manner as to lead to the disadvantage of the opposite faction.

The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has shown that 15 of the 24 political parties stated by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to be members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee probably are not affiliated with this committee at all; that the demonstration of June 23rd was not ordered by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee; and that the political parties which the Chief of the Soviet Delegation has accused of participation in that demonstration did in fact have no part in it; that the demonstration of June 23rd was apparently ordered by Kim Koo and participated in by a small group of students from one of the local educational institutions; that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee is for all practical purposes a defunct organization; and that the parties and organizations which the Soviet Delegation is endeavoring to eliminate from consultation because of membership in that organization have in fact not fomented or instigated any active disorder since they signed the application for consultation.

It is a fact that within the past few days at least 20 organizations, representing leftist political groups, have visited and personally requested the Commissioners of the American Delegation to not consult with the reactionary parties of South Korea. When asked to name the specific parties with which they think consultation should not be heard, they mention first the Democratic Party. The leftist press in South Korea carried many similar demands prior to the convening of the Joint Commission and has continued to publish them since. The press in North Korea and certain speakers of North Korea have made similar demands. If the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation remembers correctly, such demands were publicly made by certain of the speakers at the large-scale demonstrations

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held in North Korea and witnessed by the American Delegation. The desire of the left, including the Democratic Peoples Front of both North and South Korea, to eliminate the so-called reactionary elements, which presently means the rightist political group, is a matter so well known that it is hardly necessary to comment concerning it.

As the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has often stated throughout the present meetings of the Joint Commission, it is the immediate responsibility of this Commission to form a provisional government for a united Korea. Unless all political parties and all peoples of Korea can have reasonable and proper representation in such a government, it could not be a stable government nor would it be worthy of creation by an impartial Commission. Should the Joint Commission follow these suggestions of the Soviet Delegation, it would eliminate a large group of rightist political parties which they have recommended continuously be eliminated; it would distort the political balance of a united Korea to such an extent as to cause injustice to a large segment of the people and to lead to later unrest and disorder. The very objective of the Joint Commission would thus be destroyed.

In order to make the position of the American Delegation as clear as possible on this matter and in response to the specific request of General Shtikov made at the close of the 43rd meeting, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will now present for the record the following statement:

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In the meetings of the Joint Commission in 1946 the Soviet Delegation took the position that those Koreans who did not fully support the Moscow Decision would not be accepted for consultation by the Joint Commission. They even insisted that objection to one word of the Moscow Decision was failure to fully support the Moscow Decision. The Commanding General, Soviet Forces in North Korea, followed this contention up to his letter of February 28, 1947, in reply to the letter of the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, of December 24, 1946. During the exchange of letters between the commanders, attempt was made to reach a formula which would define the limit of objection to the Moscow Decision beyond which a Korean could not go without being barred from consultation with the Joint Commission. The Soviet Commander of North Korea in his letter of 26 November 1946 recommended a formula to cover this matter. The Commanding General, United States Army Forces in South Korea, in his letter of December 24, 1946, recommended certain modifications to the formula proposed. The matter was taken up by the two Ministers, and they agreed to accept the formula proposed by the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in South Korea, in his letter of December 24, 1946. Under this formula a Korean representative of a political party or social organization, which party or organization signs the application for consultation, may freely express his opinion publicly or privately concerning the Moscow Decision, the future formation of his government or any words, phrases or thoughts involved in either, provided he does not instigate or foment active opposition against the Moscow Decision or either of the Allies.

The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has throughout the past several weeks attempted to return to his position of a year ago. He apparently has not understood the efforts of the two commanders in Korea to resolve this difficulty and the decision reached by the two Ministers, which has in fact resolved the difficulty if it is faithfully followed. As a matter of fact, in the Subcommission No. 1 meeting of May 28, 1947, the Soviet representative, Mr. Tounkin, made the statement that the Soviet Delegation would not agree to consultation with any Korean who did not fully support the Moscow Decision

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and every paragraph of that decision. While this statement does not go as far as the intent of the Soviet Delegation to oppose those who object to a word contained in the Moscow Decision, it still goes a long distance back from the agreement by the two Ministers and in fact destroys the value of that agreement, returning the Soviets as it does to their original position of May 1946.

Furthermore, in the 43rd meeting on July 16 the Chief of the Soviet Delegation made the following statement: "The Soviet Delegation does not wish to speak with and consult those which carry on a fight against the Moscow Decision even if it is one word or one period in the Moscow Decision."

The Moscow Decision is so written that practically each provision contained in it is subject to wide interpretation. There is one word in this decision, however, to which a partial interpretation is given - that is the word "trusteeship." The Moscow Decision interprets trusteeship as "aid and assistance." It further guarantees to the Korean people independence. The Korean people are a proud race. They were subject to Japanese domination for 40 years. It is perfectly natural that they should crave full and complete independence. The Korean people naturally fear that in offering them aid and assistance as provided by the Moscow Decision, attempts will be made to control the government of the nation and to delay or destroy their independence. It is possible that control will be necessary. However, the Moscow Decision clearly envisages the extent of that control as that required to make effective the aid and assistance rendered. The aid and assistance rendered likewise being limited to that essential to assure that Korea is properly evolved during the period of aid and assistance into a full, free and independent nation. It is perfectly natural, the exact extent of the aid and assistance to be rendered not being defined, that Koreans should have different ideas as to the interpretation of the Moscow Decision on this point. Having these ideas, it is natural that they should express them. It is also natural that they should state their objection to any interference with the sovereignty of their nation. It is this right of any free man to express his thoughts in private or in public without being excluded from

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consultation that the United States Government has consistently insisted upon in its dealings with the Soviet Government concerning the establishment of a Provisional Government for Korea. It is this principle to which the Soviet authorities agreed after almost one year of exchange of views. It is this principle which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and the Soviet Delegation is now trying to destroy, thus repudiating the agreement signed by their Minister and their own signed agreement on Joint Commission Decision No. 12.

The American Delegation does not regard expression of opposition to "trusteeship" as fomenting and instigating active opposition to the Moscow Decision. The Moscow Decision is a broad document which by direct statement or by implication covers all requirements included in the creation and evolution of a government over a reunited Korea. As previously stated, every loyal Korean craves independence for his country. All Koreans welcome the opportunity to secure that independence under the Moscow Decision. They fear and distrust but one concept of that decision - the unknown implication of the word "trusteeship." The Moscow Decision states in paragraph 1 the intent of the document - that is, "to reestablish Korea as an independent state; to create conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea." Unquestionably those who wrote it had no intention by inserting in paragraph 3 the word "trusteeship", to vitiate the provision of the entire document. How then can discussion of and statement of opinions against fancied or exaggerated meanings of this word be considered as opposition to the document? Such a contention is untenable.

The American Delegation does not regard membership by a political party or social organization in an anti-trusteeship committee or any similar organization as a bar to its admission for consultation by the Joint Commission. It is perfectly natural that political parties and social organizations should join together in committees for the discussion and consideration of the aid and assistance to be

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rendered to their country and should call themselves anti-trusteeship or similar named committees. As long as these committees confine their activities to free expression of opinion and stop short of fomenting and instigating active opposition, they are permitted under the agreement of our Ministers to express their opposition.

As a matter of fact, paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision assigns to the Joint Commission the task, with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and of the Korean democratic organizations, to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea. How can the Joint Commission expect any Korean who remains silent on this important matter to be of any assistance to the Joint Commission at the time when it must determine and resolve its responsibility under this requirement of paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision. The Joint Commission has recently broadcast throughout Korea an invitation to all Koreans to freely express themselves as to the formation of their government, its charter and platform. This is an invitation to Koreans to think, discuss and present views on the future of Korea. After the Provisional Government is formed, one of the most vital and important topics involved in any such discussion, from the Korean point of view, is trusteeship. What are the Soviets trying to do? Goad patriotic Koreans to the point of actually fomenting and instigating active opposition so that they can discredit them from consultation with this Commission, or are they actually proceeding in good faith to attempt to evolve a Provisional Government and Korean independence under the provision of the Moscow Decision? Do they intend to follow the signed agreement reached by their Ministers?

There are different kinds of trusteeship. That exercised by the United Nations is one form known throughout the world. Before Japan annexed Korea it pretended to exercise another form, now hated and feared by all loyal Koreans. Trusteeship as prescribed in the Moscow Decision is not known nor can it be known until its definition

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is worked out as provided under the Moscow Decision. When Koreans say that they object to trusteeship, they are objecting to an imaginary concept or to the hated Japanese concept, not an actuality. It should be the effort of the Joint Commission to quiet the fears of the Koreans, to educate and guide them in a proper understanding of this term, and methods which will be employed in applying it, not to condemn them, to convict them without a hearing and to bar them from proper participation in what to them is the most vital interest of their life - the formation of a free and independent government for their country.

The American Delegation requests the Soviet Delegation to join with it in a sincere and honest effort to create a provisional government over a united Korea as provided for by the Moscow Decision and thus to demonstrate to the world that two great powers can unselfishly work together in the interest of a small, weak and dependent nation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: First, concerning the statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation with regard to the phrase that was stated by him in Joint Commission session of July 16th - the expression of suspicion of the Soviet Delegation concerning the reliability and trustworthiness of the accusations of the Soviet Delegation connected with the demonstration on June 23rd, and the hoodlum attitude towards the Soviet Delegation - the Soviet Delegation laid down this question concerning the insult of the American Delegation on the ethics of the Soviet Delegation inasmuch as such a statement was made in the translation. The Soviet Delegation accepts the information in the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation in which he says that he did not want to insult the Soviet Delegation or to subject to suspicion the documents which were presented by the Soviet Delegation concerning this matter. For the sake of information and clarification, the Soviet Delegation, as it is seen from the transcript concerning that, believes that personally members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee threw stones into the cars of the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation feels that this demonstration and these activities which were directed against the

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Soviet Delegation by the participants in the demonstration was on behalf of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. Responsibility for this is placed on the Anti-Trusteeship Committee which organized this demonstration. Responsibility is also placed on those parties and social organizations which comprise the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. As to the arguments between the Rightist and Leftist parties and organizations in South Korea and the manufacture of false documents, one against the other, the Soviet Delegation cannot hold itself responsible for these actions. As to the demand of certain parties and organizations not to admit for consultation certain other parties and organizations, the Soviet Delegation cannot judge their motives, and how much they are objective or subjective. The Russians have a saying that the voice of one is the voice of the people. That means that people also see everything. We should attempt to listen to the voice of the people. With regard to the demands of parties and organizations of North Korea on not to admit for consultation some parties and organizations, and the statements of speakers during the meeting that took place on 30 June in Pyengyang, the Soviet Delegation also heard as well as the American Delegation that such demands on behalf of the speakers were presented, but they had their motives. It is up to the Koreans. In regard to the attitude of the Soviet Delegation towards the Leftists and Rights, regarding this question, as it is known to the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation is guided by a measurement, and this measurement is the attitude of these parties and organizations towards the Moscow Decision, independent of their political views and direction. The Soviet Delegation agrees with the opinion of the American Delegation that the Joint Commission concerning the parties and organizations let them be Leftist and Rightist, and be objective. As to the detailed statement which has been done in today's session by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, which stated the position of the American Delegation, inasmuch as this statement differs from the opinion of the Soviet Delegation concerning the Moscow Decision and makes certain clarification on the intentions of the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation will have to make

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a closer study of the statement presented by the American Delegation. It means that it will have to be translated so that we can think over the statements which are put forth in it. We can then have clarification and give answers on the stated position of the Soviet Delegation. That is why I consider it expedient not to discuss this question today and postpone it so as to give the Soviet Delegation the chance to study it and have it discussed at the next regular meeting of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation will then have the possibility to state its position in detail.

GENERAL BROWN: Does the Soviet Delegation propose an adjournment for today?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: If there are no other questions.

GENERAL BROWN: The next meeting will be decided by the Chairman for next week, General Shtikov.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Agreed.

Commission adjourned at 1510 hours, 18 July 1947.

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TRANSCRIPT OF FORTY-FIFTH MEETING
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
22 July 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman--General Shtikov

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments on the agenda?

GENERAL BROWN: Approved.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: First, Mr. Balasanov will be absent from today's session inasmuch as he had to go home. Some of his people at home are ill in Pyongyang. Further, in the last session of the Joint Commission, the Soviet Delegation declared that it needed time in order to study the statement of the American Delegation so as to be able to answer the arguments touched upon by the American Delegation. The following will be the answer to the statement.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation regrets to hear of the illness of Mr. Balasanov's family and trusts that it is not serious and hopes he comes back soon.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I believe he will be able to return tomorrow. The Soviet Delegation has made a detailed acquaintance with the statement which was made by the American Delegation in Joint Commission session on July 18, 1947. The American Delegation, in its statement, defended the activity of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and also the activity of parties and organizations which are members of this committee, which is directed against the Moscow Decision on Korea. As it is known, the aim of the Moscow Decision is the re-establishment of Korea as an independent government, the creation of conditions for the development of the country on a democratic basis and the speedy elimination of the evil consequences of the prolonged Japanese domination in Korea. For the realization of this aim, the Moscow Decision stipulates first the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government. Point 3 of this decision, in which the word "trusteeship" is mentioned, entrusts the Joint Commission, together with the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and with the participation of Korean democratic parties and organizations, with elaborating

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measures of help and assistance to the political, economical, and social progress of the Korean people, the development of a democratic self-government, and the establishment of an independent government of Korea. This is not the trusteeship which is applied by certain powers with the aim of colonial oppression of people. The trusteeship which is envisaged by the Moscow Decision gives the Korean people their government, guarantees the establishment of democracy, and the development of a formal colony in the shortest time in the history of democratic independent government. In having stated that the Koreans have fears concerning Point 3 of the Moscow Decision, the American Delegation identifies a small group of anti-democratic organizations and their leaders which oppose the Moscow Decision with the Korean people. It is asked why then do separate leaders and parties of South Korea oppose the Moscow Decision? Is this for the reason which was stated by the American Delegation, that they are afraid of the establishment of such form of trusteeship which was used by the Japanese? No, it is not so. In the Moscow Decision, Japanese did not participate. As it is known, in this decision, America, the USSR and England participated, and subsequently they were joined by China. Consequently, such form of trusteeship which was established by the Japanese cannot be. So, it is another thing then. We know that the opposition against trusteeship was organized by so-called "leaders" of certain parties, which in the Moscow Decision envisaged breaking through of democratic intentions. These "leaders", without any basis, pretend to have power in Korea. Certainly it is they who did not like the decision of the Allies on Korea--that Korea will be a democratic government; that in Korea the people will participate in the self-government of their country. "Leaders" of these parties and their fellow champions have intentionally falsified the substance of the Moscow Decision to their own benefit. They oppose the Moscow Decision and slander the Allies which signed it. This year, up until now, they have been continuing their fight against the Moscow Decision

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and the Allies. The absolute, overwhelming majority of the Korean people defend the exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision on Korea and is impatiently awaiting the time, in compliance with this decision, when a democratic Korean government will be created which will be capable of defending the interests of the people and carrying out democratic reforms. What are the Korean people really afraid of? The Korean people are afraid of the non-fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. The Korean people know that if parties and organizations which oppose the Moscow Decision succeeded in hampering the fulfillment of this decision and seized the power in the country, it would mean that the power was seized by those who collaborated with the Japanese. Those who are striving to seize power want to deprive the Korean people of democratic reforms, changes, and political power. The American Delegation tried to prove that the activity of this Anti-Trusteeship Committee is restricted to expression of opinion--as if this committee represents itself as a discussion club. The American Delegation, in its statement, maintained that inasmuch as these parties restrict their activities to expression of opinion and do not go so far as to inflame and instigate active opposition, they are allowed to express themselves on the Agreement of the Ministers. The Soviet Delegation as well as the American Delegation is aware that this Anti-Trusteeship Committee has undertaken and is still undertaking to inflame and instigate real opposition to the Moscow Decision and against the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation has already submitted many facts on this question which are proofs of this active opposition to the Moscow Decision by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and by parties and organizations which are comprised by this committee. Isn't the material published day after day in the newspapers of South Korea proof? The statements and the opposition of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee show that the committee is created for the fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission and that it also organized the meetings and different conferences where measures are being discussed directed against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. Further, all

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these prove that this committee and the parties and organizations which are members of it carry on the fight against the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation believes that these are facts which confirm that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and parties and organizations which are members of this committee inflame and instigate active opposition against the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. The American Delegation tries to assert that if the question at issue is only the fight against the word "trusteeship" and not a fight against the Moscow Decision as a whole, it is an entirely naive contention. First of all, we should not separate the Moscow Decision into parts. Second, it is known that elements which oppose the Moscow Decision only use this word "trusteeship" to cover and fight against the Moscow Decision as a whole. The American Delegation for the second time stated that parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and which submitted applications for consultation actually withdrew from this committee. However, up until now, the American Delegation has not submitted any facts and proofs of this contention. The committee itself states that the stated parties and organizations have not withdrawn from its body and continue to participate in its work. Why does the American Delegation not want to define the position of these parties and organizations? The Soviet Delegation believes that up until the time when parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee publicly declare their withdrawal from this committee, they are responsible for the activity of this committee. The American Delegation pointed out that the Soviet Delegation, in putting out demands that parties and organizations which will be consulted by the Joint Commission fully uphold the Moscow Decision, act as if in doing so they violate the agreement of Molotov and Marshall. Is that in reality a violation of the statement of the mentioned agreement. Point 1 of the conditions agreed upon by the Ministers reads: "Signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 will be viewed upon as a declaration of

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good faith and intention to fully uphold the Moscow Decision, and makes the signatory parties and organizations eligible for initial consultation". As it is seen from this point agreed upon by the Ministers, the demand of the Soviet Delegation is not contradictory, but just the opposite, it exactly corresponds to this decision. As to the freedom of expression of opinion, the Soviet Delegation has already announced this question in its statement on July 8, 1947. The Soviet Delegation continues to be of the opinion that the American Delegation presents itself, without having sufficient reasons, in the role of the defender of freedom of expression, and tries thus to create the impression that the Soviet Delegation opposes freedom of expression. Such attempts are doomed to unsuccess. If it is necessary, the Soviet Delegation will again return to the question and will show all examples of how it really stands in regard to appliance of the principles of freedom of expression of opinion in Korea. The Soviet Delegation believes it necessary to another time underline the three conditions of consultation which were agreed upon by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and do not contradict freedom of expression. The American Delegation loses the reference to freedom of expression when the question arises on the appliance of concrete conditions of consultation--probably in order to retreat from these conditions. The American Delegation stated that if the Soviet proposal is accepted concerning parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, this will lead to exclusion from consultation of groups of Rightist political parties. As it is known to the American Delegation, during the full work of the Joint Commission, the Soviet Delegation proposed that parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee may be omitted from consultation only if they declare and withdraw from this committee and cease the fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission, but the American Delegation rejected this proposal of the Soviet Delegation, and thus the work of the Joint Commission was delayed and is further

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delayed for an indefinite period. The Soviet Delegation once again proposes to start consultation with democratic parties and social organizations which fully uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. Such parties and organizations from the Leftists as well as from the Rightists amount to a big number. There are many such parties. The Soviet Delegation believes that the Joint Commission has no basis for proposing that small groups of parties and organizations which oppose the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission be consulted and to further delay the work of establishing a Provisional Korean Democratic Government. The Korean people are desirous of rendering help and assistance to the work of the Joint Commission on the creation of a Provisional Government. This may be confirmed by numerous greetings which are addressed to the Joint Commission in the North of Korea as well as in the South, and by the visits that are paid to the Joint Commission by delegations of various parties and organizations and by the people which demand that the Joint Commission successfuly resolve the question of the creation of a central government. The Soviet Delegation is fully aware of the aspirations and yearnings of the Korean people for the unification of Korea under a united power of a Provisional Democratic Government, which is stipulated in the Moscow Decision. The people will never forgive the Joint Commission because of a certain group which does not wish to retreat from its principles of fighting against the Moscow Decision, against the Joint Commission, and against the Allies, and delaying the work of the unification of Korea and the creation of a Provisional Government. The Soviet Delegation calls on the American Delegation to follow the way of exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached between the Ministers, and to apply sincere and honest efforts for the speedy creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and a unification under its leadership of all Korea, as is stipulated by the Moscow Decision.

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GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has heard with much interest the paper just read by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation cannot reply to, nor discuss that paper without translating it and carefully studying it. As the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation listened to it, it seemed to advance views which should be further clarified and which may eventually lead to some basis of agreement between the two Delegations. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is particularly interested in the statement made in the paper; that only a small group of people in South Korea oppose the Moscow Decision; that the great mass of the people support this Decision. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is requested to furnish further information concerning this statement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation believes that judging by those facts and documents, the majority of Korean people, as well as parties and organizations, uphold the Moscow Decision and demand that the Joint Commission create, in compliance with this Decision, a Provisional Democratic Korean Government, consulting with these democratic parties and organizations. Those who still now continue to oppose the Moscow Decision are a small group of parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee. All the rest of the parties and organizations, as it is known to the Soviet Delegation, upholds the work of the Joint Commission and its efforts on the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: Does the Soviet Delegation contend that opposition to some concept of trusteeship is opposition to the Moscow Decision?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation, in its statement, has in detail stated all views which are expressed concerning trusteeship. After an acquaintence with this statement, the position of the Soviet Delegation will get clear.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has stated that some "leaders" see in the Moscow Decision frustration

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of their plan of democratization; that they deliberately distorted the Moscow Decision; that they are still struggling against it. Just what does he mean by those statements?

(Mr. Tounkin handed General Brown a paper which Mr. Prostov read to General Brown.)

GENERAL BROWN: I will reword the question. In what way, other than through statements opposing the concept of trusteeship, do the political leaders of the parties that are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee struggle against the Moscow Decision?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I believe that General Brown is aware of these forms of fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. We have stated these forms many times in our statements in the Joint Commission, and besides, General Brown stated in Joint Commission sessions the conversation that he had with Koreans.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation stated in his paper that the Soviet Delegation is entrusted with the working out of paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision; that the trusteeship word as used in that paragraph is not trusteeship of a kind used by some countries--to imperialistically enslave the people. Can the American Delegation inform the Korean people that the Joint Commission considers that the Joint Commission will be able to evolve aid and assistance (trusteeship) under the Moscow Decision without material interference with the sovereign power of the permanent government?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation, in its statement, pointed out concerning the intentions of the Allies. The Korean people are well aware that the trusteeship which is stipulated in the Moscow Decision is directed toward rendering help,and assistance to the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people; toward the development of democratic self-government, and the establishment of a government for the independence of Korea. This is stipulated in a period of time up to five years. During this time Korea must have a permanent government and receive its independence. The Soviet Delegation cannot object to the American Delegation clarifying to the Korean parties and organizations the word "trusteeship" in the spirit

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of the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation appreciates the very clear and complete answers made by the Soviet Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has stated that the American Delegation is unable to discuss or reply to the statement read. It will have to be translated. There are, however, two items in the statement that the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation desires to comment on. The Joint Commission seems to be making no progress. We find a block. A certain misinformation that the Soviet Delegation has received from some sources which it considers as fact. For instance, a statement that the masses of the people in South Korea support the trusteeship provision of the Moscow Decision. That statement is not factually correct. It is a fact that/notification of the Moscow Decision first reached Seoul when in January of 1946, all parties and social organizations in South Korea, practically without exception, expressed their displeasure to the use of the term "trusteeship". That applies to the leftist parties as well as those of the right. Due to some strange coincidence, the parties of the left changed their attitude from one of opposition to one of support. The Soviet Delegation contends by mere statement that masses of the parties support the trusteeship provision of the Moscow Decision. The American Delegation has factual information derived from official registration figures and also from the recent registration of those political parties and social organizations, expressing consultation with the Joint Commission. It is a fact that more than two-thirds of the South Korea applications are right, middle of the road, or moderate left political complexion. Less than thirty-five percent of the applications are the "People's Front", both with regard to number of organizations and to the total membership of organizations. Statements to the contrary cannot alter facts. It is also a fact that insofar as the American Delegation knows, the only expression of disapproval to the Moscow Decision

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made by any political party or social organization is an expression of disapproval of the word "trusteeship". The Soviet Delegation seems by implication, not by direct statement, to contend that objections to the word "trusteeship" is in fact struggling against or inciting and fomenting active opposition to the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What conclusion has the American Delegation drawn?

GENERAL BROWN: That the Soviet Delegation has facts and won't produce them. It is time that the American and Soviet Delegations got together and went on with their work and we have to have facts to do that. The Soviet Delegation seems to make a statement but they won't produce the facts. I would like to get the facts. Maybe the American Delegation is wrong. Maybe we should be educated as to what the true conditions are and if the Soviet Delegation has the facts to educate us, I would like for them to produce them.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We have pointed out in our statement that the Joint Commission received thousands of letters. Alone in North Korea on July 10 there had been received 120,000 letters. These were also from individual citizens and from organizations. All of them demanded the establishment of a government in compliance with the Moscow Decision. General Brown and the American Delegation were witnesses of a demonstration carried out in Pyongyeng which greeted and demanded the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government in the spirit of the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation here in South Korea have been visited by many delegates from various provinces. These were delegations from social organizations and simply from people of the provinces. All of them demanded the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government in the spirit of the Moscow Decision. The Koreans highly value the will of the Allies expressed in the Moscow Decision and know that it is through their efforts that Korea has been free from colonial oppression and it is through this will she will receive independence and will become a sovereign government. What are the facts that are needed for the American Delegation? I think that the Moscow

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Decision which was signed by our governments is sufficient for both the Soviet and the American Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: Now we are beginning to make progress. The American Delgation recognizes and admits that North Korea is controlled by the Democratic People's Front. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to consult with all political parties which have requested consultation--all political parties and social organizations of North Korea which have requested consultation with the Joint Commission. The American Delegation also recognizes the fact that the Democratic People's Front in South Korea is a well organized group participated in by many political parties and social organizations. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to consult with those parties and social organizations. The American Delegation also knows that there exists in South Korea many political parties and social organizations which are not members of the Democratic People's Front and which have requested consultation with the Joint Commission. Under the agreement of the Ministers and Joint Commission Decision No. 12, these parties and organizations are as much entitled to consideration as are parties and organizations which are members of the Democratic People's Front. It is the opinion of the American Delegation that the Joint Commission should carry out its committment and grant to all of these parties and organizations equal consideration, not only in consultation but in later organization of the consultative body as specified in paragraph 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and in a right of hearing on the formation of their provisional government. The American Delegation can accept nothing less than equal consideration of all who have applied for and desire participation in the work of the Joint Commission. To deny any of these parties or social organizations the right to which they areeentitled because of any act short of fomenting and inciting active opposition against the Moscow Decision is not sound and cannot be agreed to by the American Delegation. In view of the fact that we seem to be nearing some sort of an agreement on the matter that has kept us apart for so many days, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will attempt to explore this matter further. Why does the Soviet Delegation seem

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to fear oral consultation with a large number of parties when questionnaires have already been received from most of these organizations and the opinions of these groups registered with the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has not moved any such proposals which should give the right for consultation only to those parties and organizations which are members of the Democratic National Front of South and North Korea. The Soviet Delegation did not suggest and does not suggest now these two parties and organizations which are not members of the Democratic National Front but those which uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. The American Delegation is well aware that the Soviet Delegation has suggested and is suggesting now not to consult those parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and which carry on the fight against the Joint Commission and the Moscow Decision. It should be noted that the Soviet Delegation proposed that if these parties and organizations wish to consult with the Joint Commission on the question of creation they should be clear, first, on their withdrawal from this Anti-Trusteeship Committee and, second, that they cease fighting against the Moscow Decision and Joint Commission, and in doing so they decide to uphold the work of the Joint Commission and the Moscow Decision and thus be eligible for consultation. The Soviet Delegation believes that it is quite logical that such parties and organizations which carry on a fight against the Moscow Decision that there is nothing that we could discuss with these parties on the question of fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Inasmuch as they are against this Decision and do not agree with it, how will they consult the Joint Commission then?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has not contended that the Soviet Delegation has stated that it does not desire to consult with parties and organizations which are not members of the Democratic

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People's Front, but it is a fact that if all parties and organizations which the Soviet Delegation claims are not eligible for consultation because suspicious to them be excluded from consultation, there will be no one left to hold consultation with except parties and organizations which are members of the Democratic People's Front. Why should not a member of the party or organization which is not a member of the Democratic People's Front be as well qualified to advise the Joint Commission as to what the future Provisional Government of his country should be,as is a party or organization which is a member of the Democratic People's Front. Why try to find a basis to exclude such parties and organizations. Why not accept them at face value and hold consultation with them. And, I might further add, what is the object of consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I suggest a ten minute recess.

The Commission recessed at 1540 hours.

Meeting resumed at 1550 hours.

GENERAL BROWN: General Weckerling is excused.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has pointed out the reasons why they do not want to consult with those who oppose the Joint Commission in their fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. The Moscow Decision was adopted by our governments in the interest of the Korean people. The Korean people understand this and demand that this Decision be exactly fulfilled and in fulfilling this Decision there should be consulted those who wish that this Decision be realized, but not those who carry on a fight to frustration of this Decision. This should be clear. Parties and organizations which have signed applications and those who wish to be consulted by the Joint Commission - such parties and organizations are numerous. They do not fight against the Moscow Decision and will participate in its fulfillment, but those who carry on a fight have put themselves in the role of an enemy. They have thus excluded themselves from consultation by their actions.

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GENERAL BROWN: Does the Soviet Delegation believe that the Joint Commission should or should not consult with a person in respect to Provisional Korean Democratic Government who publicly states he is opposed to aid and assistance in any form which would greatly limit the sovereignty of his Government?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to ask General Brown to answer this question in the spirit of the Moscow Decision and in the spirit of the agreement that was reached by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

GENERAL BROWN: General Brown's Government has answered the question, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Nation has answered the question, the Soviet Delegation itself has answered the question in drawing up Joint Commission Decision No. 12, and General Brown has many times answered the question. He would like to get General Shtikov to answer the question.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already answered this question in today's statement.

GENERAL BROWN: May parties and organizations publicly express their position regarding paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision even if they are opposed to aid and assistance in a form which would greatly limit the sovereignty of the Government without being excluded from consultation?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This question has been answered by the Soviet Delegation in its today's statement. I would like that the American Delegation study this statement - read it.

GENERAL BROWN: Does the Soviet Delegation believe that delegates of parties and social organizations holding views expressed above may or may not associate together, to pursue their common objective through peaceful means and still be acceptable to the Joint Commission?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to have the exact translation of this question so that it can be exactly put down. In this question, may we ask a question. What is understood by the words "peaceful means". Is there another means of doing this? Does there exist another means?

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GENERAL BROWN: "Peaceful means" is any means which is permitted under the law - or, in this case under the agreed proposal. There are other than peaceful means, yes. Many people break the law and are sent to jail. Some are even hung.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Here is the answer to this question. The Soviet Delegation did not propose and does not propose now to put anybody into jail or to hang them. The Soviet Delegation wishes to consult those who uphold the Moscow Decision as it is written in the agreement reached by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

GENERAL BROWN: What is the objection to giving these parties a hearing? We do not necessarily need to accept their views.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated in its statement, there is nothing to discuss with these parties inasmuch as they do not want to uphold the Moscow Decision and do not want the realization of it, thus they cannot give any useful views to the Joint Commission in its fulfillment.

GENERAL BROWN: They represent over 50% of the people. They have views at variance with those of the Democratic People's Front. They have a concept of government which is valuable. It is the opinion of the American Delegation that their views would be very valuable to the Joint Commission in developing the future Provisional Government for a United Korea.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation knows that the absolute majority of the Korean people wishes success to the Commission in its fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and these are also the wishes of the absolute majority of parties and organizations of Leftists as well as the Rightists which uphold the Moscow Decision and which are not members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. We will consult parties and organizations not on the question of fulfilling the Moscow Decision but on the ways of better fulfillment of this Decision. Consequently, the Soviet Delegation believes we should consult those who uphold the Moscow Decision as is stipulated in point one of the agreement reached between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. It is

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the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that the Moscow Decision must be fulfilled exactly. The Soviet Delegation now asks the American Delegation whether it believes that the Moscow Decision as signed by the Three Powers - the United States of America, the U.S. Soviet Republic, and England - on the question of Korea should be exactly fulfilled.

GENERAL BROWN: Yes, exactly, intelligently, completely, and with due regard for the weaknesses of the Korean people. And I might add, by weaknesses of the Korean people I mean their lack of political experience and education, their lack of knowledge of international affairs, and their well understood desire for complete independence without interference by any foreign power.

Will the Soviet Delegation state expressly what it defines as "fighting against the Moscow Decision"? The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has several times used the word "fight" or "struggle against" the Moscow Decision. The American Delegation does not know what he means when he so speaks.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has in its statements many times submitted facts and examples of the fight against the Moscow Decision. To repeat it all over again seems to be inexpedient inasmuch as the American Delegation after two weeks discussion of this question should understand what is "fight" and what is support of this decision. The American Delegation has investigated the activities of this Committee and an answer to this question should be referred to this investigation.

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GENERAL BROWN: Does the word "struggle" against have the same meaning as "foment or instigate active opposition against"?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Yes. Fight, in itself, does include inflammation and instigation of opposition against the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: Is the Soviet Delegation willing to give the parties of the Right that consideration to which their membership and influence entitles them, in consultation?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation did not propose to consult only Leftists or Rightists. What is has suggested and is suggesting now is to consult with parties and organizations which will uphold the Moscow Decision. I have a question -- does the American Delegation intend to fulfill Point 1 and 3 of the agreed decisions reached between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs?

GENERAL BROWN: Yes, completely and fully. Will the Soviet Delegation submit a list of parties and organizations of the Right with which it is willing to consult?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In the Joint Commission session on 10 July the Soviet Delegation submitted a list of parties and organizations with which it considers it is possible to commence consultation, and in view of this fact, the Soviet Delegation proposed to direct Subcommission Number 1 to exactly define and them compile a list for its further submission to the Joint Commission, in order that the consultation may be started at any time, on any day, at any hour that the Joint Commission will decide upon. The Soviet Delegation believes that it would be well to have Subcommission Number 1 meet tomorrow and discuss this question.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has informed the Soviet Delegation that the list submitted by the Soviet Delegation is not acceptable to the American Delegation because it practically eliminates the Right-over fifty percent of the political parties and social organizations of South Korea - from consultation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has stated several times today that it is not the intention of the Soviet Delegation to eliminate the Right from consultation by the Joint Commission, nor from its proper part in the formation of the Provisional Government. If that statement is correct, there must be

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some proposal which he can make which the American Delegation could accept, under which the Right political groups would have their proper place based on their membership and influence, not only in consultation, but in the future formation of the Provisional Government. The American Delegation again requests that the Soviet Delegation submit a list of political parties and social organizations of the Right with which they are willing to consult.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated that there doesn't exist for the Soviet Delegation Rightists and Leftists when taking up the question of consultation. There are parties which will uphold the Moscow Decision, and it is in this connection that the Soviet Delegation in compliance with this view presented a list of parties and organizations and proposed to direct Subcommission Number 1 to consider this list, and if the American Delegation has its considerations on this question, it could have presented them for the consideration of the First Subcommission as well. The American Delegation in one of the sessions stated that this list omitted parties with a membership of over 10,000 people and which are not members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. This question has also been answered by the Soviet Delegation in stating that this should also be taken up and explicitely defined by Subcommission Number 1. The American Delegation could have there presented the list of those which in her opinion are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and those which are not members of this Committee. This would make the work of the Joint Commission easier because in the work of the First Subcommission there would have participated three or four people, and the rest of the members of the Joint Commission could have proceeded with the work that the Joint Commission has to fulfill. The Soviet Delegation believes that as a result, that this question was not taken by Subcommission 1, much valuable time has been spent which could have been dedicated to the study of submitted answers to the questionnaires and to the preparation for oral consultation. This would have been of much greater benefit to the work of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The statements of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation do not agree with the proposals submitted by the Soviet

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Delegation. He states that it was not the intent of the Soviet Delegation to deny consultation to the Right, and yet he proposes to eliminate practically all of the Right. It is difficult for the American Delegation to understand how two such conflicting statements can be made. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to have Subcommission Number 1 take this matter up, providing it examines a full list of all parties and social organizations which have made application for consultation, and by mutual agreements excludes from that list those parties and organizations which for cause should be excluded.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The statement which has been made by the Soviet Delegation is not contradictory. I have already stated that we did not suggest to exclude parties and organizations on the basis that they are Rightist or Leftist. Our measurement is the support of the Moscow Decision. It is on this basis, and on the basis of Joint Commission Decisions Numbers 12 and 16 that the Soviet Delegation proposes to instruct Subcommission Number 1 to submit an agreed list signed by both heads of Subcommission Number 1 for consideration by the Joint Commission. It is known that all the questions which up to now have aroused argument have been resolved in the Commission. There remains only one question that is not decided -- that is the question of parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The Soviet Delegation believes that the list of parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee may be primarily discussed, if these parties and organizations declare tomorrow through the press, or make a declaration to the Joint Commission, that they withdraw from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and that they will uphold the Moscow Decision on Korea, and that they will assist the work of the Joint Commission. In this case, the Soviet Delegation won't object to consultation with these parties.

GENERAL BROWN: It seems that after weeks of discussion we are back where we started. The position of the American Delegation has been made quite clear throughout the days that we have devoted to discussing this question. There is a hurdle that we apparently cannot make. The American Delegation is going to ask the Soviet Delegation to submit tomorrow its

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proposal for overcoming this hurdle, and we are going to propose that we adjourn today.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation would like to ask the American Delegation to present its proposal on overcoming this hurdle.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has presented its proposal many times, and it was not acceptable to the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It turns out that neither are the proposals acceptable which have been made frequently by the Soviet Delegation. The proposals of the Soviet Delegation are in compliance with the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The Soviet Delegation agrees that we adjourn today and continue our work in our next regular meeting. What are the proposals for the next regular meeting? When would the American Delegation like to have the next meeting?

GENERAL BROWN: Tomorrow at 1:30.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to know if the secretaries will have enough time to prepare the minutes. There are six minutes -- does the American secretariat have them ready?

COLONEL EDWARDS: We have six minutes, that is correct. Four of those drafts were given to me on Saturday noon. Only one has been translated to date. There will be some more delay.

GENERAL BROWN: How much delay? Please make a statement through Mr. Prostov.

COLONEL EDWARDS: On Saturday morning the American Secretariat received the comments by the Soviet Secretariat on the minutes of the 37th and 38th meetings. Both minutes amounted to a re-write of the draft submitted by the American Secretariat; both were voluminous. The entire weekend was devoted to a translation into English of these two sets of minutes. The minutes of the 38th meeting have not yet been translated in the proper form to allow review by the American Delegation. Much time was wasted in minor presentation of views. Unless the system is revised materially in the secretariats, this backlog can only continue. The American Secretary would like to propose that a system be devised which is acceptable to both delegations, to accept an agreed verbatim

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transcript as taken by the stenographers as the official record of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation moves that this proposal be adopted.

GENERAL BROWN: Agreed. It does seem as though we should be able to agree on what we said and what is recorded, as having been said, even if we can't agree on the basis of forming a Provisional Government.

Commission adjourned at 1710 hours, 22 July 1947.

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TRANSCRIPT OF 46TH MEETING OF
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
24 July 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Secretariat will report on the status of the minutes.

GENERAL BROWN: What is the status of the minutes?

COL. EDWARDS: We are coming along very well with the new system.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The American Delegation wanted to study the statement which was done by the Soviet Delegation at the last Joint Commission session and to express its comments on this statement. Have the American Delegation had an opportunity to make such a study of this statement?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has carefully gone over the statement of the Soviet Delegation and will offer a few comments. On page 3 of the Soviet statement the following appears, "The Soviet Delegation as well as the American Delegation are aware that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee did and does foment and instigate active opposition against the Moscow Decision and against the Joint Commission." The American Delegation is not aware that the parties to which the Soviet Delegation objects have actually fomented and instigated active opposition against the Moscow Decision and against the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation has presented no testimony, or no statement of facts which would convince the American Delegation that their contentions are correct.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have a question of the American Delegation. Does the American Delegation consider the demonstrations that were organized in the town of Seoul on the 23rd of June, and similar demonstrations organized in other towns of South Korea by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee - does the American Delegation consider these demonstrations as fomentation and instigation of opposition against the Moscow

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Decision? These facts are known to the American Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: I will answer that question by quoting from page 2 of the statement of the Soviet Delegation as follows: "We know that the opposition against trusteeship was organized by the so-called leaders of certain parties and their associates who saw in the Moscow Decision the failure of their anti-democratic intent." The American Delegation has previously informed the Soviet Delegation that the so-called demonstration of June 23 was, insofar as the American Delegation can determine, instigated by Mr. Kim Koo who used the name Anti-Trusteeship Committee without the consent of many parties which are supposed to be members of that committee; that apparently he has sole responsibility for that demonstration and that it was not participated in by members of the parties nor the leaders to whom the Soviet Delegation has taken objection -- that it was participated in by a small group of students. That is the best answer which the American Delegation can make to the statement of the Soviet Delegation on this matter.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then I have another question for the American Delegation. Let us suppose that what has been mentioned by the American Delegation concerning these parties is really facts; why then did the parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee not declare a protest to Kim Koo who discredits their parties and organizations. If they do not refute this and local actions of Kim Koo, it means they tacitly agree with the actions of Kim Koo in their behalf.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation cannot accept that conclusion. If an individual was charged with a crime, positive proof that he has committed that crime must be advanced. It would be useless to ask an individual to deny a crime if he had committed it. An individual is considered innocent, under the English law, until he is proved guilty. The opposite may be true under the Soviet

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law, but the American Delegation doubts if that is the case.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Accusations which are done and which are based upon complete facts are considered to be real - actual. Up to that time, if the person who is being accused does not refute these actions by sufficient proof, the Joint Commission has at its disposal documents which are signed by the leader of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, by Kim Koo, which makes this document on behalf of all those parties and organizations which comprise the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The American Delegation has not refuted this fact, but it is a fact because the document which proves it is here in the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The fact that there is in the Joint Commission a document signed by an individual does not make those whom that individual states in that document join with him in any action responsible, unless evidence can be produced to show that those organizations did in fact join with that individual. The Soviet Delegation has produced no concrete fact that establishes any connection whatsoever between these parties and organizations to which they object to consult with the act of Kim Koo. The American Delegation has credible evidence which they have previously stated before this Commission that when the parties and organizations to which the Soviet Delegation objects signed the declaration applying for consultation that they did in fact discredit the leadership of Mr. Syngman Rhee and Mr. Kim Koo who did not wish to cooperate with the Joint Commission and who refused to allow parties and organizations under their control to apply for consultation. The parties and organizations to which the Soviets are now objecting did,in fact, withdraw from the leadership of these two individuals and can only by concrete facts which will show subsequent action linking them to these individuals, to be guilty of any acts for these particular individuals.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The membership of these parties and organizations and the presence of their signature on the program of this Committee approves of their participation in the work of this Committee and the responsibility for the activities that they carry on in this Committee.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no knowledge of any signatures which these parties and organizations have on any program of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and the American Delegation has credible evidence which leads it to believe that these parties and organizations have in fact left the leadership of Kim Koo and the activities which he is initiating in the name of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has not brought any such facts for disposal, but according to all its rules if somebody tries on behalf of me to publish something with which I do not agree and facts which compromise me in my sincere aspirations, then I will consider it my duty to refute so that public opinion will be clearly informed on how things really stand. Such a refutation was not done by these parties and organizations in behalf of which Kim Koo was opposing the Moscow Decision, and the Joint Commission has also not heard any such refutations. Possibly it may be supposed, and not only supposed but we may be quite convinced in our suppositions, that these parties and organizations are responsible for the activities of the Committee and not only for the activity of this Committee but also of Kim Koo, the leader of this Committee.

GENERAL BROWN: It is possible that the Russian law and the English law approach the offense of slander in different manners. Under the English law if an individual is slandered, he has three recourses open to him. He may prosecute under the law the individual who slandered him, he may issue a public statement denying the accusations, or he may remain silent. No matter which of those three

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actions he takes, he is not guilty of any offense nor can he be convicted of an offense until he is brought before a properly constituted court and credible evidence is produced which will satisfy the court of his guilt. As a matter of fact, it is common practice for those who are slandered to remain silent knowing that their reputation and the manner under which they live will speak for themselves and will clear them of the slanderous charges.

In the instance in question, the Joint Commission has before it the signed statement of these parties and organizations to cooperate with the Joint Commission and to follow it through in its work - a statement prepared by the Joint Commission, mutually agreed to by the Joint Commission and the Ministers - which statement both the Ministers and the Joint Commission agreed when signed by a party or organization would make it eligible for initial consultation. That signed statement is extremely strong evidence of the proper intent of the parties and organizations. The fact that an irresponsible political leader has published a letter, which I do not personally know whether he signed or not, claiming that these parties and organizations joined him in an act, which the most credible evidence which the American Delegation can obtain has been shown to be an incorrect document and possibly even a forgery, certainly that slender evidence cannot overcome and cancel the signed statements of these parties.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Joint Commission has resolved in May all arguable questions. There is left one question that is not clear and it is the participation of parties and organizations which have signed the declaration for participation in the consultation but which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and which up to now continue to act in this Committee and make in its name statements which are directed against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. It is known that these statements are published in the

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press and thus does mobilize the opinion on the part of the Koreans against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation believes that it is correct in requesting that the Commission recommend that parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee make a statement which would state their withdrawal from this Committee and thus they will exonerate themselves and this statement will give the opportunity to the Joint Commission to speed up its work on the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Does the American Delegation agree with this?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation does not agree. Those parties and organizations have submitted an application for consultation and have agreed to cooperate with the Joint Commission. This contingency was foreseen by the two Commanders in Korea and by the Foreign Ministers, and it was agreed by the Foreign Ministers to provide the method for elimination from consultation at any time parties and organizations which foment or incite active opposition against the Moscow Decision. The American Delegation is not trying to defend any party or organization. We are anxious to get on with the work of the Joint Commission. We cannot understand why the Soviet Delegation does not proceed under the third agreement of the Foreign Ministers and challenge the parties and organizations when they appear for consultation, if in the opinion of the Soviet Delegation proper and satisfactory evidence of fomenting and inciting active opposition against the Moscow Decision exists against these parties and organizations. The American Delegation proposes again that consultation be commenced and that the Soviet Delegation resort to the third proposal to challenge any party or organization which in its opinion has voided its right for consultation through acts of fomenting or inciting active opposition against the Moscow Decision, the Joint Commission or either of the Allies as specified in the third proposal agreed to by our Foreign Ministers.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: Does the American Delegation consider that parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee in having signed the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 have thus withdrawn from this Committee and declined its program?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has stated that it has credible information which indicates that the so-called suspicious parties and organizations -- suspicious to the Soviet Delegation -- refused to follow the program of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and the leadership of Mr. Kim Koo before signing the declaration. The substance of the declaration is well known to the Soviet Delegation. There is nothing in it which refers to the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. It is simply a declaration of intention to support the Moscow Decision, the Joint Commission, and to cooperate with the Joint Commission in its task of working with it in the formation of a Provisional Government, and for the independence of Korea. The American Delegation has no evidence, not even the slightest to show that the suspicious parties and organizations have not signed that declaration in good faith. As a matter of fact, it is the opinion of the American Delegation that they did sign that declaration in good faith and that they will live up to their commitments. If this proves not to be the case as the work of the Joint Commission progresses, the American Delegation will challenge them as quickly as will the Soviet Delegation, under the third agreement of our Ministers.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Whereas in the press at various gatherings and meetings which are being organized by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and also in documents signed on behalf of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and its name was signed to these documents on behalf of parties and organizations which comprise this committee -- all these facts mean that whether they are aware of it or not they thus take upon themselves responsibility for the activities of this committee. Further, taking into consideration that the American Delegation trusts these parties, the Soviet Delegation in order to avoid misunderstandings and for the sake of making their actions clear, proposes that these parties and

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organizations publish an official statement that they have nothing in common with this Anti-Trusteeship Committee and with its leader, Kim Koo, and that Kim Koo undeservedly discredits them. Such a publication on the part of these parties and organizations would give the Joint Commission the opportunity to expedite the work of consultation with parties and organizations, and consequently would expedite the general work of the Joint Commission, which is the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

The Commission recessed at 1445 hours.

Meeting resumed at 1455 hours.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to have the American Delegation answer the proposal made by the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation cannot agree to exclude parties and organizations which have signed the declaration for consultation from the privilege of consultation purely because they at one time held, or now hold, membership in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The American Delegation has a few other comments on the paper submitted by the Soviet Delegation. On Page 5 appears the statement, "The Soviet Delegation considers that the Joint Commission has no reason because of a small group of parties and organizations which oppose the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission to retard the work of establishing a Provisional Democratic Government." The American Delegation agrees with the Soviet Delegation that this great committee is permitting itself to be taken from its solemn duty by discussing an item which is not even worthy of discussion by the Joint Commission. The statement in the paragraph, "....that this small group of parties and organizations oppose the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission....." is not believed to be a statement of fact. As far as the American Delegation is concerned, the parties and organizations to which reference is made do not oppose the Moscow Decision nor the Joint Commission. They have in fact pledged themselves to support the Moscow Decision and to cooperate with the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The American Delegation insisting that it does not wish to recommend these parties and organizations make a statement on

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their withdrawal from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and cease their fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission makes the Soviet Delegation suspicious of the sincerity of the American Delegation. Moreover, facts prove that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee opposes the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission, and that this committee carried on such a fight already when the Joint Commission started its work, and now that the Joint Commission is proceeding with its work. These were facts after these parties and organizations signed the declaration. The Soviet Delegation would like to make such a question more precise. What actions of social organizations or political parties may be qualified as inflammation or instigation of active opposition against the work of the Joint Commission or against the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision, or against either of the Allied Powers. What are these actions in the understanding of the American Delegation?

GENERAL BROWN: There are many actions which a party or organization might commit which could be considered as fomenting or instigating active opposition. The decision as to whether or not a particular act foments or incites active opposition against the Moscow Decision, the Joint Commission, or either of the Allied Powers is a matter to be determined by the Joint Commission from the evidence presented to the Joint Commission that such an act has been committed. No evidence has been submitted to the Joint Commission to show that the parties suspicious to the Soviet Delegation have committed an act fomenting or instigating active opposition. As a matter of fact, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation about one hour ago stated, and it is written in the record, that he has no such evidence. When a party is indicted under the third agreement of the Foreign Ministers and the evidence is produced before the Joint Commission, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has assured, and will again assure, the Societ Delegation that the American Delegation will join with it in indicting and eliminating the guilty party, but only on satisfactory evidence and sufficient proof, not on somebody's say-so or somebody's opinion. That is not evidence.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: There is another question I would like to ask for the sake of making precise the position of the American Delegation. The Chief of the Soviet Delegation has submitted proofs in Joint Commission sessions concerning parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and are active against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. That is why I wouldn't have said there are no proofs. There are, and I mentioned them, but the American Delegation without any reason rejects these proofs submitted by the Soviet Delegation and in doing so the American Delegation puts a veto on the point number 3 of the agreement reached by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. This item of agreement states that non-admission for consultation must be a decision adopted by both delegations. This decision cannot be a unilateral one. It also provides that inclusion into the list of parties and organizations is a decision of both delegations. The American Delegation tries to unilaterally interpret point number 3 and rejects the proofs submitted by the Soviet Delegation. Now, does the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation consider that opposition against one of the points of the Moscow Decision is opposition against the Moscow Decision as a whole?

GENERAL BROWN: I would like to ask the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation on what document, or part of a document, does he base his statement that inclusion in the list is by decision of the two delegations?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This conclusion is based upon Joint Commission Decision number 16, point 3.

GENERAL BROWN: Joint Commission Decision number 16 is headed, "Order of Compilation of the List of Parties and Organizations." The American Delegation can read nothing in Joint Commission Decision number 16 which would uphold the contention of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. That is simply another statement. It is not supported by any written document or by any fact.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like that my question that has been put to General Brown be substantially answered.

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GENERAL BROWN: General Brown will answer that question as soon as he gets an answer to his question. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation before he asked that question made a statement which is not correct. General Brown has asked the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation for the basis of making an incorrect statement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have given an answer to this question -- that this conclusion was done according to Joint Commission Decision Number 16, point 3, and I would like to have an answer to my question.

GENERAL BROWN: But there is nothing in point 3 which states what the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has stated. Paragraph 3 of Joint Commission Decision number 16 does not state that inclusion in the list will be by decision of the two delegations. It states that the list will be reviewed by the two delegations, and following agreement will be submitted for approval to the Joint Commission. If the two delegations cannot agree, which happened in this matter, the entire list is submitted to the Joint Commission. There is nothing in that paragraph which authorizes unilateral exclusion. It may have been written in by the Soviet Delegation with that purpose in mind, but if they wrote it with that purpose in mind, they have committed a blunder. The letter of General Hodge written to General Chistiakov denies the principle of unilateral exclusion. The two ministers have agreed to deny the principle of unilateral exclusion. For the Soviet Delegation to attempt at this late date to bring that contention in by an indirect statement in one paragraph of a decision that does not even relate to consultation cannot be accepted by the American Delegation. The question of consultation is fully covered in Joint Commission Decision Number 12, which states in detail exactly how the list shall be prepared and how consultation shall be held. Joint Commission Decision Number 16 cannot change in any respect Joint Commission Decision Number 12. It is simply a decision which the heading states is, "The Order of Compilation of the List of Parties and Organizations." It is purely an administrative decision.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I ask to have my question answered.

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GENERAL BROWN: The question has been thoroughly answered in the statement submitted by the American Delegation to which the Soviet Delegation has replied, and the statement from which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has been quoting today. I again ask the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to furnish the facts on which he makes such a grave contention as he made in his recent statement -- that inclusion in the list must be by decision of the two delegations. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation cannot furnish any satisfactory information upon which that contention can be based. I challenge him to do so.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: I answered General Brown's question. Whether the answer was satisfactory for General Brown or not is up to General Brown. My concrete question was, whether the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation considers that opposition of parties and organizations to one decision of the Moscow Decision is opposition to the Moscow Decision as a whole. That question has not been answered by the American Delegation and the American Delegation declines to give a concrete answer to this question. The Soviet Delegation has many times reminded the American Delegation to consider the list that was submitted by the Soviet Delegation with parties and organizations of North Korea and a list of American Delegation parties and organizations of South Korea. The Soviet Delegation now has sufficient reason to demand that the American Delegation do not decline the work of Subcommission No. 1 in considering the list of parties and organizations. It is known to the Commission that a list which was submitted by the American Delegation of parties and organizations of South Korea contains organizations which do not exist at all. This list contains fictitious organizations. The American representative in Subcommission No. 1 confirmed this and besides there are organizations, the number of membership which is fabuluous and there are also facts which are contained in the list of parties and organizations as submitted in South Korea which also arouse suspicion. Probably this is the reason the American Delegation finds it not profitable for them to consider this list. Inasmuch as consideration of this list will at once discover the falsehood of this list and it seems to be the reason why the American Delegation tries so heartily to refuse to admit that it is Subcommission 1's work. The Soviet Delegation does not intend to accept false lists of false data and demands that Subcommission No. 1 take up this list and make correcting check. Joint Commission Decision No. 12, point 6, states, inasmuch as it has been signed by the Chief Commissioners of the Soviet and American Delegation, I will quote "After the approval by the Joint Commission of a list of democratic parties and social organizations and the list made of representatives

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stated in paragraph 5, the Joint Commission will summon to Seoul on June 25, etc..." Why does the American Delegation, without any reason, declare that the Soviet Delegation has no reasons to make such claims. To decline from consideration of this list by Subcommission No. 1 which was an approved decision is indeed to decline from an approved decision as such. The Soviet Delegation well remembers the first arguments which have been cited by her and that is another time why the Soviet Delegation would like to have its question answered substantially.

GENERAL BROWN: The attention of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation is again invited to the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation on July 18 -- specifically, the second paragraph on page 3. That fully answers his question and unless he will read the paper presented by the American Delegation he will continue to make incorrect and inaccurate statements. Furthermore, he has quoted a certain paragraph from one of the Joint Commission Decisions. He should read all of the Joint Commission Decision Number 12 and Number 16. If he reads the entire Decision he will not make incorrect quotations and draw incorrect conclusions from quotations. I specifically invite his attention to paragraph 2 of Joint Commission Decision Number 16 and paragraph 2 which states "The information submitted by the parties and organizations after translating, will be forwarded by the Secretariat to the respective Chairmen of Subcommission No. 1. On the basis of the aforementioned information, there shall be compiled a complete list of parties and organizations which have applied for consultation and a separate list of their designated representatives." It is useless for the Joint Commission to continue this line of argument. We have been doing it now for three weeks. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation invites the attention of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to the fact that the American member of Subcommission No. 1 made every effort to examine the list, party by party and organization by organization. At one point in the discussion

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It was agreed that there were three fictitious organizations on the list. The Soviet member of Subcommission No. 1 did not wish to take the list party by party, but insisted on discussing it on a broad basis of exclusion, thereby hoping to exclude large numbers of parties. The American Delegation also invites the attention that in one of the meetings at Pyongyeng, probably July 3rd, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation read from the record eight proposals which had been submitted by the American Delegation recommending that the entire list be referred back to Subcommission No. 1 for consideration by it. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation should state facts, not statements which cannot be substantiated and which can be disproven from the record itself. The American Delegation is willing at any time to meet the Soviet Delegation in any reasonable proposal which will resolve this issue but it cannot accede to the contention of the Soviet Delegation that certain parties and organizations shall be eliminated without proper proof and otherwise than as prescribed in an agreement of the Ministers. It is rather strange that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, who in his recent statement and at the beginning of this week, stated that the issue between the two Delegations had been resolved except as to members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, should again bring up matters which have been discussed and buried throughout the past three weeks.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation attentively follows it when the Decision is being adopted. When such a Decision has been adopted, it follows the carrying out of this decision in its minutest detail. In that point 6 in Joint Commission Decision No. 12 states that this list is to be approved by the Joint Commission. It is self-understood that previously before such an adoption can be made this list is to be compiled and in accordance with point No. 3 of Joint Commission Decision, this compilation is to be done by Subcommission Number 1. The Soviet representative in Subcommission Number 1 has never declined to take up the question of compilation of a list. It was just the opposite. The Soviet Delegation representative insisted upon doing so, while the representative of the American

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Delegation insisted upon having this work put on the shoulders of the Joint Commission. It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that the Joint Commission could have avoided discussion of a number of questions and facts which arose from this list, if Subcommission No. 1 fulfilled these functions and obligations and would not refuse taking up this work. In my statement I refer to some points which were subjected to discussion and which were agreed upon in order to convince the American Delegation of the necessity for Subcommission No. 1 to start work. The Soviet Delegation has here the statement done by the American Delegation. It usually very tentatively studies such statements and doesn't leave them further on without any attention. The American Delegation in Joint Commission sessions on July 18 and on July 22 accused the Soviet Delegation and this accusation was done without any basis. The Soviet Delegation did not deserve such an accusation. The American Delegation then claimed that the Soviet Delegation unilaterally excluded rightist parties from consultation and that the Soviet Delegation gives preference only to the leftist parties. Moreover, the American Delegation stated that if the Soviet Delegation's proposals are accepted and if the list that was submitted by the Soviet Delegation is accepted, then there is no party or organization left with whom the Joint Commission can consult, except parties and organizations which are members of the Democratic National Front of North and South Korea. Such a contention of the American Delegation has no ground. Upon the request of the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation submitted on 12 July a list of parties and organizations which claimed membership of over 10,000 members. This list did not include parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee. The list that was presented by the Soviet Delegation included 38 parties and organizations of North Korea and 119 parties of South Korea. If we consider those 119 parties and organizations, there are 74 parties which are rightist

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parties, 34 parties which are leftist parties and 11 parties which can be considered center organizations--that is, parties which do not belong to the rightist and do not belong to the leftist organizations. Thus the contention of the American Delegation that rightist parties and organizations have been excluded by the Soviet Delegation from consultation is a contention which has no sound basis under it. The Soviet Delegation believes that to further delay the oral consultation of democratic parties and social organizations is a thing that cannot be excused and there cannot be any excused for it and such a further delay should not be. The Soviet Delegation makes the following proposal to this Commission: In this connection, in view of the fact that points of view regarding lists of parties and organizations have come closer together and there is only one question left unresolved concerning parties and organizations--members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee which make up a number of small groups compared to parties and organizations which have applied for consultation with the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation considers that further dealy of consultation and further delay of the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government is a thing that cannot be admissable and makes in view of this fact and submits for consideration of the Joint Commission, the following proposals: (1) To instruct Subcommission No. 1 to exactly define the submitted list by the Soviet Delegation on July 10, 1947, of parties and organizations which claim membership over 10,000 members and submit it for the approval of the Joint Commission on July 28, 1947. (2) To instruct Subcommission No. 1 to consider personnel composition of representatives designated by parties and organizations included into the list according to point 1 of this decision. (3) To compile a list of representatives and submit it for the approval by the Joint Commission on July 28, 1947. (4) To consider the draft which was presented by the Soviet Delegation in Subcommission 1 on the 23rd of June 1947 concerning proposals of the order of consultation and the creation in this connection of a

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necessary amount of subcommittees. (5) To commence oral consultation with representatives of parties and organizations which are included into the list and which will be approved by the Joint Commission on July 13, 1947 (?) in the town of Seoul and with representatives of parties and organizations of North Korea on the 1st of August 1947 in the town of Pyongyeng. (6) To declare in behalf of the Commission that parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee which applied for consultation may be admitted by it only then if they declare their withdrawal from this Committee and cease fighting against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. Here are the proposals which the Soviet Delegation deems it to be its duty to submit for consideration of the Joint Commission.

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GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has covered a great deal in his statement. The American Delegation will reply to it after first making a final comment on the statement which he submitted dated 22 July 1947. On Page 6 of this statement, next to the last paragraph, it reads: "The Soviet Delegation understands the aspirations of the Korean people in regard to the unification of Korea under a unified power of a Provisional Democratic Government provided for in the Moscow Decision. The people will never forgive the Joint Commission if the Commission, because of some group unwilling to renounce the principles of the struggle against the Moscow Decision, against the Joint Commission, and against the Allies will retard the work of unification of Korea and the establishment of a Provisional Government". I now read from a press release of 21 July 1947 of Colonel General Shtikov--on page 9 of that press release in the next to the last paragraph: "Thus it may be considered that only the question regarding the admission to consultation of parties and organizations affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee is the only one not mutually agreed upon in connection with the compilation of a list of parties and social organizations for oral consultation. The Soviet Delegation feels that if both delegations would strictly abide by the Moscow Decision and the agreement between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, this problem could also be resolved rapidly and successfully". The American Delegation agrees with the Soviet Delegation that the point of difference between the two delegations could be resolved by a reasonable and sensible point of view adopted on the Soviet side. The American Delegation also agrees with the Soviet Delegation that the Korean people want their independence and that the people will never forgive those responsible for breaking up the work of this Commission on a petty issue. The American Delegation will not agree with the Soviet Delegation that the Joint Commission must accept that responsibility. The record speaks for itself. The responsibility rests solely upon the Soviet Delegation. After these remarks are translated, I will reply more specifically to certain points in the recent statement of

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the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation states that on the list of parties and organizations with membership in excess of 10,000, submitted by them on 10 July 1947, there were 74 Rightist parties, 34 Left, and 11 Center. A careful analysis of this list by the American Delegation shows that this statement is not in agreement with the conclusions reached by the American Delegation. The analysis made by the American Delegation shows that in South Korea alone, the list contains 42 Right parties, 17 Moderate Right, 10 Moderate, 5 Left, and 38 People's Front. Assuming that the Moderate Right may be classified as Right, and the Moderate Left may be classified as Left, this gives a total of 69 Right, Moderate Right, and Moderate parties as against 43 People's Front and Left parties. The claimed membership of the 69 which might be classified as Right is 18,000,000. Claimed membership of the 43 Left is 15,000,000. If we add to this compilation the North Korea list of parties and social organizations, we then have the following: 69 Right, Moderate Right, and Moderate parties with a claimed membership of 18,000,000; 81 Left, including 76 People's Front and 5 Moderate Left, with a claimed membership of 31,500,000. It is clear then that the Soviet list not only gives the majority to the People's Front and associated parties, but an overwhelming majority. If the intent of the Soviet Delegation is not to eliminate the Right group from consultation, they certainly have accomplished it, whether they intend to do so or not. Three parties were eliminated for fraud and the Working People's Party was left off of that first list -- that brings it up to 116. These other three parties I would have to investigate, but the conclusions are not substantially modified.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation in its statement which was made on July 22 here in Joint Commission session and at the press conference on July 21 stated what has been cited just now in the statements by General Brown. The Soviet Delegation considers that both statements -- the statement made on July 21 and the one made on July 22 -- are statements which correspond to reality, which reflect the reality of the work of the Joint Commission. The American Delegation

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states that the Soviet Delegation is responsible for the failure of the work of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation states, and it has been stating all the time, that if the American Delegation would be guided by exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, it would not have defended and taken over the defense of organizations and parties which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee which have been opposing the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. It is because of that that the Korean people have not obtained the government that was stipulated in the Moscow Decision. It is only because they have been carrying on this fight that the Joint Commission has not up until now fulfilled its task assigned it. The statement which was made by Mr. Sargent on July 10 states that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee was created in 1946, and that it resumed its work in 1947--it resumed its opposition to the Moscow Decision in 1947. This statement shows that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee has resumed its opposition to the Joint Commission and the Moscow Decision and that it did so on the eve of the commencement of the work. The statement further states that the Committee has been continuing its efforts to June 1947, and further it concludes that this Committee has ceased its fight against the Moscow Decision. It has been the contention of the Soviet Delegation and will be the contention that the demonstration on June 23 which took place in Seoul and other towns of South Korea was organized by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and by those parties and organizations which are members of it, The newspapers, meetings, and demonstrations prove this, and it may be judged from these facts that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee is continuing its activity and subversive work so that the Moscow Decision will be a failure. If the American Delegation once and for all declared that it is going to exactly fulfill and exactly be guided by the Moscow Decision and by the agreement reached between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs and not permit, in compliance with point 3, parties and organizations which are members

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of this Anti-Trusteeship Committee, such a firm position of the American Delegation would be of great use to the work of the Joint Commission, and it certainly would expedite it. I believe that the Soviet Delegation is not making a mistake when it says that parties and organizations in such case should cease their fight against the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. The Korean people will judge the results of the Joint Commission by the positions which were taken by each delegation separately. The Soviet Delegation once again states that it is her belief that the Joint Commission has all reasons to start consultation with these 147 parties and organizations of South and North Korea and not to wait until small groups of organizations, members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, cease their subversive activities against the work of the Joint Commission. This does not seem suitable for delaying the work and does not seem suitable for representatives of governments which signed this decision. The Korean people will be correct in demanding from the Joint Commission the realization of their wishes--not the realization of the wishes of a small group of parties and organizations. The Soviet Delegation insists its proposal made in today's meeting be exactly fulfilled inasmuch as it corresponds to the Moscow Decision and the agreement of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. As to the numerical comparison of parties and organizations of the Rightist and Leftist wing, this does not yet show their real influence among the people of Korea, and this cannot be taken as a measurement of influence of these parties. As to the parties of North Korea, there should be included here those parties of North Korea not included in another zone--these parties and organizations cannot be included because they are included in another zone where their political influence is spread by them.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation does not desire to answer at this time the proposal of the Soviet Delegation. It would be unwise to do so without having it translated.

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However, from an oral translation, it appears totally unacceptable to the American Delegation inasmuch as it is a repetition of the principle of the veto power for unilateral exclusion. The American Delegation can never accept such a proposal. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will reply in more detail tomorrow after having had this proposal translated. He suggests that the Joint Commission adjourn for the day and meet at 1:30 tomorrow.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation agrees that the American Delegation attentively study the proposals submitted in today's session by the Soviet Delegation, but the Soviet Delegation cannot agree that these proposals submitted by the Soviet Delegation are not in compliance with the Moscow Decision and that there is an attempt to use the veto on the work of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation has never used a veto and does not recommend the American Delegation to do so. The Soviet Delegation will be guided by the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, by all three points. As to the next regular session, I move this session be tomorrow at 1:30.

The meeting adjourned at 1720 hours.

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TRANSCRIPT OF 42nd MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
25 July 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Did you receive today's agenda?

GENERAL BROWN: It is accepted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Does the American Delegation express its desire to have the proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation studied or to make comments on this proposal of the Soviet Delegation? The Soviet Delegation would like to hear the mind of the American Delegation on the drafted proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has carefully considered the proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation on 24 July. This proposal is not acceptable to the American Delegation because it proposes to eliminate from consultation 24 parties and social organizations with a membership over 10,000 which have applied for and qualify for consultation with the Joint Commission. The American Delegation cannot agree to the elimination of these parties and organization from consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What then are the proposals of the American Delegation?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation would like to know whether or not the Soviet Delegation has any additional proposals to submit to the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that/~~xxxx~~ its proposals which were submitted by them in yesterday's session fully correspond and fully comply with the Moscow Decision and the agreement between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The Soviet Delegation in point 5 of their proposal does not exclude parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee from consultation inasmuch as these parties and organizations have excluded themselves by their active fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation in making these proposals gives these parties and organizations the opportunity

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to comprehend their errors and to refute them. Already now the work of the Joint Commission has reached such a responsible stage that the Soviet Delegation gives them a chance to acknowledge their mistakes and to refute these mistakes and, together with the absolute majority of parties and organizations of North as well as South Korea, participate in the fulfillment of such an important vital question for the Korean people as the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. If these parties do not want to follow this advice, then the Commission has all the reasons not to further postpone the work and to start work as it is stated in the Soviet Delegation's proposal, point 4.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation, as previously stated, cannot accept this point of view of the Soviet Delegation. It appears useless to further discuss this matter, inasmuch as the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation have been unable to reach agreement on this point. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will make a further statement. Before making the statement, the American Delegation would like to ask the Soviet Delegation if they have any further proposals concerning some method of getting over this impasse which has arisen between the two Delegations.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation being guided by the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached between the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs has considered all the material that she has at her disposal concerning parties and organizations of both North and South Korea and has come to the conclusion we should speed up the work of the Joint Commission and this conclusion was expressed by the Soviet Delegation in its proposal submitted to the Joint Commission yesterday. These proposals of the Soviet Delegation clearly and promptly state the task of the Joint Commission and they also state the fact that there are no further reasons for the Commission to postpone its work and proposes to start consultation with parties and organizations of South Korea on the 30th of July and with parties and organizations of North Korea on the 1st of August.

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This is the final decision of the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation has had no proposals since the one that was submitted on the 24th of July which fully reflects the necessity and the importance of these tasks that face the Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation once more reiterates its firm determination to fulfill the Moscow Decision completely and unequivocally and to establish a Korean Provisional Democratic Government at the earliest possible time. Following the formation of that government, the American Delegation is as firmly determined to develop, with the participation of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and the Korean democratic organizations, methods of aid and assistance (trusteeship), thus carrying out the provisions of Paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision on Korea.

Because the American Delegation is fully aware of the gravity with which a failure of the Joint Commission would be regarded not only by the Korean people but also by our two governments, the Delegation is prepared to explore all reasonable possibilities for adjudicating the present impasse in the Joint Commission.

The possibility has occurred to the American Delegation that the present impasse in regard to consultation may be due to mutual misunderstanding of basic motives.

The Soviet Delegation has given some indications that the American Delegation is inspired by the desire to establish in Korea a provisional government which would be dominated by reactionary, anti-Soviet elements. Nothing could be further from the truth. Our only objective is to establish a Korean Provisional Democratic Government that fully reflects the wishes of the Korean people. There are reactionary elements in South Korea who at times have been as anti-American as they appear to be anti-Soviet to the Soviet Delegation.

At the same time, the position taken by the Soviet Delegation and particularly in its attempted arbitrary elimination of all important rightist groups, moderate as well as extreme, the majority of which have never been affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee,

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has created the impression that the Soviet Delegation is determined to exclude all major rightist groups in such a way as to limit the oral consultations, and consequently the charter and platform of a Korean Provisional Democratic Government, to ideas promulgated by the parties and organizations affiliated with the People's Front.

The position taken by the American Delegation is that neither the extreme left nor the extreme right should dominate the creation of this government, because neither of these groups enjoy a majority support of the masses of the Korean people.

Both extremes have earned the distaste and distrust of the Korean people in South Korea by their terrorism and other illicit acts. In addition, the leftist groups united in the People's Front have aroused a great deal of antagonism towards that Front. Much of this has developed because over 1,000,000 people have come from North Korea into South Korea and have brought comprehensive information regarding unfortunate conditions which they claim exist in the North. These people maintain that in North Korea rationing is used as a political instrument to gain acquiescence and support for the objectives of the People's Front. They claim that the elections were not free elections because no slate in opposition to the People's Front was permitted. They further assert that the farmers in North Korea are far worse off than they were under the Japanese because of the unreasonably heavy collection programs initiated by the People's Committees. This sort of talk has been spread all over South Korea by refugees and is in large measure responsible for the deep antagonism toward the People's Front✓

All these stories may not be entirely true, but they have had a great influence on public opinion. The known facts indicate that in North Korea one unified political group has eliminated all non-cooperating groups; this is shown by the fact that applications for consultation and the answers to the questionnaires have been received only from parties which are members of the People's Front. On the other hand, in South Korea there has been a free political development

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and no one group has been allowed to eliminate the opposition. The very fact that we have a flourishing People's Front organization in the South bears witness to this fact. The application for consultation and answers to questionnaires also support it.

In South Korea only one political group, the People's Front, has consistently refused to cooperate in any way with the United States authorities. Not only has this group refused to cooperate, but it has indiscriminately attacked all our policies, urged non-cooperation and even supported unlawful terroristic action to attain its ends. In spite of these attacks, many of which were directed against the United States itself, the United States authorities have maintained the right of these non-cooperative groups, together with all others, to organize and express their opinions so long as these were within the framework of the law. In the opinion of the American Delegation, the representatives of many of these groups in both North and South Korea have seriously compromised themselves by being antagonistic to one of the Allied Powers - the United States. The American Delegation has refrained from challenging representatives of these groups before the Joint Commission, believing that a lenient attitude should be adopted toward the Koreans in the present stage of their political development. The American Delegation also favors the least possible interference in the internal politics of Korea.

The Soviet Delegation surely cannot expect the American Delegation to agree to eliminate from consultation all the groups that have cooperated and accept only those groups and individuals who have constantly attacked the United States.

It appears highly undesirable that either the extreme right or extreme left have a dominating position in consultation with the Joint Commission. Since we have not been able to reach an agreement regarding invitations to oral consultation, the American Delegation believes it should seek alternative solutions to the present impasse that would permit the Joint Commission to carry out its assigned task of creating a Korean Provisional Democratic Government.

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The American Delegation makes the following proposal: "Instructions to Subcommission No. 1 to prepare lists of the parties and social organizations filing applications for consultation." For the purpose of enabling the Joint Commission to have a more graphic picture than is at present available of the break-down into various categories according to the positions taken by the two Delegations in Joint Commission discussion with respect to parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation: Itis proposed that Subcommission No. 1 be directed to reconvene and to consider the application of all parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation with the Joint Commission and to prepare: (1) A list of all of those parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation. (2) A list of those parties and social organizations appearing on the list prepared in accordance with paragraph 1 which <u>both</u> the Soviet and American Delegations are willing to exclude from oral consultation, with the reasons for exclusion. (3) An additional list of those parties and social organizations appearing on the list prepared in accordance with paragraph 1 with which <u>either</u> Delegation does not wish to consult orally, together with a statement of specific objections in each case. (4) To prepare a complete list of all representatives of parties and social organizations appearing in the list prepared in accordance with paragraph 1 and a list of those with which either Delegation does not wish to consult, together with a statement of the specific objections in each case.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has listened to the statement presented by the American Delegation and has come to the conclusion that this statement has to be studied in detail. For such a study, the Soviet Delegation needs time and considers that it will be able to answer the points touched upon by the American Delegation on July 28th--that is, on Monday. This statement of the American Delegation contains facts and makes accusations not only against democratic parties in North Korea but also against the people in North Korea. Along with this statement presented by the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation will study the proposals presented by it. The Soviet Delegation will make a comparative study of the data which it has at its disposal concerning parties and organizations of South Korea. The Soviet Delegation further believes that it is necessary in today's session of the Joint Commission to ask the respective Secretariats to prepare a joint communique which will reflect the reasons for the further delay of the Joint Commission. This communique should contain comparative data and contain the number of parties and organizations of the Left, Right, and Center in South Korea. It further should state the reasons for the delay of the work of the Joint Commission are the parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. These parties and organizations through their behavior and fight which they carry on against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission want to hamper the fulfillment of this Decision--interfere with the work of the Joint Commission . This communique should fully indicate, and the Soviet Delegation will state in that communique, that the Commission has no further reason to postpone its work because of these parties and organizations.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will be very happy to attempt to work out a communique with the Soviet Delegation provided that the communique is confined to statements of fact. The American Delegation cannot join with the Soviet Delegation in issuing any statement in a communique not based on fact, such as a statement

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that certain parties and social organizations are struggling against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. That is not a statement of fact, and the American Delegation cannot lend itself to include such a statement in a communique. It is time that the people of Korea were informed of the facts, and the American Delegation will be happy to attempt to assist in the preparation of a communique which will give them the complete facts.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation will prepare such a communique, and in case the American Delegation declines to sign it, the Soviet Delegation will publish it independently.

GENERAL BROWN: It is hoped that the Soviet Delegation will give the American Delegation a chance to see it before publishing it.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has no further business that should come before the Commission. Has the American Delegation any?

GENERAL BROWN: Nothing today.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The next regular meeting will take place next week and General Brown will be chairman and can decide when to meet.

GENERAL BROWN: When would the Soviet Delegation like to meet--Monday?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There are two sets of minutes which should be presented by the American Secretariat. If the American Secretariat will present these two, then the meeting may be held Monday. Inasmuch as there are nine minutes, it will take the Secretariats time to prepare, so Tuesday would be better.

GENERAL BROWN: It is useless to waste time that Subcommission No. 1 might use to get to work;if the Soviet Delegation accepts the American proposal, let Mr. Tounkin contact Dr. Bunce and Subcommission No. 1 can go to work.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation agrees to commence work of Subcommission No. 1 in compliance with the proposals we have submitted.

GENERAL BROWN: That proposal is not acceptable to the American Delegation. The American Delegation cannot agree to have Subcommission No. 1 go to work under that proposal. The Soviet Delegation states it needs time to study the counter-proposal. It is just a counterproposal

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that the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is suggesting--that Subcommission 1 go to work providing that our proposal is acceptable to the Soviet Delegation. If it is not acceptable to the Soviet Delegation, it would seem advisable to reconvene the Joint Commission on Monday and try to make some progress in resolving this issue.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation then proposes that Subcommission No. 1 meet on the basis of these two proposals and commence its work.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation would prefer to have the Soviet Delegation study this new proposal which the American Delegation has submitted. It is believed that this proposal can be accepted by the Soviet Delegation and will form a proper basis for Subcommission No. 1 to proceed under.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated that it will study the proposal submitted by the American Delegation. In order to facilitate the work of Subcommission 1, the Soviet Delegation proposes that Subcommission 1 meet on the basis of using these two proposals.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation for three weeks has stated that Subcommission No. 1 cannot meet until it has a sound basis under which to proceed, and it is hoped that the proposal submitted by the American Delegation will form that sound basis. It does not in any way injure the Soviet Delegation nor does it in any way favor the American Delegation. It is a wide open proposal and will permit Subcommission 1 to do the task which has been assigned to that Subcommission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has many times insisted that Subcommission 1 commence its work. Now, being guided by these two proposals--the one submitted by the Soviet Delegation and the one submitted by the American Delegation--the Soviet representative of Subcommission 1 will be able to state the point of view of the Soviet Delegation as to the American proposal which has been submitted in this session. If Subcommission 1 commenced its work, it would make

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the work of the Joint Commission 90% easier.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will be very glad to have Subcommission No. 1 go to work as soon as it has its proposal agreed to by the Joint Commission. There is not now such a proposal so Subcommission No. 1 cannot yet start work.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation to start the work of Subcommission No. 1 is quite clear. The proposal of the Soviet Delegation is to start the work of Subcommission 1 on the basis of the Soviet Delegation's proposal made on July 24 and the American Delegation's proposal submitted on July 25. Why is the American Delegation afraid to commence work on the basis of these two proposals. The proposal of the Soviet Delegation on the basis of these two proposals puts both delegations in a good position and does not give an advantage to either of them. Why does the American Delegation always decline to commence work of Subcommission 1.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will answer that question for probably the twentieth time. The American Delegation will not agree to unilateral exclusion by the Soviet Delegation of twenty-four parties and social organizations which are entitled to consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It seems that the American Delegation does not believe in the strength and capabilities of Mr. Bunce to defend the position of the American Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: Mr. Bunce is one. The American Delegation sitting here seven-fold has not been able to get the Soviet Delegation to agree to a reasonable proposal.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Mr. Bunce will receive help by adding Mr. Tounkin.

GENERAL BROWN: Do you know the story of the big bad wolf? Mr. Tounkin is the big bad wolf.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I propose that Subcommission 1 commence its work.

GENERAL BROWN: As soon as Mr. Tounkin calls Dr. Bunce and tells him the Soviet Delegation accepts the new proposal submitted by

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the American Delegation, Subcommission No. 1 can go to work. I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet proposal gives both delegations an equal position. That is why I consider the arguments presented by the American Delegation to have no grounds. The Soviet Delegation will study the American proposal and will make a statement concerning this statement in Subcommission 1, and state then whether it accepts this proposal, and, if not, why.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation would prefer that that statement be made in the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is the belief of the Soviet Delegation that the commencement of the work of Subcommission 1 is being delayed because of the American Delegation, and this delay in the work of Subcommission 1 delays the whole work of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has made that same statement many times. The record of the Joint Commission does not bear out the correctness of that statement. It is a fact that the American Delegation has made a great deal of progress on studying parties and organizations, and when Subcommission No. 1 is reconvened, this work of the American Delegation will aid in the rapidity with which Subcommission 1 can complete its task. If the Soviet Delegation has made equal effort, Subcommission 1 should be able to do its job in about one hour.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The records will be helpful in this respect, and will show that we insist on commencement of work of Subcommission 1. Yes, I agree in order to give the Secretariats time to prepare the minutes, that we meet on Tuesday.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will advise the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation of the date of the next meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 1445 hours.

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TRANSCRIPT OF 48TH MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
29 July 1947 at 1330 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL BROWN: Do you have any comments on the agenda?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No.

GENERAL BROWN: First item of business is the approval of the Minutes. They are ready to be signed. The next item of business is the "Approval of the List of Democratic Parties and Social Organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission". Does the Soviet Delegation have any comments on the statement made at the last meeting?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In the last Joint Commission session the Soviet Delegation stated that they would take time to study the American statement so as to make certain clarifications and comments on this. The Soviet Delegation is ready to make these clarifications and comments if the American Delegation has no other proposals.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no other proposals.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: (Made the attached statement.)

GENERAL BROWN: May we have a copy of that. I move a ten minute recess.

The Commission recessed at 1450 hours.

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Meeting resumed at 1510 hours.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has listened attentively to the statements of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation will study this carefully after it has been translated and determine whether it will reply or not. It appears that the American and Soviet Delegations are not able to come to any agreement as to the method of conducting consultation. The American Delegation will endeavor to find other solutions for the problem facing the Joint Commission. As the American Delegation understands it, the position of the Soviet Delegation is:

1. That political parties or organizations can only be placed on the list for consultation by mutual agreement of Subcommission No. 1, which means that the Soviets could by withholding approval to the inclusion on the list of any party dictate the makeup of the list. This is in fact a contention that the Soviets must hold the veto power.

2. That Rightist parties of any prominence must be denied consultation through the device of excluding:

(a) Party members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or similar organizations;

(b) Those without zonal headquarters;

(c) Those not social.

The list of parties and organizations with membership in excess of 10,000 submitted by the Soviets as the parties and organizations which are not suspicious to them and with which they are apparently willing to consult omits 24 important parties with membership in excess of 10,000, all but one of these 24 are apparently Rightist, and contain the most important Rightist parties requesting consultation. The Soviet Delegation states that these 24 parties are omitted because they are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. As far as the American Delegation can determine, only 9 of these 24 parties were in fact at one time members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The others are apparently eliminated arbitrarily; at least, the Soviets refuse to state their reasons for their elimination. The Soviets have apparently also included on the list presented by them certain parties and organizations

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which were reported at one time to be members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. They do not explain why they are willing to consult with certain parties which were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee while they refuse to consult with certain other parties which were also reported to be members of this committee. It is a reasonable conclusion that they are reserving the right to question these parties at a later date and deny them consultation in the improbable event that the American Delegation should accept their principles of excluding parties which they can prove to be members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. It is likely that there are other parties and organizations that are on the list submitted by the Soviet Delegation with which at a later date they will refuse to consult because they will contend they are not "social" organizations or are "purely local" organizations, or to which the Soviets will find other objections.

The Soviet proposal to deny consultation to the 24 parties omitted from their list is in furtherance of the plan to eliminate from consultation an important segment of Korean life which holds different political views. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has many times asked the Soviet Delegation to produce evidence upon which the American Delegation could base proper decision as to whether or not the contentions of the Soviet Delegation as regards their elimination of these parties are well founded. The contentions of the Soviet Delegation are:

1. <u>That these 24 parties are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee</u>. They have produced no evidence to substantiate this contention. They simply make the statement. They vaguely mention certain newspaper articles. The reliability of newspaper articles is doubtful. However, they have not even produced these newspaper articles nor read them into the record as evidence. When the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation attempted to get the Soviet Delegation to discuss their reasons for excluding these 24 parties by discussing each party as a separate entity, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet not only refused to discuss the issue but even refused to answer the questions of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation.

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2. That the Anti-Trusteeship Committee is engaged in fomenting and instigating active opposition to the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation has produced no evidence to prove this contention. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has many times asked them for evidence. They seem to think that their unsupported statements are sufficient. The Soviet Delegation mentions a letter to the Joint Commission written by KIM, Koo. They have not produced such a letter. The American Delegation does not know whether such a letter is in fact a credible and acceptable letter. Should the Soviet Delegation have such a letter, they should produce it and they should substantiate the fact that it was in fact written by KIM, Koo. The Soviet Delegation again mentions certain newspaper articles, but they have not produced these articles nor have they established their accuracy.

3. That the 24 parties bear responsibility for an Anti-Trusteeship Committee demonstration on 23 June. They contend that this Anti-Trusteeship Committee demonstration was instigated and participated in by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. They have offered no proof of this fact other than a statement that they have a letter signed by KIM, Koo, as mentioned above. If they have such evidence they should produce it and read it into the record. They have made no attempt to link any one of these 24 parties specifically with that demonstration. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has written into the record the results which approval of the Soviet proposal would produce. In effect it would change the three to two Rightist majority of applicant parties in all Korea to an overwhelming Leftist majority. It would actually at this early stage of the meeting of the Joint Commission assure an entirely unwarranted, definite Leftist control over a united Korea, which in fact would mean domination by groups imbued with Communist Party principles. It is highly naive of the Soviet Delegation to expect that this could be accepted by the American Delegation. Should the American Delegation agree to any such political maneuver, it would be contrary to the role of the Joint Commission and such action would be condemned by the honest people throughout the world.

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The Right is not a unified group and some of the more extreme elements have revealed their political immaturity and instability by eliminating themselves from consultation through refusing to apply. These extremists continue their clamoring against an as yet undefined arrangement - trusteeship; the maneuvers of this group are not the business of the Joint Commission, but of the Commanding General of the United States Army Forces in Korea. I assure you that any attempt to disturb public order will be promptly dealt with.

The American Delegation believes that all shades of public opinion among the Korean population which have applied for consultation should be given a hearing. However, if any parties and organizations are uncooperative with the Joint Commission or inimical to the best interests of Korea, then the American Delegation is willing to push aside these obstacles to the accomplishment of its most pressing task - the establishment of a Korean Provisional Democratic Government. However, if the extreme Right is arbitrarily eliminated, a proper balance is restored only by arbitrary elimination of the extreme Left also. Should both of these groups be eliminated we could get on to the business at hand with the Moderates of the Korean political scene. However, two large segments of the people would have no voice in consultation.

The immediate mission of the Joint Commission is to form a provisional government over a united Korea. Consultation is but one element of the work facing this Commission. In order to get on with the work of the Commission and cease the useless wrangling which has occurred throughout the past three weeks, the American Delegation requests the Soviet Delegation to submit their views as to an effective workmanlike proposal which the Joint Commission can adopt as a basis for proceeding with the assigned task.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: First I would like to ask a question. General Brown, in the beginning of his statement , stated that he would try to find another way out in order to achieve results of the work of the Joint Commission. As far as I can understand the statement it was like this but the statement asks the Soviet Delegation to make proposals and this appeal is directed to the Soviet Delegation. First, I would like to hear those proposals which are referred to in the substance of the statement.

GENERAL BROWN: If the Soviet Delegation does not, as they have often stated, wish to consult certain parties and organizations of South Korea which have applied for consultation and which are eligible for consultation, then the American Delegation proposes that the Soviet Delegation conduct consultation with those political parties and social organizations of North Korea and the American Delegation consult with those political parties and social organizations of South Korea. In that way, the Soviet Delegation will be relieved of the necessity to consult with parties which are suspicious to them and which they do not wish to consult.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Is this proposal serious, or is it a joke?

GENERAL BROWN: I am serious. It seems to the American Delegation that it is necessary for the Joint Commission to get on with its work. Consultation is but a minor part of the work of the Joint Commission. The Koreans have written and expressed their views. Oral consultation is simply bringing them in and getting a confirmation of their views and bringing them in to work with the Joint Commission. The American Delegation cannot understand the Soviet Delegation's attitude on consultation. It offers a perfectly logical, workable proposal to relieve the Soviet Delegation from the distasteful duty of consulting with parties which are suspicious to them.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has listened to the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation

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and can express only surprise on certain points of this statement. First, the Soviet Delegation has never, and under no circumstances, tried to adopt any unilateral decision. The list of parties and organizations can be and must be compiled by mutual agreement by both Delegations concerning the compilation of lists of parties and social organizations. The Soviet Delegation has endeavored and is still endeavoring to get the work of Subcommission No. 1 to commence and that Subcommission No. 1 as has been stated in Joint Commission Decision No. 16, mutually compile a list and submit this list for approval of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation has frequently stated in its statements and proposals during the Joint Commission sessions that Subcommission No. 1 should, during its meetings, give hearing to any arguments and objections of both representatives referring to each party and organization which should be included or not included into the list for consultation with the Joint Commission, and that those questions which were not agreed upon by the Subcommission No. 1, concerning parties and organizations and their inclusion into the list for consultation, should be discussed here in Joint Commission session. This question then, "are these demands of the Soviet Delegation fair?" The answer is, "Yes, they are fair." Do they express that the Soviet Delegation in making these proposal tries to exercise veto? This word is a modern word of today, but the American Delegation uses this word, not in its proper place. It seems that the American Delegation is coloring itself with this word "veto" in order to have the naive people confused and also in order to decline from itself the blow and to have this word directed toward the Soviet Delegation, because in actuality, veto is being used by the American Delegation which has stated that it has already compiled such a list and that parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee should not be excluded from the list. The American Delegation is throwing everything to one pile, as the proverb goes, "Horses and

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People". In defending minor parties and organizations which are opposing the Moscow Decision, the American Delegation, in its statement and in the communique, frightens Rightist parties which uphold the Moscow Decision and which should be consulted by the Joint Commission. It frightens these parties away which try to help the Commission.in making statements as if the Soviet Delegation wishes to exclude all Rightist parties from consultation. Why does the American Delegation make such ungrounded and unfounded statements and what is the aim of such statements? What is the aim of those accusations which the American Delegation is directing toward the Soviet Delegation? Why does the American Delegation frighten 74 parties and organizations of Rightist in stating as if these parties and organizations are excluded from consultation? The Soviet Delegation may publish lists of parties and organizations with which it will consult because they uphold the Moscow Decision and they are not members of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee. It is not clear to the Soviet Delegation why does the American Delegation, so heartily during the whole month, defend the Anti-trusteeship Committee and those parties which are comprised by this Committee. There may be an impression created by the Soviet Delegation as to whether this Anti-trusteeship Committee was created according to the task and advice given by the American Delegation in order to hamper, if not to wreck, the work of the Joint Commission. At any rate, such a conclusion can be drawn. If the American Delegation contends that the list which was submitted upon request by the Soviet Delegation doesn't include parties and organizations which are not members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee, it is on this question that the Soviet Delegation suggested to direct Subcommission No. 1 to check on this list and also on the parties and or anizations which are not members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee in order that parties which are not members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee and which do not carry on a fight

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against the Moscow Decision, that these parties, after the list has been checked on, be included in it. General Brown, in his statement, mentioned that the Soviet Delegation did not present proof against parties and organizations that are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee. The Soviet Delegation enumerated whole numbers of facts and examples of the demonstrating activity of this committee and these parties. The American Delegation, during the session, acknowledged that the organizer of these demonstrations held 23 June was KIM, Koo and his fellow champions, and too, General Brown in his statement mentioned that this was not a proof. The American Delegation behaves like a "May breeze", and tries even to refute that which has been mentioned by it in the Joint Commission sessions. The impression is being created by the Soviet Delegation that the American Delegation will soon repudiate that that paper that is lying on the table that is white and will say that it is black and will say that we have our sessions not in the daytime but in the night time during the evening. Certainly such contentions can be refuted quite easily inasmuch as there is nothing to be refuted here because everyone who is listening to these statements and who would like to see what is right and what is wrong can establish for his own satisfaction those facts which were proved here. The Soviet Delegation has had to listen to many unfair and unjust statements and rather rude statements on behalf of the American Delegation as done in todays statement, to pull facts which were seemingly done to make the position which which is rather unsteady more strong, to state that the Soviet Delegation forces an agreement upon, or wishes the American Delegation to agree with the Communistic views and the American Delegation fears that if she gives her consent, then she would be condemned by all the honest people of the world. In doing this thing the American Delegation has gone rather far. The Soviet Delegation believes that discussing Communism or Communistic ideas here in

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the Joint Commission session is improper. The Soviet Delegation is not propaganding Communism here and doesn't wish to listen to propaganda on behalf of the American Delegation as to capitalism. The Joint Commission's work is the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and the Moscow Decision states that there should be in Korea created a democratic government -- that is a people's government whether the American Delegation likes it or not, but inasmuch as it participates in the Joint Commission on the fulfillment of the Decision, it should exactly be guided by this Decision. The Soviet Delegation believes that the consultation of democratic parties which is stipulated by the Moscow Decision is a very important and responsible thing in the work of the Joint Commission. The Commission works at the creation of a provisional democratic government -- at the creation of a government for all Koreans. That is why the consultation should be with all parties which fully uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission, in the South as well as in the North. That is why the proposal of the American Delegation, that the Soviet Delegation consult with parties and organizations of North Korea and the American Delegation consult with parties and organizations of South Korea is not a serious proposal. All the Korean people demand that a united democratic government in Korea be established. Those parties which up till now stubbornly carry on a fight against the Moscow Decision and which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee cannot and should not be obstacles in our work. The Joint Commission should recommend these parties to make a public statement on their withdrawal from this Committee and on their ceasing of fighting against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. The American Delegation has to understand that the further delay of our work will lead to very serious consequences for the Korean people, inasmuch as the people of all Korea wish to be united under the leadership of the provisional democratic government.

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GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has stated that it considers it useless to discuss the question of consultation further. The American Delegation is defending the agreement between the Foreign Ministers, the sanctity of an agreement signed by the Chief Commissioners of both Delegations of the Joint Commission, a concept of broad consultation, and the rights of all Korean parties and social organizations to be heard regarding the formation of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government. The Soviet Delegation in attempting to restrict consultation, is in fact supporting one political faction of Korea. Whether they intend to do so or not, the American Delegation does not know, but the results is that they are in fact supporting the Democratic Front of North and South Korea. The statement by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that General Brown, in his today's statement, denied that KIM, Koo was behind the June 23 demonstration, is not a correct statement. General Brown will again read to the Soviet Delegation exactly what he said. "The Soviet Delegation mentions a letter to the Joint Commission written by KIM, Koo. They have not produced such a letter. The American Delegation does not know whether such a letter is in fact a credible and acceptable letter. Should the Soviet Delegation have such a letter, they should produce it and they should substantiate the fact that it was in fact written by KIM, Koo." I quote again "They contend that this Anti-trusteeship Committee demonstration was instigated and participaged in by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. They have offered no proof of this fact other than a statement that they have a letter signed by KIM, Koo, as mentioned above. If they have such evidence they should produce it and read it into the record. They have made no attempt to link any one of these 24 parties specifically with that demonstration." That is the statement made by General Brown. It is not the statement that the Soviet Delegation accused General Brown of making. It does not say that General Brown denies KIM, Koo was behind the June 23rd demonstration. The Chief Commissioner of the

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American Delegation has stated and it is written into the record that the American Delegation has credible evidence to show that KIM, Koo in fact organized and instigated the June 23rd demonstration, but the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again challenges the Soviet Delegation to prove that any parties who are suspicious to them participated in that demonstration. They cannot do so because those parties did not participate in that demonstration. That contention is unjust and the American Delegation must assume that being unfounded and since the Soviet Delegation is making no effort to prove it that it must have been stated by the Soviet Delegation for a purpose. The American Delegation cannot help but endeavor to find a purpose. The Soviet Delegation stated that they have listened to many unjust and rude statements made by the American Delegation and they will not listen to capitalistic propaganda. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation wishes to read the statement to which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation now refers, I quote, "The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has written into the record the results which approval of the Soviet proposal would produce. In effect it would change the three to two rightist majority of applicant parties in all Korea to an overwhelming leftist majority. It would actually at this early stage of the meeting of the Joint Commission assure an entirely unwarranted, definite leftist control over a united Korea, which in fact would mean domination by groups imbued with Communist Party principles. It is highly naive of the Soviet Delegation to expect that this could be accepted by the American Delegation. Should the American Delegation agree to any such political maneuver, it would be contrary to the role of the Joint Commission and such action would be condemned by the honest people throughout the world." The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has several times informed the Soviet Delegation that it is the opinion of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation is listening to propaganda advanced by the South Korea Labor Party and the Democratic Front of

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The American Delegation charges that the South Korea Labor Party is Communist dominated. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again repeats that statement -- it is a statement of fact -- it is not rude; it is not unjust; it is, in the opinion of the American Delegation, a factual and defensible statement, and one to which no offense can be taken. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is very much interested in the statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. He states that the Moscow Decision says that Korea shall be a democratic government -- that is, a people's government. The American Delegation would like to know if that means that Korea must have the type of government which exists in Russia and those nations which are satelites of Russia.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation believes that fair argument is a useful thing and that it gives the opportunity of ironing out points of view of both delegations, but once this discussion goes beyond the limits of the discussed question, it is not beneficial for the business. The American Delegation tries to prove that the Soviet Delegation discussions go beyond the limits of the functions and obligations of the Joint Commission. When one listens to statements of General Brown, one involuntarily asks the question: Where are you now? Is this a Joint Commission meeting or a club in which an American reactionary newspaper is being read. I don't think that General Brown should be a representative of such a newspaper, and if it is so, then it is inconsistent with the chairmanship of the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation stated that the Moscow Decision stipulates the creation of a democratic government. This decision was not signed by either General Brown or the American Delegation. This decision was signed by the governments and it will be fulfilled to the minutest detail. I already stated that General Brown has revoked what was stated by the American Delegation in Joint Commission session. I will now go on to read an extract from the statement which was made by Mr. Sargent on July 10: "Investigation of the American Delegation shows that not a single party out of these parties participated in the demonstration; besides, before the commencement of the demonstration, these parties did not know anything of the plans of the demonstration. All the proofs collected as a result of this investigation show that the final responsibility for the demonstration has been placed upon KIM, Koo and that he certainly should not participate in the consultation. The real statements on the demonstration, as we believe, took their beginning from immediate subordinates of KIM, Koo. The demonstration was carried out by the students organization and it carried out this demonstration independently and without the participation of any political party or any other group. During the day of the demonstration, KIM, Koo sent a letter to the American Delegation of the Joint Commission and acknowledged his responsibility

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for the demonstration, having signed it on behalf of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee." I hope that General Brown won't ascribe these words which were stated by Mr. Sargent to the Soviet Delegation inasmuch as these are words expressed by Mr. Sargent. Further, General Brown asks to see the letter which was signed by KIM, Koo. Here is the letter. The Soviet Delegation has a copy of this letter in English from the American Secretariat. Why does General Brown in this session refuse those statements which were done by the American Delegation. It seems that the political situation has changed. There is a Russian proverb that something that was written by pen cannot be put out by an axe. That was mentioned by the American Delegation in the Joint Commission. The American Delegation should have the courage and justice to confirm it inasmuch as it leaves an unfavorable impression by its colleagues. The American Delegation in each session rebukes the Soviet Delegation for listening to the opinions of parties which are members of the Democratic National Front and states that these parties mislead and lead into confusion the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation has the possibility to critically approach in any instance any information or any document it has at its disposal. The Soviet Delegation has always approached and will further approach all decisions from the point of view of fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. It will do it objectively and as it was instructed by the representatives of the governments which signed the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation stated, and it is stating now, that the main criterion that the Soviet Delegation holds for those parties and organizations is that they fully uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. That is why the accusations that were made by the American Delegation are inconsistent. The Soviet Delegation believes that the Korean people have the right to demand from the Joint Commission the speediest fulfillment of the question of the creation of a Korean Provisional Government. Those 174 parties

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which were stated by the Soviet Delegation do represent all political shades of Korea, and we should consult with them, not waiting for those who carry on the fight against the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. The people now know why the work of the Joint Commission is being delayed. The Soviet Delegation insists on the acceptance of its proposal which was submitted by the Soviet Delegation on July 24th, and further, the Soviet Delegation believes that Subcommission No. 1 should start its work. The Soviet Delegation has already suggested that we notify parties and organizations that are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and carry on their fight against the Moscow Decision that they may participate in consultation if they declare their withdrawal from this committee and fully uphold the work of the Joint Commission and the Moscow Decision. Yes, if these parties and organizations will be sincere in their wish, they would need not more than three or four days and the work of the Joint Commission could go ahead. I move that we adjourn today's session and meet at 1:30 tomorrow.

GENERAL BROWN: Not just yet. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation repeats that the Soviet Delegation has no evidence that can be accepted in any court of law that KIM, Koo wrote any letter tying any party to the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The American Delegation may have a letter, but I can tell the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that the authenticity of that letter cannot so far as I know be established. I can repeat that the Soviet Delegation has no credible evidence which it can produce before this Joint Commission to support its contention. In order to introduce a letter and establish its authenticity, the signature of that letter must be established by credible evidence. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has seen no letter written by KIM, Koo, the authenticity of which he can establish. As a matter of fact, there is a doubt as to whether KIM, Koo ever wrote that letter. That is the kind of evidence upon which the Soviet Delegation is trying to eliminate a large group of Rightist Korean parties. This is just one item

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of the evidence. I again challenge the Soviet Delegation to produce competent, satisfactory evidence if they intend to deny to the Koreans their independence because that is exactly what the Soviet Delegation is attempting to do. The Moscow Decision says that the Joint Commission shall consult parties and social organizations. The Soviet Delegation is denying this basic agreement and is saying that we will not consult with any parties or social organizations which have different ideas to those held by them. The Soviet Delegation is denying Koreans their Provisional Government, and if there is any blame to attach for that failure, it must fall entirely upon the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation has no objection to adjourning for tonight, if the Soviet Delegation desires.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: General Brown in his statement in reference to the authenticity of the letter signed by KIM, Koo and also the statements made by the American Delegation has made the Soviet Delegation vigilant to what is being said and has made the Soviet Delegation critical in approaching the documents and statements of the American Delegation. Concerning the statement that the Soviet Delegation wishes to deprive Koreans of their right to have independence, that is as far from the truth as the sky is from the earth. The future will show which delegation is sincere in its wish that Korea receive its independence. Now concerning the exclusion of parties and organizations which are not liked by the Soviet Delegation, this statement is alleged; it is not confirmed by anything.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation stated that such a statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has alerted the Soviet Delegation against documents submitted by the United States Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation requests that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation inform him as to what documents he has reference to.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have here read the statement which was made by Mr. Sargent which states that there is a petition signed by KIM, Koo

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and addressed to the Joint Commission, and this petition signed by KIM, Koo has been handed in to the Soviet Delegation by the Secretariat of the American Delegation. Here is the document.

GENERAL BROWN: Is that the only document to which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has reference?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is this document that is being held out now, and it is this document that the Soviet Delegation has reference to.

GENERAL BROWN: Did Mr. Sargent say that this document was authentic? Did he say that the American Delegation could prove that KIM, Koo had signed it? As a matter of fact, a copy of that document was brought to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation by three irresponsible young men, and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation read into the record, and if the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation will take the trouble of looking it up, he will find a complete statement on that document -- the authenticity of that document has not been established. I again challenge the Soviet Delegation to establish it.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I suggest that General Brown read the authentic copy -- original copy of this document and the report presented by Mr. Sargent on July 10 -- the frank statements on this question. I am not going to do this job for General Brown. I am not going into it and confirm it. I ask the American Delegation to go into the liability of this document and to affirm it during the next regular session.

GENERAL BROWN: I would suggest to the Soviet Delegation that they send for a lawyer. Their position is so indefensible that the American Delegation is unable to understand it. They cannot prove that a letter which they claim is the basis for the elimination of a large group of parties was ever written or is authentic. Even if they could prove the authenticity, there is no proof which establishes any connection with these parties and the document. The Soviet Delegation is in fact building a case on sand. The unfortunate result is that it denies independence to the Koreans. The American

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Delegation cannot help if the Soviet Delegation insists on proceeding in such an unstable, indefensible manner.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I recommend that the American Delegation in drawing out documents and statements place alongside the person who does them a lawyer who can tell the American Commissioners how to successfully deny their documents and statements which it presents here in the Joint Commission sessions. As to the Soviet Delegation, it will do without such a lawyer. It has, especially after today's session, become quite proficient in reading documents presented by the American Delegation. I have already stated that the Korean people will see and will understand who in reality wishes independence--whether it is the American Delegation who does or the Soviet Delegation. You cannot deceive people.

GENERAL BROWN: We will meet at 1:30 on Thursday.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Agreed.

The meeting adjourned at 1750 hours.

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TRANSCRIPT OF FORTY-NINTH MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
31 July 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN.

GENERAL BROWN: What are the comments on the Agenda today?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Approved.

GENERAL BROWN: The first item on the agenda is the approval of the Minutes.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Accepted.

GENERAL BROWN: The next item of business is the approval of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission. Has the Soviet Delegation anything to offer?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation believes that on the basis of the two proposals, the Soviet proposal dated July 24, and the American proposal dated July 25, the work of Subcommission No. 1 should be resumed.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is willing to resume the work of Subcommission No. 1 on the basis of the American Delegation's proposal of 25 July.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation moves its proposal on July 24, and believes that this proposal should be considered.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has thoroughly considered the Soviet proposal of July 24 and cannot accept it because it excluded from consultation a group of parties which have qualified for and are eligible for consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation submitted a proposal which it moves to be considered in Subcommission No. 1. This Soviet proposal has a point No. 5 which it deletes the parties and organizations not included in the Soviet list submitted by it on July 7 as members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee and parties and organizations that have up to now continued their fight against the work of the Joint Commission may be admitted

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for consultation if they withdraw from this Anti-trusteeship Committee and do uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. The American Delegation in its draft proposal, declines those points that have been previously agreed upon in Joint Commission sessions. Namely: not to include into the list of parties, parties which clai: a number membership less than 10,000 and in doing so the American Delegation takes the Commission back to its original stage in the work of the Joint Commission. That is why these proposals are equally unacceptable, but having a desire to resume the work of Subcommission No. 1, the Soviet Delegation proposes to take as a basis for resumption of this Subcommission in its work, both proposals--that is the proposal of the Soviet Delegation and the proposal of the American Delegation. This will put into equal conditions for the Delegations when the work of Subcommission No. 1 resumes.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation can never accept the proposal made by the Soviet Delegation which would grant to the Soviet Delegation the power to exclude unilaterally those parties and organizations which are suspicious to them. The American Delegation must insist that parties and organizations only be excluded from consultation under the agreement reached by the Foreign Ministers. The American Delegation has a further proposal to make to the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation received this morning a letter which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will now read. This letter is addressed to the Chief Commissioners of the American and Soviet Delegations, US - USSR Joint Commission. The letter is dated July 28, 1947.

LETTER

"Gentlemen: This is on behalf of the member organizations of the United Council, to express our sincere appreciation of the hard and fine work that you and your colleagues have been rendering in the US - Soviet Joint Commission for the cause of Korean independence, and, at the same time, to offer to you our loyal

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cooperation in every possible way to a successful conclusion of the great and difficult task that is, we feel, both yours and ours also.

We are informed that one of the issues upon which U.S. and the Soviet Delegations have not been able to come to an agreement is the membership in the so-called anti-trusteeship committee of sore of our members organizations. The position of the Soviet Delegation as reported in the press is that certain parties who were formerly active in the Anti-trusteeship Committee should be excluded from consultation with the Joint Commission.

It is true that the Anti-trusteeship Committee had been formed with a view to oppose in the future the trusteeship that is foreshadowed but not explained in the Moscow Decision. However, the basic right of free expression of opinion has been guaranteed to the Koreans, as you will readily agree, in the official letters exchanged between General Marshall, the U.S. Secretary of State and Mr. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Commissar, prior to the reconvention of the Joint Commission at Seoul, May 21. Furthermore, we can assure you that the Anti-trusteeship Committee has never actively opposed or instigated active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission. This is well proved by its action that, in the early part of June, the Committee called its member organizations together in a great conference for discussion on the matter of the participation in the Joint Commission and upon the finding that the organizations could not come to an agreement it was decided that the matter of participation in the Joint Commission should be left to the free choice of each individual organization, affiliated with the Anti-trusteeship Committee and that there should be no active opposition between those organizations which will consult with the Joint Commission and those which will not.

Furthermore, none of the organizations which applied for consultation participated in any way in the so-called June 23 demonstration.

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Those organizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee and have applied for consultation with the Joint Commission are definitely of the opinion that they should fully cooperate with the Joint Commission in the formation of a provisional government which is its task in the first stage, and, after the formation of the provisional government, in the discussion of the measures of aid and assistance that is its task in the second stage by expressing their honest opinions, and by expressing even an honest expression of difference to any measure should it infringe upon Korean national sovereignty or interfere with Korean internal politics. Apart from these reservations of right the organizations have never instigated, nor will instigate, any active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission. An active opposition to it is indeed contrary to their own policy of consultation with the Joint Commission."

That letter, submitted in Korean and English, bears the signatures of the following: It is signed with a seal by YI, Yun Yung, Vice Chairman of the United Council for the Establishment of Provisional Government; YI, Yun Yung, Vice Chairman of the Chosun Democratic Party; DUK, Soo Chang, The Democratic Party of Korea; SIN, Yi Sung, The Popular Party; SON Ta Ri, The Tchundo Kyo Bokuk Party; YOU, Hong, The 1919 Independence Declaration Memorial Association; RYU, Chin San, The General League of Youngmen's Korea; SUN, Chung Hi, The Korean Military Affairs Association; Esther Whang, Union of All Women's Associations in Korea; PAHK, Sung Ho, Women's Patriotic Association; CHOI, Yun Dong, The Kwang Bok Hoi; CHUN, Chin Han, General Labor League for the Korean Independence; CHAI, Tak Ryong, The Korean Independent Youngmen's Association; CHOI, Hueng Cho, Korean Youngmen's Association; LEE, Sun Keun, Young Korean Party. The American Delegation I will extend to the Soviet Delegation, the copies of that communication and the original. The American Delegation proposes the following: "The American Delegation has

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repeatedly expressed itself as being ready to make a systematic examination of the list with a view to elimination of such parties and groups as could be mutually agreed for exclusion. It now reiterates such a proposal and requests that the Soviet Delegation give it serious consideration.

The American Delegation desires to carry out oral consultation on the broadest possible basis and is reluctant to agree to any procedure which will tend to restrict it. The American Delegation maintains its position that the term "social organizations" as described in the Moscow Decision does not exclude from oral consultation such organizations proposed by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation also disagrees with the Soviet Delegation's interpretation of what constitutes "local" and "non-zonal" organizations. However, in order to narrow the specific issues between the two delegations and to increase the possibility of reaching early agreement, the American Delegation again proposes that Subcommission No. 1 be directed to reconvene and to consider the applications of all parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation with the Joint Commission and to prepare:

(1) A list of all of those parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation;

(2) A list of those parties and social organizations appearing on the list prepared in accordance with paragraph (1) which <u>both</u> the Soviet and American Delegations are willing to exclude from oral consultation, with the reasons for exclusion;

(3) An additional list of those parties and social organizations appearing on the list prepared in accordance with paragraph (1) with which <u>either</u> delegation does not wish to consult, orally, together with a statement of specific objections in each case;

(4) To prepare a complete list of all representatives of parties

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and social organizations appearing in the list prepared in accordance with paragraph (1) and a list of those with which either delegation does not wish to consult, together with a statement of the specific objections in each case.

To expedite the fulfillment of the above proposals, the American members of Subcommission No. 1 have prepared a list of parties and organizations which they propose may be considered for exclusion from the South Korea list. A summary by various categories is given below.

List of Parties & Organizations Which May Be Considered for Exclusion from the South Korea List

There are six categories which include 127 parties and social organizations of South Korea, which the U.S. Delegation believes may be considered for exclusion from oral consultation. The parties and social organizations fall into the following categories:

Category	Number of Groups	Reason for Exclusion
A	63	under 1,000 membership
B	15	fraudulent or inactive
C	7	duplication
D	20	over 1,000 membership, but essentially local in nature
E	4	groups mainly resident outside Korea
F	18	groups not otherwise eliminated which may be termed "non-social" within narrow definition of term

Exclusion of these 127 groups from oral consultation would reduce the number to be consulted in South Korea to 298. The claimed membership of the remaining 298 groups in South Korea is 38,862,194." The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has continuously cautioned the Soviet Delegation against acceptance of a propaganda line of the Democratic Front in South Korea. The Soviet Delegation has stated that the mass of the people demand this, that, and the other thing. It is a fact that the Soviet Delegation has been

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continuously subject to the political propaganda of the South Korea Labor Parties since they have been in South Korea. The Democratic Front of South Korea is not the mass of the people. of South Korea. They represent a large segment of South Korea and their views must have serious consideration. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to consider the views of the Democratic Front of both North and South Korea, as well as the views of all other political parties of North and South Korea. The fact that the Soviet Delegation is being unduly influenced by the political strategy of the Democratic Front of South Korea, whose urgent desire is to completely eliminate the right from political consideration as far as possible is illustrated by the following radio broadcast from Moscow via Komsomolsk, in Korean to Koreans dated July 23, 1947.

(Broadcast is attached at end of transcript.)

Dozens of such statements can be read into the record. It is their politicaly strategy. It is their attempt to discredit large numbers of Korean political parties. The American Delegation insists that both groups be equally considered by the Joint Commission in the formation of their government.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has given an attentive hearing to the statement of the American Delegation and expresses the following comments: First, the Soviet Delegation never and nowhere has intended to accept any unilateral decision. The Soviet Delegation in making its proposals in Joint Commission sessions has always considered and considers now that these proposals should be discussed by both delegations, and once a mutual agreement has been reached, these proposals should be given a wording and submitted for final approval of this decision by the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation never demanded and doesn't demand now that the proposals of the Soviet Delegation be accepted without previous discussion and consideration. The Soviet Delegation also attentively approaches those proposals submitted by the American Delegation, and all that is acceptable for the Joint Commission and which corresponds to the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached between the two Ministers, Marshall and Molotov, has been accepted and given a wording as a Joint Commission Decision. Only such method of approach toward proposals submitted by either of the delegations, the Soviet Delegation believes to be a currect method. But the Soviet Delegation cannot agree with the point of view of the American Delegation which can be interpreted that the Soviet Delegation, without discussion and consideration and without critical remarks on the drafts of proposals submitted by the American Delegation, accepts all these American proposals. As General Brown has stated, if this is not so, the American Delegation cannot agree. Such a behavior of the American Delegation makes the position of both delegations unequal during the work of the Joint Commission, and it also may explain that the American Delegation tries to unilaterally use the veto. The Soviet Delegation has never agreed with such a demand of the American Delegation and will never agree to such demands. In making decisions, the Soviet Delegation is being guided not by the wishes of the American Delegation but by the

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Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by Ministers Molotov and Marshall. As it was stated by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, in his statement, there has been received in the name of the Joint Commission on July 27th, a s tatement from a group of parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that it could have received that statement on July 28, and not later than on July 29, but for some unknown reason, the Soviet Delegation had the opportunity to listen to this statement only in today's Joint Commission session. It is not a bit earlier than on July 31, 1947. The Soviet Delegation, having received this letter, will have to attentively study and discriminate in order to give any comments on the substance of this document. The American Delegation in its statement reiterates its proposal submitted on July 25th, but it gives details to this proposal. It makes precise the splitting of parties and organizations into groups. In this statement, as it is possible to judge now after having heard the translation of this statement, the American Delegation refused from compiling a list of parties and organizations which claim a membership over 10,000, and the American Delegation mentions 1,000 members as the limit. This is the basis upon which the American Delegation suggests that Subcommission No. 1 start its work. The Soviet Delegation must have time in order to translate the statement of the American Delegation--to study it and then to express its point of view. The Soviet Delegation has already proposed and does propose now to renew the work of Subcommission No. 1 on the basis of the two proposals--on the basis of the Soviet Delegation proposal of July 24 and on the basis of the American proposal dated July 31. It is on the basis of the proposal submitted by the American Delegation today. In discussing the list in Subcommission No. 1, the Soviet Delegation will be able to give an answer and its conclusions on the statement which was received from parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trustee-

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ship Committee, and make complete proposals as to the letter. If this is acceptable to the American Delegation and this proposal does not give preference to either of the delegations--puts them in an equal position--if this is acceptable, then the Soviet Delegation is ready to commence the work of Subcommission No. 1 at any date. Further, General Brown in his statement for some unknown reason read information of a Moscow radio broadcast in the Korean language concerning the situation in Korea. The Soviet Delegation is certainly grateful for this information from the American Delegation but considers that it has nothing to do with the work of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation does not intend here in Joint Commission sessions to give any information concerning radio broadcasts of New York or Washington. General Brown has frequently made statements expressing suspicion that the Soviet Delegation in the Joint Commission is being guided by the Democratic Front and by the Labor Party of South Korea. The American Delegation in this respect conveys in vain its contentions and accusations addressed to the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation first of all proceeds from those tasks which it is entitled to realize during the work of the Joint Commission and from conscience of the tasks which both the American and Soviet Delegations have--that is to exactly fulfill the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by both Ministers, Molotov and Marshall. It has always been guided by this. One thing is not clear to the Soviet Delegation. Why does the American Delegation in such an unfriendly way express itself concerning parties and organizations which are members of the Democratic Front and which fully uphold the Moscow Decision which was signed by our governments. It seems that this is not quite an objective attitude on behalf of the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation will give a hearing to any party, whether the party is left or right, once it upholds the Moscow Decision and renders assistance to the work of the Joint Commission and is

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loyal to the Allied powers--if these parties do what has been stated in the agreement reached by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

GENERAL BROWN: I propose a fifteen minute recess.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: O.K.

The meeting recessed at 1505 hours and was resumed at 1515 hours.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation would like to reply to the statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation asks why the letter from the political parties, which he states was received by the American Delegation on July 27, was not made known to him until July 31. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation in his statement concerning that letter informed that the letter was dated July 28; that the letter was delivered to the American Delegation this morning--probably about 10:30. The American Delegation had it translated and gave it to the Soviet Delegation at the earliest possible moment which was July 31 in the meeting of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation mentions the fact that the American Delegation has not properly considered the proposals made by them. It is a fact that the American Delegation has been considering their proposals since the 28th of May. The most recent Soviet proposal does not depart in any material respect from certain proposals made by them as early as May 28. The transcript of the record is filled with discussions of these proposals. The Soviet Delegation apparently does not understand the latest proposals submitted by the American Delegation. The purpose of the American Delegation submitting the proposal that Subcommission No. 1 again take up its work is in order to place before the Subcommission the entire question of consultation and to have them review the applications of all parties--those above 10,000 as well as those under 10,000. The American Delegation is offering a completely wide open proposal, which is not guided by the Soviet view or the American view, but leaves to the Soviet member as well as the American member of Subcommission No. 1 the power to present any proposals which

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they wish in the Subcommission, and to prepare a list based on any contention which they wish to advance. The action of Subcommission No. 1 will not be final. The results of their work will be referred back to the Joint Commission which will make a decision. The American Delegation reluctantly offers this proposal because it will in fact delay the work of the Joint Commission. However, not being able to get the Joint Commission to agree, in order that the work may be expedited, the American Delegation sees nothing else to do at this time but to refer this whole matter back to Subcommission 1 on a wide, open basis, hoping that Subcommission No. 1 may be able to resolve the issues facing them. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation asks why the American Delegation expresses itself in an unfriendly manner to members of the Democratic People's Front. The American Delegation is not unfriendly to the Democratic People's Front. The only objection that the American Delegation has to the Democratic People's Front is that it does attack the United States position in Korea and at times embarrasses the administration in South Korea. Insofar as the work of the Joint Commission is concerned, the American Delegation, as has been stated several times by the Chief Commissioner, accepts parties of the Democratic People's Front on a basis of equality with all other parties while the Soviet Delegation is now attacking parties which were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and in the opinion of the American Delegation is attacking them contrary to the agreement of the Ministers and to the agreement reached by Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The American Delegation would defend them as they would defend parties of other political groups. The American Delegation is also trying to dissuade the Soviet Delegation from the idea which they seem to have that the masses of the Korean people are represented by the Democratic People's Front. That is not a fact. The Democratic People's Front throughout Korea represents less than one-half of the people. If the

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American Delegation would adopt the latest suggestion of the Soviet Delegation, it would in adopting that suggestion automatically eliminate a large mass of the people of South Korea who do not belong to parties that are members of the Democratic People's Front. That is what the American Delegation maens by the Soviet Delegation trying by unilateral action to exclude these parties. It is in fact a contention of the Soviet Delegation that it should be granted the veto power because if the American Delegation agrees to the contention of the Soviet Delegation, the Soviet Delegation could object to placing any party which it did not wish to consult with on the list. That is in fact the exercise of the veto power. The Soviet Delegation itself, it is believed, will not defend the use of the veto power by either delegation. The American Delegation does not wish to use the veto power; it does not wish the Soviet Delegation to exercise the veto power. The Soviet Delegation apparently did not understand why the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation read into the record the broadcast from Moscow. The reason was explained in the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. It was read in order to show clearly the political propaganda used by the Democratic People's Front against their opponents in order to gain political prestige and power in South Korea against those parties and organizations which are not members of the Democratic People's Front. It is true that those parties and organizations which are members of the Democratic People's Front. That propaganda, however, is not picked up in Washington nor broadcast by radio because Washington is not interested in the political intrigue of political parties and social organizations in Korea. The Joint Commission, however, is vitally interested at this time in such political issues. It seems rather strange to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Moscow Radio should have picked up such propaganda and broadcast it. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that undue consideration has been given to statements made by the Democratic People's Front, many of which are not true but are purely Korean imagination. The fact is illustrated by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation who has

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to the statements, many of which are not true but are purely Korean imagination. The fact is illustrated by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation who has read in the record of the Joint Commission certain articles which have been published in the Leftist press and in the Rightist press. One of the most striking was the contents published in a Rightist newspaper to the fact that 430 persons had been massacred in North Korea, an article which has been picked up by the press of the United States and which was published a few days ago in "Stars and Stripes". It illustrates the undesirable effect of purely fabricated articles which appear in the Korean press constantly. That is the reason why the Moscow radio broadcast was read. That is the reason why the newspaper articles which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation previously read were read. It is time that the Joint Commission divorce itself entirely from influence of Korean politicians and accept political parties of all political complexion on the basis of equality. It makes no difference to the Joint Commission what these people say or believes. The Joint Commission needs their assistance in forming their government Because they are Koreans, they represent a large segment of the Korean people, and under the Moscow Decision and agreement of our Ministers, they are entitled to have their say before this Commission. As the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has previously stated, the Joint Commission does not have to accept their views if they are not sound, but the Joint Commission should give them a hearing. The Joint Commission can decide at a later date as to the weight to be given to these views, but should the Joint Commission deny to a large segment of the people a voice in the formation of their government, the Joint Commission would not be properly executing its task.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has not heard an answer from the American Delegation as to whether it accepted the proposal of the Soviet Delegation on the resumption of the work of the First Subcommission on the basis of the Soviet Delegation's proposals of July 24 and the American proposals dated July 31. The Soviet Delegation believes that the resumption of the work of Subcommission Number 1 should be on the basis of the proposal that would give the opportunity to attentively consider both the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation point of view, to listen to the comments to the list which was submitted by the Soviet Delegation and to the one that was compiled by the American Delegation. Certainly judging by the translation and without the supporting materials which were mentioned here by General Brown it is difficult for the Soviet Delegation to decide what is acceptable and what is not acceptable in this proposal. That is why it is desirable that the Soviet Delegation have the opportunity to receive this material, and also the material that splits the parties and organizations into groups, as has been stated by General Brown. Moreover, the Soviet Delegation's list of parties and organizations was handed into the American Delegation on July 10. The Soviet Delegation has explained the attitude on the approach towards the documents of both delegations when they were studied and discussed. It is seen from this explanation that the Soviet Delegation doesn't make use of the veto power. As to the proposals of the Soviet Delegation which are stated in the statement of the American Delegation, as if the Soviet Delegation proposes to consult only with the Democratic People's Front and no other parties and organizations, this proposal has never been done by the Soviet Delegation, and the Soviet Delegation does not defend any such proposal. In the same document the Soviet Delegation states that the American Delegation won't find such a proposal that includes what the American Delegation has thought out. The Soviet Delegation has already presented the list of parties and organizations which shows the number of Rightist parties is greater than the number of Leftists. So then this question -- why then does the American Delegation make such accusations addressed to the Soviet Delegation? It is not known to the Soviet Delegation. On the basis of what documents does

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the American Delegation try to confirm that the People's Front of South Korea is connected with Moscow radio? If we may believe what has been read by General Brown, then reference is made to the London and other dispatches, but not to the dispatch from the People's Front of South Korea. The Soviet Delegation as yet is not listing any sort of news from the American press or radio, yet these contain many invented items. The fact that the American press did not publish the falsehoods and rumors concerning the demonstration in the North is only for the benefit of the American press, inasmuch as in publishing these statements the American press could have found itself in a very inconvenient and foolish position, having published another forgery. Moreover, the representatives of the American Delegation were present and have witnessed it as fiction. Otherwise General Brown and the other members of the delegation could have lost their faith in their newspapers. The Soviet Delegation quite objectively approaches parties and organizations of South Korea, but it can never agree to having disparaged a document signed by its government by any party or group. The Moscow Decision is clear to all the Koreans. Only those do not understand the Moscow Decision to whom it is not properly explained. All honest patriots of Korea understand the Moscow Decision which was signed by the three allied governments and which guarantees a democratic government and full independence of their country as a result of the fulfillment of this decision. The Soviet Delegation reiterates again that it agrees to have Subcommission Number 1 commence work, on the basis of the Soviet Delegation's proposal dated July 24 and the American Delegation's proposal dated July 31. It is not clear to the Soviet Delegation why the American Delegation does not agree with this proposal, inasmuch as it does not favor either of the delegations and gives both delegations equal possibilities?

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has many times explained, and carefully explained, to the Soviet Delegation why the American Delegation cannot accept the Soviet proposal of July 24. The reason was twice explained today. It will be again repeated. The first point in the Soviet proposal reads, "To instruct Subcommission Number 1 to

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exactly define the submitted list by the Soviet Delegation on July 10, 1947, of parties and organizations which claim membership over 10,000, and submit it for the approval of the Joint Commission on July 28, 1947." The list submitted by the Soviet Delegation omits 24 parties and organizations which have signed the application for, and which under the agreement of the ministers are qualified for, consultation. By insisting that their list only be considered the Soviet Delegation unilaterally excludes from consideration these 24 parties, and exercises the veto power over them. That is the reason why the American Delegation cannot and never will find itself in a position to accept the Soviet proposal. The Soviet Delegation has stated that it needs time to study the American proposal. Rather than sit here on a hot afternoon and repeat over and over again what has been said many times, the Chairman suggests that the Joint Commission adjourn and meet at 1330 tomorrow, to give the Soviet Delegation an opportunity to carefully study the proposal submitted by the American Delegation. The American Delegation believes that this is a fair and equitable proposal and one which we can adopt and which will let the Joint Commission proceed with expedition to execute its assigned task.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation in its proposal that Subcommission Number 1 resumes its work on the basis of the Soviet Delegation proposal dated July 24 and the American Delegation proposal dated July 31 stresses the necessity of consideration of both the Soviet Delegation list and the American Delegation list, and to make comments that are necessary. How then can the American Delegation make such a conclusion that the Soviet Delegation is trying to exercise a veto power? The Soviet Delegation does not state that the proposals submitted by the American Delegation are not acceptable because of some one item. The Soviet Delegation proposes to commence the work of Subcommission Number 1 on the basis of the two documents. This another time puts into doubt the statement that the Soviet Delegation is trying to veto the American Delegation. There is no logic in this. It seems that the American Delegation has vetoed the Soviet Delegation proposal, and accuses the Soviet Delegation of trying to exercise a veto. The Soviet Delegation on the same basis could state that the American proposal is not acceptable, but the Soviet Delegation refrains

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from doing so inasmuch as it wishes Subcommission Number 1 to meet, and that all questions be discussed in Subcommission Number 1. This is a logical proposal. The Soviet Delegation will study this proposal and will express its point of view on the proposals submitted by the American Delegation in Subcommission Number One's meeting. I would like to receive the list of parties and organizations split into categories as has been stated now by General Brown so that the Soviet Delegation may study this list.

GENERAL BROWN: Those lists will be produced by Dr. Bunce if and when Subcommission Number 1 reconvenes. Under the American proposal, Mr. Tounkin can take the list to Subcommission Number 1 and can use it as the basis for discussion in that Subcommission of the Soviet view. As a matter of fact, the American list will be the same as the Soviet list, except that it will contain the 24 parties omitted from the Soviet list.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to know whether or not the proposal of the Soviet Delegation on the resumption of the work on the basis of the two proposals is being accepted?

GENERAL BROWN: The answer is no.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then I suggest that we carry on secret elections and in this direction re-elect the chairmen of the First Subcommission.

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GENERAL BROWN: Does the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation propose that we fire Subcommission No. 1 and get a new Subcommission?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We will have to make an announcement. I want to have this list but if it is secret -- is there reason why we cannot have the list?

GENERAL BROWN: Because there is no agreement yet as to what to do about the American proposal. The Americans have analyzed this list over the past month and have tried to meet the Soviet views. We think we have done so. The Americans are not eliminating these parties, they are simply placing them under suspicion. They will be eliminated by mutual agreement in Subcommission No. 1. They do not belong to the Joint Commission; they belong to Subcommission No. 1. If Subcommission No. 1 cannot agree they will have to refer back to the Joint Commission and the Joint Commission will decide on this. And it should be pointed out that these parties being slightly suspicious to the American Delegation, the American Delegation does not propose by unilateral decision to exclude them, nor does it propose to use the veto power on them, but it proposes to refer them to Subcommission No. 1 so they can be properly considered by both delegations and a mutual agreement arrived at as to what to do with them. The American Delegation asks the Soviet Delegation that it give the same consideration as to parties which are suspicious to them.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I ask the list as it was compiled by the American Delegation and not the way the Soviet Delegation would like to have it. The Russians have a proverb that "until you touch something you don't believe" so they don't believe their eyes until they touch and I would like to have this list touched so I can believe that it exists.

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GENERAL BROWN: I move we adjourn until 1330 tomorrow. There is one other piece of business before we adjourn. The Americans have a communique. The American Delegation received the Soviet proposal on the joint communique. It is quite evident that the two delegations are not able to issue a joint communique concerning the matter of consultation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation plans to meet with the American press today and with the Korean press tomorrow. The sum and substance of the communique has been transmitted by the American Delegation to the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There remains nothing else for the Soviet Delegation but to hold its independent press conference and make a brief statement. I would like for the American Delegation to make a proposal as to how we should approach Joint Commission Decision concerning this question.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the American Delegation that the matter is thoroughly covered in the agreements now existing. The American Delegation would like to invite the Soviet Delegation's attention to the meeting of 22 March 1946 in which the then Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, General Arnold, stated, "In the meantime I can assure General Shtikov I have no intention of issuing any unilateral communique at this time, but if in my opinion it becomes necessary I would not do so without first consultation with General Shtikov. I hope he will do the same." General Shtikov assented. In the 26th meeting of the Joint Commission, General Brown stated that the American Delegation accepts the Joint Commission Decision No. 2 as agreed in the Joint Commission session of 20 and 22 March 1946 on the basis that it is understood that nothing in this agreement will prevent the Chief

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Commissioner of either delegation from having press conferences on matters not of a secret nature. It is believed that the present agreements are ample to take care of the situation in which the two delegations cannot agree to a joint communique. The last information given to the press was the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation's press release of July 21. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation preceded this by his release of July 15. It is time that the press was informed as to the lack of progress made by the two delegations in solving the issue so fully presented to the press in these two releases. It is also extremely desirable that they have full information as to the facts of agreement by the American Delegation with the proposal of the Soviet Delegation on the elimination of the large block of non-People's Front parties in South Korea.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It seems to me that reference made by General Brown to the terms to which both General Arnold and the head of the Soviet Delegation came last year is reference which is untimely and does not justify General Brown's actions. Joint Commission Decision on proposal made by General Brown was reconsidered and a new decision on May 31 was received and this decision consisting of two points states, "Joint Commission Releases. After each session of the Commission, and detailed joint press communiques, after decision upon major questions has been reached, or at any other time defined by both commissioners of the Joint Commission. Second, Chief Commissioner of the respective delegation upon his consideration may have press conferences and inform representatives of the press on the work of the Joint Commission in the limits of joint bulletins and communiques mutually agreed upon in the Commission and also upon questions of no secret character." The American Delegation has violated this decision and it continues to do so. That is why I would like the American Delegation to say what to do with this decision. The Soviet Delegation besides does

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not object in the limits of the communique to inform public opinion on the procedural work of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is unable to suggest any better arrangement than now exists. If the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation would go back and carefully read the record he would find the American Delegation is correct. Even if the American Delegation were not correct, common sense alone requires if we cannot agree on a joint communique then the information must be given unilaterally. There is no other way to do it. I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has stated on the procedure of press releases. It is repeated - the order of press releases that exists according to existing rules and the Soviet Delegation has fulfilled those Joint Commission Decisions exactly. So has the Soviet Delegation fulfilled this decision too. However, any violation of Joint Commission Decision on behalf of the American Delegation will make the Soviet Delegation undertake corresponding measures.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation does not admit any violation of any decision. It is acting within a decision which gives the Soviet Delegation the same right as the American Delegation. Naturally if the American Delegation issues a unilateral press release the Soviet Delegation has equal authority under the agreement between Generals Arnold and Shtikov to similarly issue a press release.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I am grateful to General Brown that after three months he with respect approaches those documents which were agreed upon between General Brown and myself, but this fact of violation of Joint Commission Decision characterizes the American Delegation's attitude toward the Joint Commission Decision as a whole.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation admires very much the

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Soviet Delegation's ability to use any argument in any way it sees fit. The American Delegation would like to carry the Soviet Delegation's memory back to Joint Commission Decision No. 5 and Joint Commission Decision No. 6 when the Soviet Delegation insisted that no word, nor clause, nor sentence in either of those Decisions could be changed in any respect because they had been agreed to in Joint Commission meetings of 1946. The Soviet Delegation is willing to read into the Moscow Decision all sorts of words and ideas which are not written in that Decision. They seem to be able to manipulate anything in any way which is to their immediate advantage and once the point is cleared away, forget it and use it in another way. We only work in one direction. We cannot work in all directions at once. General Arnold's decision as accepted by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation of the agreed decision in the 20th meeting subject to General Arnold's agreement is written into the record.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is not manipulating with the Moscow Decision or any decision reached by the Joint Commission. Such a statement made by General Brown is not grounded and is an allegation. But the American Delegation has experienced in manipulations, it is being proved by facts and the record of Joint Commission session of July 29 concerning the petition of Kim Koo and some statements of the American Delegation. I am sorry but these are facts. I move that we adjourn today.

GENERAL BROWN: Agreed.

Meeting adjourned at 1700.

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Radio Broadcast from Moscow
via Komsomolsk
in Korean to Korea
July 23, 1947

Here is a commentary by our commentator Danilov on Korea.

The scheming activities of the Korean reactionaries designed to oppose (the Trusteeship) have become all the more patent recently. Among the many evidences, we will comment on two items, that is, the summation of General MacArthur on Korea as broadcast by the London Radio, and the letter which General Hodge sent to Syngman Rhee, the leader of Korean reactionaries.

General MacArthur pointed out in his summation that the Rightist leaders are doing their best to have the administration of South Korea transferred to it, but this is a statement prompted by an ulterior motive.

As for the letter of General Hodge to Syngman Rhee, the statement which Syngman Rhee made to press correspondents explains the matter very well. The "AP" Correspondent in Seoul reports, quoting Syngman Rhee, that General Hodge said in his letter to Syngman Rhee, "I have heard a rumor, believed to have emanated from the leaders of your political party, that you and Mr. KIM, Koo have organized terrorism to oppose the Joint Commission and obstruct the progress of economic developments." Well, this leaves no doubt as to the intentions of Syngman Rhee and KIM, Koo, the leaders of the South Korea reactionaries. Certain Koreans and foreigners would appear to make others believe that this scheming terrorism and reactionary activities have been started by a few people, but this is not the case at all. The fact is that Syngman Rhee is trying to deceive the public and cover up the activities of the Korean reactionaries. However, KIM, Koo and Syngman Rhee are but figureheads, and there are a number of reactionary elements who are using every trick to seize power. These reactionaries are carrying on organized activities, united by reactionary political parties and organizations, they are openly

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fighting against the interests of the people. The so-called Korean Democratic Party and the Korean Independence Party, as well as other parties, are the source of reactionary schemings, swarming with all sorts of reactionaries.

According to newspaper reports, the so-called Korean Democratic Party is the den of pro-Japanese elements, and as an example, one of its leaders, KIM, Sung Soo, can be quoted as saying, back in 1943, before Korean university students, that Korean youth must sacrifice themselves for the sake of the Japanese Emperor and for the construction of the greater East Asia. Another leader, CHANG, Duk Soo, made a nationwide tour, shouting that Japan was fighting for justice and righteousness. That is what the Korean Democratic Party is, as is well known to the public. Therefore, upon resumption of the Soviet-American Joint Commission, this party has been doing its best to obstruct it. Yet, this South Korean Democratic Party is but one of the many reactionary political parties.

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TRANSCRIPT OF 50TH MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
1 August 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL BROWN: Any comments on the agenda?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is adopted.

GENERAL BROWN: The first item of business is approval of the minutes.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Secretariat is behind. They are behind eight minutes.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Secretariat informs me that the minutes should be cleared by the beginning of next week. The next order of business is the "Approval of the List of Democratic Parties and Social Organizations to be Invited for Consultation with the Joint Commission." Has the Soviet Delegation anything to offer?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We have read the American proposal over and over and over again and we studied it too but we could not make a final study. It is a good study of the American proposal until the very end, inasmuch as the last part of this document has not those documents which should have been added to the last part of the American proposal - that is the list of groups and sub-groups which the American Delegation mentioned in yesterday's session. That is why it was hard for the Soviet Delegation to go into the substance of the last part of the American proposal and it is possibly the reason why the Soviet Delegation cannot make its comments on the proposal. There is such a proverb that "you have a thing only when once you take it into your hands."

GENERAL BROWN: There are no parts missing from the American proposal. The American proposal simply provides for a careful analysis of all of the parties and organizations which have submitted applications for consultation. Particularly those which might possibly

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be challenged under various statements of the Soviet Delegation, which statements should be clarified as they were clarified in the American documents. Whether or not the Soviet Delegation would desire to challenge these parties when Subcommission No. 1 meets to consider all of the applications the American Delegation does not know. When Subcommission No. 1 meets the American Delegation will furnish to the Soviet representative on Subcommission No. 1 the information which they have gathered concerning the particular parties to which reference is made in the American document. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to consult with these parties as well as all others however they appear under the Soviets desire to challenge certain parties for certain stated reasons to be the only ones which might be subject to question. The Soviet Delegation may know of other parties which they likewise will want to challenge when Subcommission No. 1 meets to consider the entire list.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In the first, I would like - the Soviet Delegation should like tentatively a list of parties and organizations - the Soviet Delegation handed in a list of parties and organizations and in handing in this list the Soviet Delegation said that this list would be given joint consideration and checking of both delegations, but this list was presented by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation in their last point of proposal submitted mentions six groups which in their opinion could be excluded from consultation. In these six groups the number of parties and organizations was 127 and this is what we want, we want to see this list of parties and organizations. Moreover, the American Delegation stated that such a list had been prepared by them. Why is the Soviet Delegation not given this list for consideration as an American proposal so it can make a study of it as a proposal?

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GENERAL BROWN: There are several reasons why the Soviet Delegation is not given that list. The first is that the list does not form a part of the American Delegation proposal. The second is that the American Delegation is not proposing to exclude these parties but it simply mentions that they believe there are certain parties which should be re-examined by Subcommission No. 1 to determine whether or not they should be excluded. The third is that the Soviets have consistently refused to give the American Delegation a list of those parties which in their opinion should be excluded from consultation. The American Delegation proposal consisted of four points. Those points are:

"In order to narrow the specific issues between the two delegations and to increase the possibility of reaching early agreement, the American Delegation again proposes that Subcommission No. 1 be directed to reconvene and to consider the applications of all parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation with the Joint Commission and to prepare:

1. A list of all of those parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation;
2. A list of those parties and social organizations appearing on the list prepared in accordance with paragraph (1) which both the Soviet and American Delegations are willing to exclude from oral consultation, with the reasons for exclusion;
3. An additional list of those parties and social organizations appearing on the list prepared in accordance with paragraph (1) with which either delegation does not wish to consult, orally, together with a statement of specific objections in each case;
4. To prepare a complete list of all representatives of parties and social organizations appearing in the list prepared in accordance with paragraph (1) and a list of those with which either delegation does not wish to consult,

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together with a statement of the specific objections in each case."

That is the American Delegation proposal. That is not a proposal to exclude any parties or organizations. It is a proposal to have Subcommission No. 1 meet and re-examine the applications of all parties and organizations and to submit their recommendations to the Joint Commission in order that the Joint Commission may possibly reach agreement and proceed with the task before it. The American Delegation requests that the Soviet Delegation either accept or reject this proposal of the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation submitted its proposals on this question and these are proposals that the Soviet Delegation is insisting upon. These proposals were submitted by the Soviet Delegation on July 24. But in order to facilitate the work of Subcommission 1 the Soviet Delegation moves that counter proposal which is kind of a concession and this proposal is to resume Subcommission No. 1 on the basis of two proposals, the one submitted by the Soviet Delegation on July 24 and the one submitted by the American Delegation July 31. The acceptance of this proposal of the Soviet Delegation by the American Delegation would give the opportunity to Subcommission No. 1 to commence its work and to exactly define those questions which arise, differences of opinion, and misunderstanding in joint Subcommission session. Such a proposal of the Soviet Delegation is reasonable and the Soviet Delegation would like to know why does the American Delegation decline the acceptance of this proposal.

GENERAL BROWN: What is it about the American proposal to which the Soviet Delegation objects?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated what is unacceptable in the American Delegation draft proposal. The American Delegation draft proposal states that it has already compiled a list and that it should exclude parties and organizations which won't be fit for consultation, while the Soviet Delegation

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proposal states that such a list is not being, and this Soviet Delegation proposal is in compliance with Joint Commission Decision No. 12 states that this list should be compiled and that the question at issue will be inclusion or not inclusion in the list of parties and organizations. This is one of the reasons. But if we ask can this proposal be accepted as a basis, yes this proposal as well as the Soviet Delegation proposal dated July 24 can be accepted as a basis for the reconvening of work of joint Subcommission No. 1 and it is on the basis of these two proposals the list of parties and organizations to be consulted by the Joint Commission should be worked out in joint Subcommission No. 1 and then submitted for final approval to the Joint Commission, and those parties and organizations upon which the joint Subcommission No. 1 could not come to mutual agreement should be then referred back to Joint Commission and it is the Joint Commission that has to adopt the final decision as to these parties and organizations.

GENERAL BROWN: Everything that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states that he wishes done can be accomplished by Subcommission No. 1 under the American proposal. If he will add to the Soviet list the 24 parties which do not now appear on that list the American Delegation will be willing to give further consideration to his list. Does he still insist that these 24 parties cannot be consulted with?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is studying now the statement which was presented by parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and after final study of this statement they will express their point of view concerning these parties and organizations. That is why the Soviet Delegation believes that First Subcommission could have commenced its work and taken up the study of questions which are being discussed in Joint Commission session -- to have these questions during its

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meetings exactly defined and further on study and after such a study submit them to a further Joint Commission session. While the First Subcommission did this work the rest of the members of the Joint Commission would have taken up those questions which they have to study. That is why the Soviet Delegation does not see any reason for further delay of First Subcommission work on the basis of two proposals, the Soviet Delegation proposal dated July 24 and the American Delegation proposal dated July 31. The Soviet Delegation also said that it agreed to commence Subcommission No. 1 work on the basis of the Soviet Delegation proposal only, but the Soviet Delegation does not make such a proposal, it makes a concession which is that it proposes to commence Subcommission No. 1 work on the basis of two proposals. It is not clear to the Soviet Delegation why does the American Delegation over a long period of time decline to commence Subcommission No. 1's work and now give such a condition to resume its work only on the basis of the American Delegation proposal. If the American Delegation continues to insist upon its proposal only, this won't facilitate our work but just opposite, will further delay and make the scheduled time still longer.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will be glad to consider any proposal which the Soviet Delegation cares to submit which is in accordance with Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The proposal which the Soviet Delegation continues to insist that the American Delegation accept as a guide for Subcommission No. 1 is contrary to Joint Commission Decision No. 12 in that it contends that the Soviet Delegation shall have the right to unilaterally exclude from the list any party which they wish, in that it specifically excludes 24 parties suspicious to the Soviets, in that it makes no mention of consultation of parties and organizations with membership under 10,000. The question might well be

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asked the Soviet Delegation at this time, does the Soviet Delegation wish to consider a revision of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 in order to remove portions of this document which the Soviet Delegation does not wish to implement, particularly paragraphs 3 and 5. These provisions clearly indicate the existence of a list of North and South Korea lists presented by the respective delegations. If the Soviet Delegation is not prepared to proceed with the discussion of this matter and desires more time to study the letter received from the political parties and social organizations which was read at yesterday's session, the Chairman will entertain a motion for adjournment in order that the Joint Commission can meet again when the Soviets are prepared to undertake a discussion of this matter.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is exactly guided by Joint Commission Decision Number 12 and Number 16, and the Soviet Delegation has no need to have these decisions changed. Those proposals which were made by the Soviet Delegation do not contradict them. Point 5 of Joint Commission Decision Number 12 and Point 3 of Joint Commission Decision Number 16 state that this be compiled in Subcommission 1 and submitted to the Joint Commission for approval. Point 3 states clearly that this list be approved, and makes it clear that before approval Subcommission Number 1 has to carry on work on this list. That is why the American Delegation has no reason to maintain that the Soviet Delegation proposal contradicts Joint Commission Decision 16 and 12. As to those parties which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, this is in compliance with Point 1 which states the agreement that was reached by Ministers Marshall and Molotov, and this point is in compliance with this agreement. That is why the proposal of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation move to have the decisions changed does not correspond in nature to the question that is at issue now. The Soviet Delegation did not violate any decisions signed by the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation is still of the opinion that Subcommission Number 1 has to start its work, and it is not clear to the Soviet Delegation why does the American Delegation during the whole month decline the commencement of Subcommission Number 1's work. The American Delegation mentioned 24 parties as if these 24 parties are being excluded by the Soviet Delegation, and states that only 9 of these parties are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee; while the letter which was received from these Anti-Trusteeship Committee parties gives 15 signatures. It has been signed by 15 parties and organizations. The Soviet Delegation considers that it did include 20 parties of those who claimed membership of 10,000 members. All this again confirms the necessity of the commencement of Subcommission Number 1's work. Unless we do this, we won't be able to go any further. If the American Delegation sincerely wishes that the Joint Commission progresses, then it is not clear why does the American Delegation decline that Subcommission Number 1 commence its work.

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GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation can never agree to Subcommission Number 1 commencing its work on the basis of the right of unilateral exclusion by the Soviet Delegation -- that is, the right to use the veto power by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation has stated many times why it cannot accept the Soviet proposal of July 24. The American Delegation would like an answer to its proposal of July 31. Does the Soviet Delegation accept it or does the Soviet Delegation reject it?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated that some points of the American Delegation's proposal are acceptable, and on the basis of such of the proposals there may grow a Joint Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation requests that the Soviet Delegation re-draw its draft of the proposal that they are willing to adopt, and the American Delegation proposes a 30-minute recess while the Soviet Delegation prepares such a proposal.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated, and is stating now that the American Delegation has absolutely no reason to further delay the work of Subcommission Number 1. The American Delegation here tries to force upon the Soviet Delegation its proposal, thus exercising the veto power, and it does also in declining commencement of the work of Subcommission Number 1 on the basis of the two proposals. Who has given the right to the American Delegation to unilaterally include political parties and organizations? The Soviet Delegation has equal rights to express its point of view on the list of parties and organizations to be consulted by the Joint Commission. If the American Delegation doesn't wish that Subcommission Number 1's work commence, then it should state so, but there is no reason for further delay.

GENERAL BROWN: It does no good for the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to charge the American Delegation with a delay which is the sole responsibility of the Soviet Delegation. The record is complete as regards that matter. The American Delegation will open it up to anyone who wishes to find the guilty party, if guilt must be placed. The American Delegation has frequently told the Soviet Delegation that

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they cannot make a fact so by simply saying it is so. They have to have proof and evidence. The statement that the American Delegation is trying to use the veto power is also foolish. The only veto power the American Delegation is trying to use is to veto the desire of the Soviet Delegation to use the veto. The record is perfectly clear on that point. We can't make any progress by blaming each other for something we are not blamable for. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states there are certain points in the American proposal not acceptable to the Soviet Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has gone to great care to explain to the Soviet Delegation why the American Delegation cannot accept their proposal. The American Delegation requests equal consideration and courtesy from the Soviet Delegation and requests that the Soviet Delegation carefully explain to the American Delegation why it cannot accept the American proposal. We cannot refer a matter to Subcommission Number 1 with two conflicting proposals. We must give Subcommission 1 a clear, clean cut proposal, otherwise it is useless for it to go to work.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has stated what points in the American draft proposal are acceptable. The Soviet Delegation reiterates that the work of Subcommission Number 1 should be resumed on the basis of instructions which are made by both commissioners. The Soviet Delegation won't agree that Subcommission Number 1 start its work on the basis of instructions made only by the head commissioner of the American Delegation. It is the purpose of Subcommission Number 1 in its meeting to consider proposals of both delegations. The Soviet Delegation considers that Subcommission Number 1 has to take up the close consideration of those lists which were presented of parties and organizations of the south, and of the one containing parties and organizations of North Korea, and to do this work in compliance with Joint Commission Decision Number 12. Subcommission Number 1 should be guided in its work by Joint Commission Decision Number 12, Point 1, which states which parties and organizations should be consulted. The fact that the

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American Delegation tries to use the veto really exists if the American Delegation does not show its desire to have Subcommission Number 1 commence its work. Subcommission Number 1 could have started its work already a long time ago. It is just what the Soviet Delegation has been desiring all the time and insisting upon. The Soviet Delegation considers that it is not wise to go on arguing. The time that we use here for discussion could have been used in Subcommission Number 1 to more exactly define the many points, and it would have given the possibility to the rest of the members of the Joint Commission to go on with their work. The Soviet Delegation proposes that the American Delegation give consideration as to how to commence the work of Subcommission Number 1 on the basis of the two proposals. The Soviet Delegation will never agree to have Subcommission 1's work commence only on the basis of the American proposal. If the American Delegation thinks that it will have enough time to do this job today during an interval, then I agree to have an interval. If not, I suggest that the American Delegation at the next regular meeting submit its proposal on this question, and at the same time it will show how the American Delegation objectively approaches the question and practices which has been many times before repeated by the American Delegation in the Joint Commission session.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is not able to write an agreement that will do justice to the Korean parties and organizations which have applied for, and which under the agreement of our Ministers are eligible for consultation, and at the same time give to the Soviet Delegation the power of unilateral exclusion and the veto power. Those two requirements cannot be adjusted. If the Soviet Delegation is able to evolve such a proposal, the American Delegation will be glad to consider it. The American Delegation is willing to consider any reasonable proposal which the Soviet Delegation will offer. Inasmuch as the discussion of consultation seems to be getting nowhere, the American Delegation will offer another proposal. The American Delegation proposes that consultation be jointly conducted north and south of the 38th with those parties which the Soviet Delegation is willing to hear, and that the American Delegation conduct unilateral consultation south of the 38th

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with those parties they claim are suspicious to them. Such consultation by the American Delegation will be considered consultation with the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation believes that once Subcommission Number 1 starts its work 90% of the questions that arise in argument will be resolved during these meetings, while the other 10% will probably remain for settlement by a Joint Commission meeting. That is why I reiterate that Subcommission Number 1 should resume its work. In three or four days they will already resolve something, and consult with parties and organizations of both south and north Korea.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation requests that the Soviet Delegation write the directive to Subcommission Number 1 and present it for the consideration of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: As instructions for Subcommission Number 1 I suggest that we take both the Soviet Delegation's proposal and the American Delegation's proposal. Inasmuch as both these proposals were written respectively by Mr. Tounkin and Mr. Bunce, let the Subcommission resume its work on the basis of the two proposals.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has just submitted a proposal which the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has not answered. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation proposes a 15-minute recess, and at the conclusion of that recess I will ask the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to answer my proposal.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has answered the proposal of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. This answer of the Soviet Delegation may be traced back to the fact that the Joint Commission has to consult with political parties and social organizations of both north and south Korea, and to consult them jointly. The Soviet Delegation agrees to start consultation in the north and in the south of Korea with those parties and organizations to which do not arise objections neither from the Soviet nor the American Delegation; and to have the questions concerning those parties to which do arise objections from either delegation resolved later on. Such organizations are those which

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are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and after the study of their statement presented, the Soviet Delegation will state its point of view concerning these parties and organizations. That is why we may start on the basis of the two proposals the work of Subcommission Number 1. If the American Delegation agrees to do it, the Soviet Delegation stands always ready.

GENERAL BROWN: I move that we adjourn until the Soviet Delegation can make up its mind on the members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and that the Chairman for next week, General Shtikov, call the Joint Commission together when he is prepared to submit a report on this matter.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We lose another two days, but it is all right.

GENERAL BROWN: We have already lost more than thirty days because of the Soviet Delegation.

Meeting adjourned at 1520 hours, 1 August 1947.

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US - USRR Joint Commission
TRANSCRIPT of Meetings
(Meetings # 51 to 62 Incl.)

(5 August 1947 - 18 October 1947)

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TRANSCRIPT OF 51st MEETING OF
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
5 August 1947 at 1330 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments on today's agenda?

GENERAL BROWN: Approved.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: General Lebedeff is absent from today's session in connection with his trip to Pyongyeng.

GENERAL BROWN: Tell him we miss him.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We'll take up the second point of today's agenda. It is the approval of a list of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission. In view of the fact that the Soviet Delegation in the last Joint Commission session stated that they would need time to study the statement that was presented by the parties and organizations affiliated with the Anti-trusteeship Committee, in order to give information and answers in the next regular Joint Commission session. The Soviet Delegation has made such a study of this statement and moves the following proposal for Joint Commission decision. This Joint Commission decision which is being proposed by the Soviet Delegation is the following: "In connection with the fact that during the study of the letter of the 15 parties and organizations comprised by the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, which was received on July 31, 1947, there arose a number of questions. The Joint Commission decided to invite representatives of parties and organizations which have signed the above letter to the Joint Commission session on August 7, 1947, in order to receive necessary clarification on questions which arise in connection with the study of this letter." This is a proposal which is submitted by the Soviet Delegation for the Joint Commission's consideration.

GENERAL BROWN: What is the nature of the questions which it is necessary to get the parties and organizations to answer?

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: There are a number of questions which it is necessary to clarify in connection with the statement which was presented by these parties and organizations -- questions which it is necessary to clarify in connection with the statement which was presented by these parties and organizations; questions which require to be more precisely defined and details which arise from this statement and in connection with the material which exists about this Anti-trusteeship Committee.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation sees no necessity to question these parties. These parties clearly are eligible under the agreement and under Joint Commission Decision No. 12 for oral consultation. If the Soviet Delegation feels it necessary to question these parties, they could be questioned when their representatives present themselves for oral consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation considers it to be its duty to clarify and to make more precise all questions that are not clear to them and which arise in connection with the statement that was presented by parties and organizations which the Joint Commission received on July 31. It is quite natural, inasmuch as they will be able to more convincingly express their opinion and give necessary information on their statement and on the Anti-trusteeship Committee--members of which they are.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is not willing to bring these parties before the Joint Commission for further questioning, inasmuch as they have clearly stated their intention to comply fully with all requirements of consultation, including their intention to fully support the Joint Commission. There is no reason why these parties should be placed under questioning any more than any other party or organization which is qualified for and requested consultation should also be placed under questioning.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation considers it to be the right way and it is necessary to do so, inasmuch as there arise a number of

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questions which concern these parties and organizations and this is in connection with the fact that they have presented a statement and continue to be members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee and this is considered to be the only correct way to get precise information is to ask these representatives to be present at a Joint Commission session. This doesn't contradict the Moscow Decision nor does it contradict the Joint Commission Decisions. Such a proposal is a most justifiable proposal in respect to any party and organization, inasmuch as there is doubt. Clarification and making precise questions is needed. It is not clear why the American Delegation objects to have it done.

GENERAL BROWN: The proposal does not contradict the Moscow Decision nor does it contradict Joint Commission Decision No. 12. It adds to both the Moscow Decision and Joint Commission Decision No. 12. Had the Soviet Delegation desired to place parties under questioning, then they should have written a provision into Joint Commission Decision No. 12 which would turn the Joint Commission into an investigating agency to determine whether all parties which qualified under the agreement of the Ministers were eligible for consultation. Not having done so, it is necessary that we proceed with consultation. If the Soviet Delegation has any questions to ask any party, it should ask those questions when the representatives of that party appears for consultation. The American Delegation has questions to ask certain parties and it intends to ask those questions when consultation is held with those parties. It is a fact that there are parties which are just as suspicious to the American Delegation as a few parties seem to be to the Soviet Delegation. It is believed that these parties can be proven to be much more suspicious than the Soviet Delegation can ever be able to prove that these rightist parties to which they object are suspicious. It is necessary for the Joint Commission to commence the work of consultation at the earliest possible date. We have now wasted over a month on this question and have

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gotten nowhere. It is believed that if consultation were started that most of the difficulties would disappear as consultation is conducted. The American Delegation proposes then that we get on with consultation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I reiterate that the objections of the American Delegation concerning the proposal which has been submitted by the Soviet Delegation concerning the summoning of these parties to a Joint Commission session is not clear to the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation could not have introduced such a proposal and to generally refuse from summoning these parties, moreover that according to Point 1 of the agreement reached between the two Ministers, it is according to this point that the Commission is to consult with those parties and organizations which fully uphold the Moscow Decision. However, inasmuch as there has been submitted such a statement from parties and organizations, where they state that they really are members of this Committee, but do not continue their fight against the Joint Commission, and a number of other questions in this statement, makes the Soviet Delegation believe that it is logical and correct that in order to have all these questions that are connected with this statement made precise and clear, which has been written by these parties, to summon them to the Joint Commission session. In the previous session of the Joint Commission, the American Delegation stated that the Soviet Delegation did not wish to speak to these parties. Now, when the Soviet Delegation expresses its desire to speak with these parties and to find out a number of questions which have arisen in connection with this letter, the American Delegation objects for some reason to have these parties and organizations summoned before the Joint Commission. It is natural, and it shows that the Soviet Delegation wishes to expedite the commencement of oral consultation and to resolve the only question that has been left unresolved in the Joint Commission -- it is the question of parties and or anizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee.

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GENERAL BROWN: What questions are unresolved? What further information does the Soviet Delegation need from these parties and social organizations in order to accept them for consultation? As far as the American Delegation can see the parties have fully met all requirements for consultation. The American Delegation sees no necessity for questioning of these parties.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation deems it correct to put questions concerning the e parties, and the letter which has been submitted to the Joint Commission, to representatives of these parties. Inasmuch as representatives of these parties have, themselves, signed this letter they will be able thus to give more precise and truthful answers to the questions.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation would appreciate information as to what further data the Soviet Delegation feels they must have from these parties.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated that it wishes to personally ask these representatives of parties and organizations questions concerning their letter and their affiliations in the Anti-trusteeship Committee, and personally to receive from them personally the necessary clarifications.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has made it perfectly clear since July 2nd that it intends to abide by the agreement of the Ministers and Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and hold consultation with all political parties and social organizations which have qualified under this agreement for consultation unless these parties are found by examination of Subcommission No. 1 to be not qualified for consultation because of some specific reason. The American Delegation again informs the Soviet Delegation that it intends to abide by this principle. The American Delegation, as previously stated, considers that the 24 parties to which the Soviet Delegation have objected because they were at one time members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee, are in fact eligible for consultation and must be consulted with. As a

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matter of fact, the letter written by these parties was, in the opinion of the American Delegation, totally unnecessary. They apparently wrote this letter from a spirit of good-will, believing that misunderstanding by the Soviet Delegation toward this small group was responsible for holding up the whole question of consultation and was delaying the formation of their provisional government. In the opinion of the American Delegation this letter has further clarified the position as desired by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation sees no reason to further delay consultation. If the Soviet Delegation is not willing to conduct consultation, the American Delegation requests that they specifically so state. This continual argument and waste of time is accomplishing nothing.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation in dealing with the question of consultation of parties and organizations holds to those agreements that were reached between the Foreign Ministers. These decisions stated parties and organizations which will be consulted by the Joint Commission should fully uphold the Moscow Decision, but inasmuch as there are in Southern Korea, parties and organizations -- members of the Anti-trusteeship committee, which was actually created for the fight against the Moscow Decision, and having signed the declaration contained in Communique No. 5, did not give out the program of this Committee and did not withdraw from it. All this is inconsistent with the conditions which exist for consultation. Parties and organizations, in having signed the letter presented in the Joint Commission, have thus made clear that they understand that it is only because of them that the Joint Commission has to further delay its work. That is why they stated in this letter a number of facts which are proofs that they do not carry on the fight against the Joint Commission, but in this letter alongside of that, they state that they are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee. Consequently there arise a number of questions which have to be made precise in the Joint Commission with these representatives of parties and organizations. Such a proposal of the Soviet Delegation is an attempt to expedite the resolving of questions which are not clear. The second matter of questions that are not clear are in having signed this, the Joint Commission will naturally be able to go ahead with its work. That is why the American Delegation should accept the Soviet Delegation's proposal. Not to accept it would only further

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delay the work of the Joint Commission. The Joint Commission has been working over this question almost a month and hasn't yet come to any clear settlement of these questions and such a summoning may, and it should decide those questions which have been taken up by the Joint Commission during the whole month. The Soviet Delegation deems it expedient to spend a few hours -- probably one Joint Commission session, in order to clearly and to make more precise those questions which are not clear. Why should we depart from this question once the Joint Commission has all the reasons in connection with this letter of these parties, which are left uncertain in the Joint Commission session to clarify these questions with representatives of these parties and organizations. The Soviet Delegation moves to accept its proposal which has been submitted by it in today's session.

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GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation cannot accept the Soviet proposal for the reason that has already been clearly stated. The American Delegation will request Captain Phillips, Public Relations Officer, to prepare a joint communique which will quote the letter submitted by the Koreans, state the Soviet proposal, and state that the American Delegation cannot accept their proposal because these parties and organizations are fully qualified for consultation with the Joint Commission, and inform that the Soviets are not yet satisfied and will not accept these parties for consultation, and that the American Delegation believes that it will be impossible to hold consultation with Korean political parties and social organizations as envisaged by the Moscow Decision and the agreement of the Ministers and Joint Commission Decision No. 12--and request that communique be brought to the Joint Commission before adjournment today in order that it may be released to the press this afternoon.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Ten minute recess?

GENERAL BROWN: O. K.

The meeting recessed at 1440 hours and was resumed at 1450 hours.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation considers it not clear why the American Delegation d eclines the proposal of the Soviet Delegation concerning the summoning of parties and organizations that are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee which have signed this letter addressed to the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation wanted to make more precise, first whether this letter is original--whether it has been really signed by these parties and organizations--so that in the future we can avoid misunderstandings which may arise in connection with it, inasmuch as the Joint Commission has already experienced misunderstandings with certain documents. Second, the Soviet Delegation wanted to personally receive answers and clarifications from these parties and organizations to certain questions that arise in connection with the letter which has been written by these parties and organizations. It seems strange to the

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Soviet Delegation that the American Delegation wanted to answer questions of the Soviet Delegation themselves instead of having these questions answered by parties and organizations. Such questioning of parties and organizations--members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee--by the American Delegation arouses certain apprehensions and even suspicions of the Soviet Delegation as to what aim the American Delegation has in making such statements. It seems that parties and organizations have correctly understood that it was their fault that the Joint Commission had to delay its work, and that was the reason why they had written such a letter to the Joint Commission. It seems that they had to a certain extent a desire to help the Joint Commission to get an understanding of the substance of this question, but the American Delegation did not only not want to make more precise those questions and clarify these parties and organizations, but the American Delegation had categorically rejected a proposal of the Soviet Delegation which is logical and necessary. The Soviet Delegation in these questions sees a desire by the American Delegation to further delay the solving of this question. Inasmuch as the American Delegation declined this proposal, the Soviet Delegation does not mind--has no objections to informing public opinion through a joint communique stating the above mentioned point of view of the Soviet Delegation concerning this question. The Soviet Delegation is not willing to further delay the work of the Joint Commission and moves the following proposal and believes that it will give the Joint Commission the possibility of expediting its work.

STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION-AUGUST 5, 1947

The Joint Commission has been discussing over a month the question of compilation of a list of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission, but has not yet achieved any agreement. The Soviet Delegation, trying to expedite the work of the Joint Commission submitted a number of proposals with a view to expediting the achievement of the agreement on the question of compilation of a list. In part, the Soviet Delega-

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tion has frequently and persistently tried to have Subcommission No. 1 directed to reconsider all parties and organizations which have applied for consultation with a view to having them included into the list for consultation. However, the American Delegation systematically declines these proposals of the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation contrary to the procedure of compilation of a list that is stated in Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and Joint Commission Decision No. 16 suggested that consideration of applications be started not from the point of view of having them included but from the point of view of having them excluded from the list in spite of the fact that it is known that the Joint Commission does not have such a list. In order to exclude from the list, it is necessary to have a list approved by the Joint Commission, and for the approval of the list, it is necessary that both delegations come to an agreement on the question of which parties and organizations which have applied for consultation are subject to be included in the list for consideration in compliance with the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached between Molotov and Marshall and Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The proposals of the American Delegation on this question are contrary not only to Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and 16 but to common sense. The acceptance of the American proposal would have led to the Joint Commission consulting with any party or organization which applied for consultation which the American Delegation found desirable to invite for consultation. The American Delegation frequently accuses the Soviet Delegation of having a tendency to unilaterally exclude from consultation certain parties and organizations. In reality, it is just the opposite. The demands of the American Delegation boil down to unilaterally including parties and organizations into the list for consultation, and it is quite understandable that the Soviet Delegation could not agree to such a proposal. In view of the fact that the American Delegation in Joint Commission session on July 16 stated that it accepted with minor amendments the proposals of the Soviet Delegation submitted on

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July 10th--with the exception of point 1 which states that parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee--the question concerning these parties and organizations has been the only question which concerns the list for consultation on which both delegation did not come to an agreement. Taking into consideration these circumstances, the Soviet Delegation moved on July 24 a new proposal which had the aim of giving the opportunity to the Joint Commission of commencing consultation on July 30, 1947. However, this proposal was rejected by the American Delegation. The American Delegation did not only refuse to accept--comply with the agreement of Molotov and Marshall toward these parties and organizations applying for consultation which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, but persistently does not wish to make more precise the position of these parties and organizations in reference to the Moscow Decision and their participation in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. In Joint Commission session on July 25, the American Delegation moved a proposal which to a great extent makes the work of the Joint Commission complicated and is fully against the progress achieved by the Commission on the question of compilation of a list and turns the Commission to a consideration of questions which have already been agreed upon by both delegations. This proposal of the American Delegation is probably not an accidental one. During the work of the Joint Commission this year, the American Delegation has given a sufficient number of examples of refusing from agreements which were achieved and even from decisions which were achieved by the Joint Commission. If we go along this way, we can endlessly detain the work of the Joint Commission. From the moment of resumption of the Joint Commission two and one half months have already elapsed. Meanwhile, the Joint Commission has not yet started discussion of questions which are immediately connected with the creation of a Korean Provisional Democratic Government. A further delay of discussion of these questions is considered by the Soviet Delegation as inadmissable. The Soviet Delegation believes that a compilation of a list of demo-

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cratic parties and social organizations for consultation with the Joint Commission is a very important question for discussion which should be continued with the aim of achieving agreement. However, it should not delay the work of the Joint Commission on other questions. The Soviet Delegation believes that discussion of the question of compilation of a list of democratic parties and social organizations may be entrusted to both head commissioners of the Joint Commission together with Subcommission No. 1 while the rest of the members of the delegations take up other important matters connected with the creation of a Provisional Government. The Korean democratic parties and social organizations have already submitted to the Joint Commission their considerations concerning the structure and principles of organization of a Provisional Democratic Government and local organs of power (Provisional Charter) and also concerning the political platform for the Provisional Government. The Soviet Delegation believes that the Joint Commission should without further delay start--take into consideration those written considerations which were presented by democratic parties and organizations and start the elaboration of its proposals on the question of structure and principles of organization of a Provisional Government and local organs of power (Provisional Charter) and also political platform, and questions of personnel composition of the Provisional Government and the order of assumption of power by the Provisional Government and the selection of personnel. Taking into consideration the above mentioned, the Soviet Delegation moves the following proposal:

Proposal of the Soviet Delegation, August 5, 1947

Taking into consideration that the Joint Commission during the whole month could not achieve progress on the question of compilation of a list of democratic parties and social organizations and it is on this question that the work of the Joint Commission is being further delayed, the Soviet Delegation with the aim of expediting the work of the Joint Commission makes the following proposal:

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(1) To start elaboration of proposals on the question of structure and principles of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and local organs of government (Provisional Charter), political platform for this government and also personnel composition of Provisional Government, procedure for assumption of power by Provisional Government, selection of personnel.

(a) In compliance with and in connection with this aim--in compliance with point 8 of Joint Commission Decision 12, to direct Subcommission No. 2-to refer to Subcommission 2, those considerations which were received from Korean democratic parties and social organizations both in South and North Korea, and also the proposals for a study and elaboration of agreed suggestions.

(b) To entrust to Sibcommission 2 and 3 in five days to submit for approval by the Joint Commission plans of their work.

(c) To direct Subcommission No. 2 and 3 to submit their proposals on the creation of subcommittees.

(2) To entrust both head commissioners together with Subcommission No. 1:

(a) To continue discussion of question of compilation of list of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for oral consultation, with a view to achieving agreement.

(b) To prepare a list of representatives of parties and social organizations for oral consultation.

(c) To elaborate proposals on point 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12.

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GENERAL BROWN: In reference to the first statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and his desire to determine whether or not the letter submitted by the parties and organizations is authentic and whether or not that letter has been really signed by these parties and organizations, in order that further misunderstanding may be prevented, it is a fact that the letter written in Korean bears the chops of the representatives of these parties and organizations and is legally authentic from a Korean point of view.

He states further that he wishes to get from these parties and organizations clarification and answers to certain questions. This clarification should, in the opinion of the American Delegation, be obtained at the time oral consultation is conducted. There is no reason why any party or representative appearing for consultation should not be questioned concerning his right to represent his party, and if either delegation wishes to challenge that party under the third agreement of the Ministers, that is fomenting and inciting active opposition against the Moscow Decision, or against either of the Allies, or against the Joint Commission, that representative can be challenged at that time and he can be required to give any explanation which the American or Soviet representative on the Subcommission may desire. It is not necessary nor desirable that the Joint Commission conduct preliminary examination of these parties nor is it contemplated under any agreement reached by the Ministers or by the Joint Commission, nor is it stated in the Moscow Decision. The American Delegation again suggests that the Soviet Delegation remove their suspicion from these parties, accept them for oral consultation and question them as it sees fit at the time of oral consultation, and if it desires to challenge them proceed at that time to challenge them under the third agreement of the Ministers. That is the legal, proper way of handling that point.

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The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation asks the question, why does the United States Delegation wish to answer the questions that should be answered by the representatives of these parties and organizations. The American Delegation has not stated that it desires to answer any questions for these people nor has it proposed any answers. It has attempted to find out what the questions are that the Soviet Delegation wants to ask purely for the reason to determine whether or not the Soviet Delegation is still suspicious of parties which in the opinion of the American Delegation have removed all objections that were raised against them by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation cannot understand what further suspicion the Soviet Delegation can have. Being curious, it naturally asks that the Soviet Delegation inform it, but the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation refuses. He goes and talks around about a great many things that have no bearing on it. If he will state specifically what is suspicious it is quite possible the American Delegation can answer them. If it can't answer them, then the question should be asked of the representatives of these parties and organizations when they appear for consultation. It is unfortunate that the American Delegation is suspicious to the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation is suspicious of many things. It is not beyond the understanding that they should be suspicious of the American Delegation. The American Delegation regrets that. It has certainly given no cause for the Soviet Delegation to be suspicious of it. However, it accepts that suspicion as possibly a natural part of the over-all suspicion the Soviet Delegation has of so many parties and persons.

The Soviet Delegation asks what is the aim of the American Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has stated many times the aim of the American Delegation. Its primary aim is to execute its responsibility under the Moscow Decision,

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under the agreement by the Ministers, and under those decisions signed by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation for the American Delegation. It has an aim greater than that, of course, which is to work out a Provisional Government for a United Korea, and to do everything it can to assure the future independence of Korea which was guaranteed by its government as well as by the government of the Soviet Delegation. That is the aim of the American Delegation. It has a subsidiary aim at this time, that is to see that all parties and organizations in Korea are treated equitably and fairly, not to protect any one group against another group, but to follow what we like to think of as the American principle of fair play - that every man is treated equally and has the right of every other man as long as he does not violate the law - and if he violates the law is brought before a court for a fair trial. With that in mind, our Ministers accepted the third proposal as an agreement so that if any party or organization of South Korea violated the principles which they are required to follow, they should be indicted and properly treated by the Joint Commission. That is the reason that third proposal was adopted. That is the reason the American Delegation insists that proposal be carried out.

The Soviet Delegation continues to charge the American Delegation with delay. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has spent the last two days reading the transcripts of the records and he will introduce into the record in the next day or two the dates of the various proposals made by the American Delegation to expedite the work of the Joint Commission in accordance with the directives given the Joint Commission by the two Ministers. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to have anybody examine the transcript. It feels that if someone is to be accused of delay it must be the Soviet Delegation. However, the American Delegation

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is not anxious to accuse anyone of delay. It is anxious to go ahead and do the job. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation also charges the American Delegation with trying to unilaterally include parties in the list. Of course the American Delegation is trying to unilaterally include parties. It is trying to include all parties that under the agreement of the Ministers, the Moscow Decision and Joint Commission Decision No. 12 have a right to be on the list. It is, and is proud, of the fact that it is unilaterally insisting that the Soviet Delegation live up to its agreement. The American Delegation does not mind being charged with that crime. It is perfectly guilty of it and acknowledges its guilt and again insists the Soviet Delegation join with it and also insists that the Soviet Delegation also unilaterally include all parties and organizations that have a right to be on the list. No matter what the Soviet Delegation says, the list actually exists for under the agreement reached by us, every party that applied was put on the list and stays there until removed for proper cause and nothing the Soviet Delegation can say can alter that fact.

As regards a proposal submitted by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, it will have to be translated and studied by the American Delegation. It is too long a proposal for the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation to answer now. There is one question in the mind of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation taken from the oral consultation - that is, he fails to see how Subcommission No. 1, even reinforced by the two Chief Commissioners, can make any progress on this question of consultation unless and until the Soviet Delegation is willing to live up to its commitments. If the Soviet Delegation will live up to its signed agreements, then maybe the two Chief Commissioners and Subcommission No. 1 can resolve this issue. Otherwise, it will be

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useless for this task of consultation to be taken up even with Subcommission No. 1 reinforced. The American Delegation will reply more fully to the Soviet proposal at the next meeting of the Joint Commission, but it would like to have further clarification by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation as to how he thinks Subcommission No. 1 reinforced by the two Chief Commissioners can solve the consultation issue.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has all reasons to make the authenticity of this statement, to make it exact and have it checked in Joint Commission session inasmuch as the Soviet Delegation has examples of when the American Delegation objected to those documents which were presented in Joint Commission session, or by its Secretariat as copies of documents. The Soviet Delegation has made itself immune from similar misunderstandings which may arise. In the statement which has been made just now by General Brown, both ends do not meet. Once he states that the question was asked by the American Delegation for the sake of curiosity and at the same time he states the American Delegation could answer some questions. The Soviet Delegation is grateful to the American Delegation for such a service, but it wished and does wish now to be hearing what parties and organizations have signed this letter and inasmuch as the American Delegation stated that only nine parties are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, why the letter was signed by fifteen parties. This gives the Soviet Delegation doubt in the exactness of those clarifications which may be presented by the American Delegation in answer to these questions. The Soviet Delegation understood that the functions of oral consultation are to clarify those answers which have been presented by representatives of parties and organizations in the written form, but to clarify these answers with representatives - all questions that are here concerning parties and organizations which should be included into the list have to be clarified before these parties will be included into the list.

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It is true that the American Delegation has frequently declined that it exercises veto, but how is one to understand the statement made by General Brown that such a list, whether we want it or not, exists. If the list requires exclusion, it is just what we call violation of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and 16. The Soviet Delegation has never violated Joint Commission Decisions and will not permit the American Delegation to do so.

Now concerning the point that was expressed by the American Delegation that it exactly fulfills the procedures which were reached by the two Foreign Ministers and Joint Commission Decisions, it is seen from all documents that it is not so. The American Delegation may only be proud that it does not take into consideration, as it stated, the decisions which were reached by the Ministers and the Joint Commission and this is being proved by documents and records. As to the proposal of the Soviet Delegation and the desire of the American Delation to study it, the Soviet Delegation cannot mind it - does not object.

Now concerning the question which has been announced by General Brown, I may answer that if the Soviet Delegation should not find it possible to have an agreement reached it should not have moved such a proposal. The Soviet Delegation will always stick to exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission Decisions. On the basis of these documents and on the basis of an exact fulfillment of them, any question may be resolved which is being placed on the Joint Commission. Such a question will be resolved by both head Commissioners. Certainly if the American Delegation does not wish to fulfill the above mentioned decision, an agreement will not be achieved. If the American Delegation has no other questions and if the American Delegation considers that it has to study the Soviet Delegation proposal, then I move we adjourn today and have our next regular meeting tomorrow at 1330.

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GENERAL BROWN: There is one question in the mind of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation keeps talking about the exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and the exact fulfillment of Joint Commission decisions. The American Delegation apparently cannot read the English language, or else the English which is before the American Delegation in the various Decisions is different from the translation into Russian before the Russian Delegation. In order to clear up any question or misunderstanding, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is going to again read in English, and ask Mr. Prostov to translate into Russian, Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Joint Commission Decision Number 16. Before doing that he is going to mention the fact, and he will read from the record tomorrow to establish it, that when this Decision was first presented by the Joint Commission it was specifically stated by Dr. Bunce that it was an Administrative Decision which had been agreed upon by the secretariat of the two delegations, and the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation in accepting it for discussion also stated it was an administrative decision. That is written clearly into the record. Being an administrative decision certainly cannot alter a decision such as Joint Commission Decision Number 12, a formerly agreed non-administrative decision. However, it being a decision, and the Soviet Delegation having questioned the fact that the American Delegation is not exactly fulfilling it, I want to read two paragraphs. Paragraph 2: "The information submitted by the parties and organizations, after translation, will be forwarded by the secretariat to the respective chairmen of Subcommission Number 1. On the basis of the aforementioned information there shall be compiled a complete list of parties and organizations which have applied for consultation and a separate list of their designated representatives." I invite attention to the words "complete list" and to the words "parties and organizations which have applied for consultation." If you talk about exact fulfillment there can be no question about those words, unless the Russian

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translation is wrong. Paragraph 3: "The list of parties and organizations which have signed the declaration, as well as the list of their representatives, shall be discussed in Subcommission Number 1, and following agreement will be submitted for approval of the Joint Commission." The Soviet Delegation speaks of exact fulfillment and states there is no list. How can they say there is no list when Paragraph 3 says the list of parties and organizations will be discussed? You have to have something - to discuss it - and how can you discuss a list if none exists? I would like the Soviet Delegation to think a little bit about what they mean by exact fulfillment and see whether they are living up to their principle. When they speak of the exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision, I am frank that I don't know what they mean. I can only fulfill the Moscow Decision as I read it, not as regards words which are not written into it. I can only fulfill any document as I read it, and not as regards words which are not written in and only imagined; so if exact fulfillment means using the imagination to visualize words, phrases, clauses and sentences which have not been written into the document, then that is a new expression and one that I will have to learn and get somebody to tell me what it means. Exact fulfillment, as I understand the English language, means an exact interpretation of the words actually written into a document.
GENERAL SHTIKOV: Does General Brown believe that the Joint Commission should approve a list of parties and organizations to be consulted by the Joint Commission? If this list is subject to approval, then prior to such approval it has to be compiled in accordance with Joint Commission Decision 16, point 1. This decision states that a list that is being presented for approval is being presented by Subcommission Number 1 and has to be agreed upon by this Subcommission. This in the Russian language means that Subcommission Number 1 compiles a list of parties and organizations, makes an agreement, and signs this list; and later on presents this list for the approval of the Joint Commission. As to the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by the two ministers, I can only repeat that the Soviet Delegation will

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fight and insist on the exact fulfillment of these decisions. As it is known, the Moscow Decision states that the Commission consult with democratic parties and social organizations. This means that non-social organizations and those organizations which do not exist are not eligible for consultation with the Joint Commission; while the American Delegation intends that the Joint Commission consult with these parties and that the Soviet Delegation should not object to this proposal. It is also known that point 1 of the Moscow Decision requires full support. What is then the reason that the American Delegation insists the Soviet Delegation consult and the Joint Commission consult with parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee? It seems that this is what the American Delegation was referring to, and is proud about . Here it seems that both the Russian and English languages do not help to understand the position of the American Delegation. I would like to have General Brown answer the questions that I have asked.

GENERAL BROWN: If General Brown understands the questions correctly, the first one as to whether or not the American Delegation insists on consulting with organizations that do not exist -- the answer is no; whether the American Delegation insists on consulting with non-social organizations -- the answer is that the American Delegation insists on consulting with social organizations, and the only definition that the American Delegation has of a social organization appears in dictionaries throughout the world. Therefore the American Delegation must follow that definition. The third question, if properly understood, does the American Delegation intend to consult with parties and organizations which were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee -- the answer is yes, most certainly so, unless the Soviet Delegation by acceptable evidence can prove that those parties and social organizations have since signing the application for consultation fomented or incited active opposition against the Moscow Decision, against the Joint Commission, or against either of the Allies. If there are any

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questions which have not been answered, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will attempt to answer them. However, as he has previously stated, he sees no object in this continual talk -- repeating the same thing that has been said over so many times since July 2nd.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There are some questions that have not been answered by General Brown. The first two questions which referred to a compilation of lists have not been answered by General Brown. The question was, does General Brown believe that the Joint Commission should approve a list of parties and organizations to be consulted by the Joint Commission?

GENERAL BROWN: Yes, that list to be compiled as required by Paragraph 5, Joint Commission Decision Number 12, which states that all parties and organizations signing the application will be placed on the list; and by Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the administrative decision, Joint Commission Decision Number 16, which states that the complete list will be examined by Subcommission Number 1, and following agreement, referred to the Joint Commission. The only interpretation which can be placed on those three paragraphs is that having compiled a complete list, Subcommission Number 1 will examine this list to determine whether or not any parties or organizations appearing on that list should be removed. If they should be removed, the cause of removal should be a just cause. For instance, a party or organization which does not exist; or a party or organization which is so small that in the opinion of Subcommission Number 1 the time of the Joint Commission should not be devoted to it; or a party or organization which in fact may not be a social organization. The American Delegation agrees to this, and has presented a proposal to the Soviet Delegation which would remove approximately 127 parties from that list, if the Soviet Delegation agrees. Examination of the applications submitted and careful study over a period of a month has led the American Delegation to believe that these 127 parties and organizations could be removed without injury to the Korean people, and their removal would expedite the work of the Joint Commission. It is the opinion of the American

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Delegation that the Joint Commission will approve that list if it has been reviewed by Subcommission Number 1. Certainly in reaching agreement to Joint Commission Decision Number 12 and Joint Decision Number 16 it never entered the heads of the members of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation was writing words into those decisions which would permit them to deny consultation to a large group of Korean people. The American Delegation can never agree to exclude a large group of public thought from consultation. Even if the American Delegation were suspicious of those people, as the Soviet Delegation says it is, it would still consult with them, because it believes that the advantage to the Korean people of free consultation outweighs any small disadvantage which might arise from consulting with some suspicious group. The American Delegation has never been able to understand why the Soviet Delegation objects so strongly to consulting with these people. The American Delegation cannot understand the great harm which would result in consulting with them. That is why the American Delegation cannot understand the position of the Soviet Delegation. It looks like they are gambling very heavily for very small stakes. The American Delegation believes that the Soviet is a better gambler than to gamble for small stakes. That's the first question -- what was the second?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The question concerning the procedure of compilation of lists for Subcommission Number 1.

GENERAL BROWN: I don't understand that.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: If this list is subject to approval, then previous to such approval it must be compiled in compliance with Joint Commission Decision Number 16 by Subcommission Number 1.

GENERAL BROWN: No, it must be compiled in accordance with Joint Commission Decision Number 12, paragraph 5 which specifies how the list shall be compiled. I will read paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision Number 12. Joint Commission Decision Number 16 is simply an administrative instruction to Subcommission Number 1 as to how to carry out the responsibility placed upon them by Joint Commission Decision Number 12. I now read paragraph 5 of Joint Commission Decision

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Number 12: "Subcommission Number 1, upon receiving the applications for consultation, shall compile a list of all democratic parties and social organizations and their designated representatives of North and South Korea which have signed the declaration in paragraph 2." How Subcommission Number 1 under that instruction can do anything else but put every name on that list, I cannot understand. That is one reason why for over a month the position of the Soviet Delegation has baffled the American Delegation. That is why the American Delegation feels that there must be some error of translation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has made reference to complete points in documents approved by the Joint Commission. The answers given by General Brown are not satisfactory. General Brown in his statement is unable to make both ends meet. One time he proposes in compliance with point 5 of Joint Commission Decision 12 to include all parties and organizations which have signed the declaration, and another time he says that the American Delegation agrees not to invite for consultation fraudulent and non-existent organizations, and goes on to exclude 127 parties. There is no logic in all of this. The list is being compiled for this purpose -- in order that with point Number 1 of the Joint Commission decision we include into this list parties and organizations which will uphold the Moscow Decision. The compilation of this list is being entrusted by the members of the Joint Commission to Mr. Bunce and Mr. Tounkin. With reference to the statement which has been made by General Brown -- his remark that the Soviet Delegation is heavily gambling for such small stakes, the Soviet Delegation is not at a gambling club, in spite of the fact that such a club was included by the American Delegation into the list. The Soviet Delegation believes that during the Joint Commission sessions where they are present they are entrusted with the fulfillment of a very great stake -- it is the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. That is why it so persistently defends and protects this decision from encroachments to have this decision disrupted. The Soviet Delegation believes that the American Delegation should be guided, and that the Soviet Delegation should also be guided in the fulfillment of its task

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by the Moscow Decision and by the agreement reached between the two Ministers and the decisions of the Joint Commission which were adopted and signed by both Chief Commissioners -- to execute and exactly correspond with these decisions. I move that we adjourn today's session.

GENERAL BROWN: There is just one thing I would like to have the Soviet Delegation think over tonight. It is the understanding of the American Delegation that four Powers made the Moscow Decision. Does the Soviet Delegation contend that only the Soviet Delegation can interpret that decision?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is not necessary to think all night in order to answer that question. Now we know only the opinion of the American Delegation, while this decision was signed by three Powers, and later on it was joined by China as well. Why does the American Delegation believe that these three Powers interpret this decision as the American Delegation does? Why does not the American Delegation think that they would interpret this decision as the Soviet Delegation does? I would like to have General Brown think that question over tonight.

GENERAL BROWN: General Brown doesn't have to think that over. The Soviet Delegation's interpretation changes, and it is pretty difficult to find out how they interpret this document.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet interpretation is that the Moscow Decision be exactly and as soon as possible fulfilled, and there cannot be any changes as to this.

GENERAL BROWN: I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

Commission adjourned at 1720 hours, 5 August 1947.

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TRANSCRIPT OF 52ND MEETING OF
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
7 August 1947 at 1330 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV

(General Lebedeff absent)

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Are there any comments on the Agenda?

GENERAL BROWN: No.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The second item on the Agenda is the "Approval of the List of Democratic Parties and Social Organizations to be Invited for Consultation with the Joint Commission". In last Joint Commission session the American Delegation stated that it wished to study the proposals made by the Soviet Delegation in order to present its comments and recommendations on these proposals.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has carefully reviewed the statement and the proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation on 5 August 1947.

The Moscow Decision, the agreement of the Ministers, and Joint Commission Decision No. 12, all require consultation with the political parties and social organizations of Korea.

The Moscow Decision charges the Joint Commission with assisting in the formation of the provisional government -- that is, assisting the Korean people who, through their representatives of political parties and social organizations, will inform the Joint Commission of their desires.

The Koreans have been informed that if they comply with provisions of Joint Commission Decision No. 12, they would be consulted and their views considered in the formation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

The American Delegation is not willing to exclude any large group of Koreans from a voice in the formation of their provisional government.

Because of the facts above stated, it is necessary that the

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Joint Commission resolve its disagreement and evolve a method of consulting all those who are eligible for consultation under the agreement of the Ministers and Joint Commission Decision No. 12. Until this issue is resolved, the American Delegation cannot see that any progress can be made by proceeding to undertake work which must subsequently be performed by the Joint Commission. For example, if the Soviet Delegation persists in its position of excluding from consultation members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and other rightist groups, the U.S. Delegation has to assume that the Soviet Delegation will apply the same standards of exclusion in its discussion of later problems arising in the consideration of the written questionnaires and the formation of the consultative body. This, the U.S. Delegation believes, would only lead to further controversy. Until the question of whether the Soviet Delegation will live up to its agreements and our directives to consult parties and social organizations broadly without the use of the veto power, or until some other method of obtaining the opinions of the Korean people can be developed, the U.S. Delegation sees nothing that can be gained by attempting to undertake later work which can only be successful when this basic issue is solved.

While the American Delegation realizes the difficulty in resolving views as far apart as those of the Soviet and the American Delegation and while no intimation is seen in the Soviet Delegation's proposal that they are willing to withdraw from what the American Delegation considers to be an indefensible position taken by them, the American Delegation is not willing to refuse the request of the Soviet Delegation to continue discussing this matter in an effort to reach agreement.

The American Delegation, therefore, proposes that paragraph 2 of the proposal of the Soviet Delegation of 5 August 1947, be amended to read, "To direct the Chief Commissioner of both Delegations to meet with the Chairmen of Subcommission No. 1 and discuss and resolve the consultation issue."

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The American Delegation appreciates that acceptance of the Soviet proposal as amended above will not assure immediate fulfillment of the present task of the Joint Commission, nor will it assure that the Joint Commission will undertake early resumption of this task. However, it does include the possibility for early agreement which will enable Subcommission No. 2 and No. 3 to undertake that work which they should have completed several weeks ago. As soon as the consultation issue is resolved, the American Delegation will proceed to discuss with the Soviet Delegation the proposals submitted by the Soviet Delegation in their memorandum of 5 August 1947, paragraphs 1 a, b, c, and paragraph 2c.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation in its statement dated August 5, 1947 explained the reasons of divergence in the Joint Commission and moved a proposal, the acceptance of which gives the possibility to the Joint Commission to expedite the resolving of other questions on which the Joint Commission has to work. The Soviet Delegation believes that during the time when Subcommission Number 1 will be working together with the Chief Commissioners of both Delegations on the resolving of questions of compilation of a list of parties and organizations and on other questions which are being instructed and which are stated in the Soviet Delegation proposal point 2, during this time Subcommission No. 2 and No. 3 may do their work. Their work will proceed alongside the work of Subcommission No. 1 and the work of both Chief Commissioners. The commencement of the work of Subcommission No. 2 and 3 will not be interfered by the absence of a list of parties and organizations to be invited for oral consultation. Alongside, it will give the possibility to the Joint Commission right now to start the resolving of questions on which the Joint Commission is already working.

I have in mind first, the preparation of proposals on structure and principles of work of the provisional government and local

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organs of power, and also the political platform. The proposal of the American Delegation which has been made by it today in connection with the Soviet Delegation's proposal narrows those functions and questions which are being suggested by the Soviet Delegation to be instructed for resolving by Subcommission No. 1 and both head Commissioners. The proposal of the Soviet Delegation in Point 2 for both head Commissioners and Subcommission No. 1 stipulates the resolving of three questions. First, the continuation of this discussion of the question of compilation of a list of parties and organizations; second, the preparation of a list of representatives and; third, the elaboration of proposals on Point 9, Decision 12. It being known that the Soviet Delegation is sure that if head representatives of both delegation in Subcommission No. 1 and both head Commissioners will be guided by the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the decision reached by both delegations, Decision 12, then it will achieve results which later on will give the possibility to expedite the whole work of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation does not propose to exclude parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. It proposes to have these parties included into the list only when they declare their withdrawal from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. There is a difference between the proposals of the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation proposal which has been just stated. If these parties had behaved wisely from the very beginning of the work of the Joint Commission in their attitude toward the Moscow Decision and toward the work of the Joint Commission and had fully upheld the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission, we would have probably now already presented our Governments with the elaborated proposals on the consultation of parties and organizations of both South and North Korea.

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GENERAL BROWN: As stated in the statement which was read a moment ago by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, the Soviet proposal submitted by them on 5 August 1947 was carefully reviewed by the American Delegation. The American Delegation believes that it understands fully the Soviet proposal. In the opinion of the American Delegation, as stated in the statement just read, it would be useless to direct Subcommission Number 2 and Subcommission Number 3 to undertake the tasks, the proper solution of which are dependent upon the resolving of the question of consultation. Unless the major political parties of Korea are eligible for participation in the formation of the Provisional Government, including not only consultation with reference to their ideas concerning that government, but also with reference to the creation of the consultative parties, and the final creation of a Provisional Government, it will be useless for Subcommissions 2 and 3 to consider their task. The American Delegation has many times stated that the Soviet Delegation has failed in the first place to establish the fact that any parties objected to by them are in fact members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. They have also failed to establish the fact that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee is guilty of any act which would bar parties which might be members of that committee from consultation with the Joint Commission. The American Delegation has many times stated that it cannot agree to exclude from consultation parties which are stated by the Soviet Delegation to be members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee merely because the Soviet Delegation states that these parties are members of that committee; nor can the American Delegation agree that if a party is actually established as a member of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee -- that mere membership in that committee automatically bars that party from consultation. As the American Delegation stated in its statement just read, the American Delegation does not see how the divergent views of the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation can be reconciled. However, the American Delegation is not willing to refuse

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the request of the Soviet Delegation to continue discussing this matter in an effort to reach agreement. It is because of this possibility of some agreement that the American Delegation reluctantly agrees with the Soviet proposal, as amended by the American proposal, "To direct the Chief Commissioners of both delegations to meet with the chairmen of Subcommission Number 1 and discuss and resolve the consultation issue." That proposal if accepted by the Soviet Delegation in fact includes the proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation in paragraph 2 a and b of the proposal submitted by them on 5 August 1947. It is the opinion of the American Delegation that it would be useless to attempt to discuss the proposals submitted by the Soviet Delegation in paragraph 2 c of their proposal of 5 August 1947 until the consultation issue can be settled, and the Soviets can accept the principle that all major political parties of Korea which have signed the application for consultation and qualified themselves under the existing agreement can be accepted, not only for consultation, but as participants in the consultative parties in accordance with the membership and influence of their parties or organizations.

SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation in its proposals stipulated to expedite the work of the Joint Commission in resolving a number of paramount questions on which the Joint Commission must work. The Soviet Delegation in submitting its proposals on August 5 considered, and is of the same opinion now, that it is necessary to start alongside the work of Subcommissions Number 2 and 3 in compliance with instructions given in the Soviet Delegation's proposal, Point 1, paragraphs a, b and c. The Soviet Delegation in its proposal has also, point 2, instructed both head commissioners, together with Subcommission Number 1, to resolve all the questions stated in paragraphs a, b and c. The Soviet Delegation believes it to be entirely incorrect that the work of the Joint Commission is being delayed because of those parties and social organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, because they don't wish to fully uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation has already stated

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that there are a number of parties and organizations which presented different/trends in Korea. These parties may be, and must be, consulted in the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and on the questions concerning the formation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government. Parties and organizations, members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, which has a program that states they will carry on the fight among the Korean population directed to disrupt the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission, may not participate in the consultation with the Joint Commission, if they do not wish to. The Soviet Delegation believes that it is too great an honor for these parties and organizations that we should during two and one-half months try to persuade them to refute their principles. They probably wish to be in such a position towards the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. It is their will. I reiterate that there is a sufficient number of parties and organizations of both political shades, with the participation of which there may be formed the government which is stipulated by the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation will not let parties and organizations be included in the list unless they withdraw from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and give up their program of fighting against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states that the work of the Joint Commission is being delayed because of parties and organizations which were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. The American Delegation cannot accept that statement. The work of the Joint Commission is being delayed by the Soviet Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation also states -- I quote his words -- "They....." meaning these parties and organizations, ".....evidently want to be in opposition to the Joint Commission and the Moscow Decision. This is their wish." The statement that they "want to be" shows that it is an opinion on his part, and not something that he has established as a fact. He should weigh against that opinion the two signed declarations submitted to this Commission by those parties and organizations -- the first, on the invitation of the Joint

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Commission, which is a signed statement agreed upon by the two ministers, which if those parties and organizations signed will, under the agreement of the ministers, be accepted as a declaration of good faith, and entitles parties and organizations to initial consultation. The second signed statement is a letter voluntarily submitted by those parties and organizations to the Joint Commission the other day. The American Delegation does not know whether the Soviet Delegation believes that the parties and organizations which signed that list are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or not. The American Delegation knows that some of the parties signing that letter are suspicious to the Soviet Delegation. If the Soviet Delegation really wants to get on with the work of the Joint Commission it should give up its unacceptable attempt to exclude parties and organizations because of opinions that they hold. If it would do this, then Subcommission Number 1 could take the list of applicants of all parties with over 10,000 members and rapidly reach agreement as to which should be removed from that list. Consultation could then start immediately with these groups, and Subcommission Number 1 could continue to review all parties and organizations under 10,000, and complete agreement could be rapidly reached.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The statement which has been made by General Brown states that the American Delegation fully and completely upholds parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, otherwise it shouldn't have tried to answer instead of these parties and organizations, the desire which has been frequently expressed by the American Delegation in the Joint Commission session, in order to state the position of these parties. The Soviet Delegation gets the impression that the American Delegation objects to the fact that these parties and organizations withdraw from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. It is those parties and organizations which have signed the declaration contained in Communique Number 5. As it is know from this declaration contained in Communique Number 5, and also from the agreement reached between the two ministers of Foreign Affairs in Point 1, to uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission is a demand of these two documents. In having signed this declaration, and in continuing to be members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee where they have

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a program to fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission - while this committee still exists and carries on the fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission - these parties and organizations carry full responsibility for the activities of this committee. As to the letter which has been received from these parties and organizations, the Soviet Delegation would like to exactly define whether this letter has been really signed by these parties and organizations, first. Secondly, there arises a number of questions from this letter which have to be exactly defined, and it is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that these questions can be answered only by those who have signed the letter. It is true that the American Delegation stated that they could answer those questions which had arisen by the Soviet Delegation. It is not clear to the Soviet Delegation how can questions be answered by the American Delegation on the questions which arise on this letter. Any questions arising from any document may be answered only by the person who is the author of the document. The Soviet Delegation doesn't wish to even think that the American Delegation is the author of this letter. It is not clear for the Soviet Delegation why the American Delegation is afraid now, or why it was afraid, to have these representatives of parties and organizations which have signed this letter called before the Commission. Evidently the American Delegation is afraid of something. It isn't clear as to whether it is the authenticity of this letter, or because of the correctness of the answers by the representatives on the questions which will be put to them, or because of the fact that after the substance of the Moscow Decision has been made clear to them, the questions that cause such an argument concerning the admittance for consultation may clear the way -- the question which the Joint Commission couldn't resolve during the whole month. It is quite admissible that after these representatives of parties and organizations have been called before the Commission, the Joint Commission could have made progress on the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. It seems that it is not quite profitable for the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation doesn't see any other reasons which would prevent those representatives of parties and organizations

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which have signed the letter presented to the Joint Commission from being called before the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation contended, and it contends now that the delay of work in the Joint Commission is because of the fault of these parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee; and inasmuch as they are being protected and defended by the American Delegation, it means that the delay in the work of the Joint Commission is also the fault of the American Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: I suggest a 15-minute recess.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I agree.

Commission recessed at 1510 hours and reconvened at 1525 hours.

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GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states that the United States Delegation fully upholds parties and organizations which are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee. The American Delegation does not support the Anti-trusteeship Committee, but it does support the inaliable right of all persons, parties and organizations to freedom of thought and freedom of expression. The American Delegation also supports the decision of Mr. Molotov and General Marshall and the agreement of Joint Decision No. 12 signed by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation also states that the Soviet Delegation gets the impression that the U.S. Delegation objects to certain parties and organizations withdrawing from the Anti-trusteeship Committee. The American Delegation has only one interest in any party or social organization of Korea and that is to see that the Joint Commission gives it the right of consideration in the formation of its provisional government to which the agreement of the Ministers and the agreement of this Commission entitles them. Other than that, the American Delegation has no interest in any specific party or organization. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states that the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation said that he could answer some of the questions raised in the letter transmitted by certain parties and social organizations. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation did not make that statement. He stated that he did not know the questions which the Soviet Delegation would like to ask and requested that he be informed. He stated that if he did know those questions it might be possible that he could answer some of them. He will now attempt to clarify a little further what he meant by that statement. The recent remarks of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation leaves the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation to believe that in the evaluation of the letter of 28 July written on behalf of the parties which are members of the United Council, has evidently failed to comprehend the significance of that letter

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and has demonstrated its unfamiliarity with the United Council. From an examination of the letter, the following seems to be the fact; The letter is written "on behalf of the member organizations of the United Council" and is signed and sealed by fifteen leaders representing major rightist youth, labor, and women's organizations and political parties. The letter offers the Joint Commission "our loyal cooperation in every possible way." The letter points out that because some of the member parties of the Council "were formerly active in the Anti-trusteeship Committee," the Soviet Delegation took the view that they should be excluded from the consultation; and that, as a result of this, the American and Soviet Delegations could not come to an agreement. Pointing out that the Anti-Trusteeship Committee has never opposed or instigated active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission, the letter defends the right of free expression of opinion guaranteed to Koreans in the Molotov-Marshall agreement. The letter states that none of the organizations which applied for consultation participated in the June 23rd demonstration. The letter reports that those of the United Council members, who are members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee, would fully cooperate with the Joint Commission in all stages of its work, reserving however the right of free expression. It also comments that active opposition is "indeed contrary to their own policy." The main issue presented in the letter is the issue of the freedom of expression, and not that of the former activities of the Anti-trusteeship Committee. Although this freedom has been explicitly guaranteed by the Molotov-Marshall agreement, the Soviet Delegation has systematically refused to state its attitude in such a way as to dispel the suspicion that it intends to deny it to the Koreans in the course of the consultation. In the light of the foregoing and on the basis of the Soviet statement of 5 August, the following observations may be made:

The Soviet Delegation reiterates that this letter had been written by members of the Anti-trusteeship Committee. This is completely incorrect. The letter had been written "on behalf of the

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member organizations of the United Council," in defense of the freedom of expression, and had been signed by fifteen members of that Council.

The United Council includes nearly all rightist organizations pledged to support the Joint Commission. The Council originated after the split of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee on 19 June, and attracted all progressive groups which abandoned the Rhee-Kim Koo leadership. It has nothing in common with the Anti-trusteeship Committee. Many lesser groups adhered to the United Council organization following the deadline for applying for consultation. Currently the Council consists of over 100 rightist and moderate groups, a majority of whom applied for consultation. This is, in fact, a group uniting, on a platform of cooperation with the Joint Commission, a large majority of important political and social groups not affiliated with the People's Front. Only a small proportion of the total have been ever affiliated with the Anti-trusteeship Committee.

The letter does not say that it purports to express the views of the Anti-trusteeship Committee; it is signed by representatives of the United Council, not of the Anti-trusteeship Committee.

Why does General Shtikov demand that only fifteen representatives be summoned, and not the rest of the United Council of 100 organizations? Although the U.S. Delegation would oppose to the last such wholesale suspicioning and questioning of nearly all important Korean parties outside the pale of the Democratic People's Front who wish to cooperate with the Joint Commission, this would be a more logical approach to a letter written on behalf of the entire membership of the United Council.

As to the authenticity of this letter, its entire text will be released in the Korean press, and will be challenged in due time by the United Council if it is not authentic.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The statement of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation which just now the Soviet Delegation has been listening to did not answer a number of statements made by the Soviet Delegation. General Brown, in analyzing the statement of representatives of these parties and organizations, stated that this letter signed by parties and organizations was not on behalf of parties and organizations of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee but on behalf of the United Council, which unites Rightist parties and organization. General Brown stated that at present the United Council is in existence and unites Rightist parties and organizations. The Soviet Delegation read in the Korean press that such a Council was created, but its program and aims were not published in the press in detail. The Soviet Delegation has taken into consideration the statement of General Brown that such a Council exists and that such a Council unites parties and organizations of the Rightist trend. The Soviet Delegation does not object to having these parties and organizations which are members of this Council included for consultation if these parties and organizations are not members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and do not really fight together with this Committee against the Moscow Decision. If you take into consideration that this United Council unites parties and organizations which fully uphold the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission on questions of the creation of a provisional government, then it is very well. It will be better and easier then for the Joint Commission to recommend that these parties and organizations withdraw from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and to refuse its program of fighting against the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission, and by uniting under the leadership of this United Council, to fully uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission, and in doing so to expedite the work of the Commission in its fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Thus, these parties and organizations which in the opinion of the American Delegation are no more under the leadership of Kim, Koo

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and Rhee, Syngman would not be in the future an obstacle in the work of the Joint Commission. It is not clear to the Soviet Delegation why such a proposal cannot be made to these parties and organizations. If we do so, they would not in the future be responsible for subversive work that is being carried out by this Anti-Trusteeship Committee against the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. As to freedom of expression, the Soviet Delegation has made the statement that it does not mind, it did not mind, and it has never made proposals which would forbid Koreans to freely express their opinion. Why does the American Delegation uphold freedom of expression of opinion only against the Moscow Decision and does not defend parties and organizations and representatives of those parties which express their opinion which is in support of the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. It is also freedom of expression of opinion. The absolute majority of the Korean people express their opinion for the success of the work of the Joint Commission and the Joint Commission creating a Korean Provisional Democratic Government in compliance with the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation believes that the Joint Commission, being an impartial body, should take into consideration the opinion of the majority of the Korean people--those who do not wish to realize the implementation of the Moscow Decision may so express their opinions, but they cannot consult with the Joint Commission inasmuch as the Joint Commission consults with democratic parties and social organizations on how to best implement the Moscow Decision and not on how not to implement the Moscow Decision. It is a logical thing which is very hard to be refuted. If both delegations stick to such an understanding, the Joint Commission will successfully carry out the task which was put upon her by the decision adopted by the Three Ministers. The Soviet Delegation calls on the American Delegation to come to a decision on the questions connected with the fulfillment of the decision of the Three Ministers. It is just in this spirit and on the basis of this principle and the situation itself which now exists in the work of the Joint Commission, and the

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aim of the Joint Commission that such an attitude is required towards this decision.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation sent to the Soviet Delegation a proposed joint press release dated 6 August 1947. Insofar as the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation knows, no reply has been received to this proposed press release from the Soviet Delegation. What are the wishes of the Soviet Delegation concerning this matter?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has the following points: First, not to include in the draft of the communique the statement of parties and organizations which was submitted to the Joint Commission inasmuch as we have not exactly defined questions connected with this letter. Second, some amendments as to wording have to be undertaken. They are the following: The Soviet Delegation summons these representatives in, not for questioning but with the aim of exactly defining those questions which are not clear to the Soviet Delegation. The Commission is not a trial. It is a body of representatives of governments, and it has the right to clarify questions--to ask representatives to be present in Joint Commission session for the sake of clarification of questions. Third, to state that on 5 August the Soviet Delegation moved a proposal which aims at expediting the work of the Joint Commission, and in this connection, the Soviet Delegation proposed that Subcommissions 2 and 3 commence their work, and that the question of the compilation of lists of parties and organizations be entrusted to the Joint Commission and to the Chief Commissioners. That is why I suggest that both representatives engage in the work of the communique--start working on the writing of a joint communique and present it to the Joint Commission in a couple of hours.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the American Delegation that the letter covered in the joint communique should be released inasmuch as it casts further light on the question which is still keeping the Joint Commission from reaching agreement. If the Soviet Delegation does not care to join the American Delegation in issuing this

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letter in the joint communique, the American Delegation will issue it separately. The American Delegation has no objection to drafting a joint communique covering the Soviet proposals which were answered today by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. That communique will cover the proposals presented by the Soviet Delegation at the last meeting and the action of today's meeting on those proposals. Such a bulletin should be issued to cover today's meeting.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated that until it verifies the authenticity of this letter and until the questions that arise from this letter are clarified, it objects to having the letter included in a communique. As to the rest of the questions, they should be submitted in the joint communique. The Soviet Delegation does not mind having them stated with those amendments just now presented by the Soviet Delegation and encouraging both representatives charged with this job of preparing it.

GENERAL BROWN: The letter submitted to the Joint Commission is not secret. The American Delegation has no reason to question its authenticity inasmuch as it bears the chops, the official signature of those who presented it. The American Delegation will issue it to the press as a matter not of a secret nature. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will request its Secretariat to cooperate with the Soviet Secretariat in preparing a joint communique covering the Soviet proposals made at the last meeting and the American counter-proposal made at this meeting. It is moved that we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I do not mind adjourning today. What are the proposals concerning the next regular meeting.

GENERAL BROWN: I propose that the Chairman for the coming week, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, call the next meeting on Monday or Tuesday of next week.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No objections.

(The meeting adjourned at 1630 hours.)

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File Corrections
2-7-10-13

TRANSCRIPT OF 53RD MEETING OF
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
12 August 1947 at 1330 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL BROWN: Are there any comments on the agenda?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is adopted.

GENERAL BROWN: The first matter is the signing of the minutes. What does that leave the status of the minutes? How many are incomplete.

COL. EDWARDS: We had mechanical difficulties this morning. We will have another set of minutes finished this afternoon. We have three outstanding.

GENERAL BROWN: When will those three be completed?

COL. EDWARDS: We are ready to reconcile differences with the Soviet Secretariat but they are not ready. We expect to do that tomorrow. We agreed on all but two sets of minutes.

COL. AVRAMENKO: Minutes 43, 49, and 50 have been agreed upon with the American Secretariat and they are being typed today. Minutes #51 have also been agreed upon with the American Secretariat and they are also being typed. 51 and 52 have not yet been typed. They will be ready by tomorrow. These two minutes must be compared and then typed.

GENERAL BROWN: That is a better position than they have been in for a long time.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There is such a Russian proverb that says, "Whatever happens, blame it on the switchman."

GENERAL BROWN: Next order of business is "Approval of the List of Democratic Parties and Social Organizations to be Invited for Consultation with the Joint Commission". Has the Soviet Delegation any suggestions to make as to how the present difficulties facing the two delegations may be resolved?

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation moved a proposal in Joint Commission session on August 5 and it is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that this was just a proposal which gives the Joint Commission the opportunity to overcome the present difficulties and to proceed forward. At the same time it will make the tired members of the Second and Third Subcommissions start working. They are tired because they have been out of work all of the time and at the same time Subcommission No. 1 should not work overtime while other members do not.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation cannot accept the proposal of the Soviet Delegation of August 5, 1947 for the reason that they explained at the last meeting of the Joint Commission. It appears that the two delegations are not able to reconcile their divergent views on the question of oral consultation. The American Delegation will, therefore, offer a proposal which it hopes will enable the Joint Commission to proceed with its task.

The American Delegation, mindful of the solemn obligations of its government under the Moscow Agreement and conscious of its duty to the Korean people to establish as early as possible a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, makes the following proposals to overcome the present impasse regarding consultation:

1. Oral consultation shall be dispensed with and the questionnaires submitted by Korean political parties and social organizations shall be accepted as consultation under the Moscow Agreement.

2. Directive to be issued to Subcommission No. 2 to complete and present to the Joint Commission a provisional charter and political platform for the Provisional Korean Democratic Government. This charter to specify which offices are appointive and which are elective.

3. The Joint Commission shall in the Charter proposed to the Four Powers include a provision for an immediate general election

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to elect a national legislature and such other individuals of the government as the charter may specify, which election shall be held with free electioneering, secret and multi-party ballots, under international supervision. That Subcommission No. 2 be directed to prepare detailed plans for such a general election in North and South Korea to be presented to the Four Powers with the proposed charter.

4. That Subcommission No. 3 be directed to prepare a plan for the selection of appointive personnel for the Provisional Korean Democratic Government together with a plan for the integration of the existing governmental functions of North and South Korea.

By making this proposal the American Delegation feels that the opinion of the Korean people which cannot be obtained through oral consultation on a broad basis can be expressed through the medium of a general election where a clear and free election under international supervision is guaranteed.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: May the Secretariat have a copy of the proposal?

GENERAL BROWN: We will have it typed.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We would like the Russian translation before we go on.

GENERAL BROWN: I suggest a thirty minute recess.

Meeting recessed at 1400 hours.

Meeting reconvened at 1445 hours.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We have made preliminary acquaintance of the proposals submitted by the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation wishes to define more accurately some questions in order to make a more detailed study of these proposals and in the next regular Joint Commission session state their point of view on these proposals. Here are the questions. Point 2 of the American proposal states to entrust Subcommission No. 2 to complete and present to Joint Commission provisional charter and political platform for the Provisional Korean Democratic Government. This provision must specify which will be appointive and which will be elective. Does Subcommission 2 take up the work of preparing a charter for election

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on the basis of which elections will be carried out, is the first question. The last of the points of the American Delegation don't mention anything about this. That is why we are asking that question. The second question concerns point 3, where legislative bodies will be elected. The question is what legislative body is understood, and if so what governmental individuals will be elected. Third question, inasmuch as point 3 of the American proposal foresees the election of legislative body, how is one to understand point 4 where it is said to entrust Subcommission No. 3 to prepare plans for selection of appointive personnel for the Provisional Korean Democratic Government together with a plan for the integration of existing governmental functions of both North and South Korea. It is not quite clear.

GENERAL BROWN: The proposal of the American Delegation covers a few broad policies only. The first policy covered is, it realizes the inability of the American and Soviet Delegations to agree to conduct oral consultation in accordance with the agreement of the Ministers and Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The American Delegation is endeavoring to find a substitute for oral consultation. That substitute is found in these proposals, first in paragraph 1 which specifies that the questionnaires submitted by all political parties and social organizations shall be accepted as consultation as required by the Moscow Agreement. Two, that the government established shall include a national legislature; that national legislature shall be elected on the basis of free election participated in by all Koreans who are eligible under the charter to exercise the right of suffrage. Through expressing their desires in a general election, Koreans will to some extent orally express themselves as the Moscow Decision apparently visualizes they be permitted to do in oral consultation. The third proposal written into the points presented by the American Delegation is that the government should be guided by a charter and a platform, that the charter and platform should contain

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sufficient instructions to guide that government in the proper performance of its task. Subcommission No. 2 is charged with that work. In addition to the preparation of the charter and the platform, it will be necessary to determine the method of selecting personnel which the charter specifies shall be appointed. The charter will specify that the legislature be elected as required by the principles here and in addition it probably will specify that certain officials of government be elected, that certain other officials be appointed. Subcommission No. 3 working in conjunction with Subcommission No. 2 will determine the method of procuring that personnel. That is one of the tasks assigned Subcommission No. 3 in Joint Commission Decision reached by this Joint Commission early in its present sessions. To answer the specific questions asked by the Soviet Delegation, it will be necessary to prepare an election law. That task might well be assigned to Subcommission No. 2. As to the kind of legislative organs, the legislative organs visualized in the proposal of the American Delegation is the legislative branch of the government, that branch which will make the laws. As regards the question as to what personnel other than members of the legislative assembly shall be elected, the proposal of the American Delegation does not go into detail and classify, that is a matter that will have to be worked out in Subcommission No. 2 in preparation of the charter. No conflict is seen by the American Delegation between paragraph 3 and 4. The task visualized for Subcommission No. 3 is to determine the source and method of procuring that personnel which Subcommission No. 2 has decided under the charter it becomes necessary to procure other than by the electoral process.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have the following two questions for the American Delegation. Does the Soviet Delegation understand the American Delegation correctly that when the questions of the provisional charter and political platform will be elaborated by Subcommission No. 2, that the Commission will take into consideration only the answers presented on the questionnaires without orally consulting representatives of democratic parties and social organizations. Second, will

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all the answers presented to the Joint Commission by political parties and social organizations be taken into consideration or will there be a certain choice?

GENERAL BROWN: The first proposal of the American Delegation is that oral consultation shall be dispensed with and the questionnaires submitted by Korean political parties and social organizations shall be accepted as consultation under the Moscow Agreement. The American Delegation is not certain that this claim as to how much weight can be given to those questionnaires, or as to how they shall be considered. That is a matter that must be resolved by Subcommission No. 2 and the Joint Commission. The American proposal does not visualize that paragraph 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 shall be dispensed with. The American Delegation feels that it is advisable that the Joint Commission be guided throughout all of its work by a consultative party of Koreans, that this party shall be freely chosen from all political parties and social organizations which the Joint Commission shall determine should be included on a basis as agreed upon in Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The method that Subcommission No. 2 shall use in its work has not been outlined in this proposal, nor has the American Delegation yet endeavored to specify them in detail. As a matter of fact, there are many questions involved in the development of a government which are not covered in this proposal.

The question as to whether all answers received by the Joint Commission shall be taken into consideration; most certainly all answers should be considered. The weight to be given to these answers can not at this time be determined. The American Delegation is not certain as to what the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has in mind when he asks whether there will be any further details involved in consideration of the matters to be included in the charter and the platform.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: How does the American Delegation propose who must create the government - the Joint Commission or the elective legislative body? Upon who would be charged with this conscience?

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Second point, General Brown in his answer as well as the American Delegation's proposal number 1 indicated the American Delegation moves this proposal in order to avoid oral consultation, at the same time expresses its opinion that the Joint Commission will not give up point 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 which stipulates consultative body. It seems that we do not abolish consultation.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation made a proposal,as stated in the introduction, only to avoid the impasse regarding consultation which has arisen in the Joint Commission. The American Delegation would like to hold the consultation because the Moscow Agreement provides for it, the agreement of the Ministers provides for it, and Joint Commission Decision No. 12 provides for it. The American Delegation cannot get the Soviet Delegation to withdraw from what it considers an unfenable position. In order not to deny to the Koreans that independence which has been guaranteed to them, the American Delegation has endeavored to find a compromise suggestion under which the Joint Commission might proceed to perform its ultimate task. If this suggestion is not acceptable to the Soviet Delegation, the American Delegation requests that the Soviet Delegation present its views as to what the solution should be. As stated by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, the American proposal intends to accept the written questionnaires as oral consultation. This is unfortunate because it denies to the Koreans the opportunity to state more specifically their views which have been expressed purely in written answers to questions which may not have been fully understood by the Korean who wrote the answers. It is the opinion of the American Delegation that as the Joint Commission progresses with its work it should have the assistance of a group of Koreans which would be qualified to advise and assist the Joint Commission. Such a group is provided for in paragraph 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 as a continuing consultative group. It

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is the opinion of the American Delegation that such a group is advantageous and should be retained. The written questionnaires, with the assistance of such a group, is some sort of a substitute for that consultation envisaged by the Moscow Decision.

As regards the first question of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, "Who does the U. S. Delegation feel will form the government, the legislative body or the Joint Commission?" The American Delegation would be glad to have the views of the Soviet Delegation on this matter. The American Delegation proposal has not stated that either the Joint Commission or the legislative body perform this. It is believed the proposal of the American Delegation is sufficiently clear in principle but details must be worked out.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: Point 1 of the American Delegation proposal states that oral consultation will be dispensed with and the answers to questionnaires presented will be taken as consultation under the Moscow Decision. This followed by the question of the Soviet Delegation whether point 1 of the American proposal should be interpreted as there won't be any consultation as the wording is. The answer was that point 9 of Joint Commission Decision stipulates consultation. That is why it is not clear to the Soviet Delegation and the Soviet Delegation sees a consultation in point 1 of the American proposal and to the answer given by the American Delegation just now. The second question of the Soviet Delegation is that General Brown answered this question as follows: This question of the Soviet Delegation was, to whom would be the responsibility for establishing the government -- the Joint Commission together with representatives of democratic parties and social organizations or would this be done by the legislature. General Brown stated that it was a detail; but, it is such a detail which is needed to start the machine. Unless we have these details, the machine won't start. It is the very important point of the Joint Commission and it is not clear from the American proposal and from the answers given by General Brown who realizes this job.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has not understood from weeks of debate why the Soviet Delegation wants to repudiate Joint Commission decision No. 12. It was the understanding of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation objected only to consulting orally with certain political parties and social organizations. The proposal of the American Delegation does not repudiate Joint Commission Decision No. 12; it simply dispenses with initial oral consultation and accepts the written questionnaires in lieu thereof and proceeds under Joint Commission Decision 12 to form the government. As regards the question of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation as to who will form the government, his views are as valuable as those of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation and it is hoped that if he has views on that matter that he will express them. As the Chief Commissioner

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of the American Delegation stated a short time ago, the proposal submitted by the American Delegation contemplates that Subcommission No. 2 shall draft a charter and platform which will specify some detailed means of accomplishing many questions that must be accomplished. If the Soviet Delegation can draft a better proposal than that submitted by the American Delegation, it is requested that they present a counter-proposal. The American Delegation will give it every consideration. The American Delegation will be glad to hear the views of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation as to what type of government should be established, how it should be organized, how the personnel should be procured and what method of producing that government should be engaged in.

(Dr. Bunce was excused at 1545 hours.)

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The proposal of the American Delegation excludes the expression of political parties and social organizations for consultation on the question on which Subcommission No. 2 will work. This proposal of the American Delegation states that there will be taken into consideration only written answers presented by parties and social organizations. It is seen from this proposal that the Commission in having itself elaborated all the proposals without oral consultation with Korean representatives present these recommendations to its government. Thus, it seems that Joint Commission Decision No. 12 is being omitted from this proposal because nothing is being mentioned about point No. 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The Soviet Delegation would like to define more accurately some questions and especially the question connected with the creation of a government. Point 3 of the American proposals states that elections will be carried out for elective bodies and other governmental offices. It is natural that the Soviet Delegation, there arises such a question by the Soviet Delegation as to who will create this government.

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Will this government be created by the Joint Commission in consulting with representatives of democratic parties and social organizations or will this government be created by the legislative body? The Soviet Delegation would like to know the sequence of events here.

GENERAL BROWN: The sequence of events is a matter for the determination of Subcommission 2 and 3. The views of the Soviet Delegation and the views of the American Delegation will undoubtedly be considered by those Subcommissions and will guide them in their recommendations back to the Joint Commission. If the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation desires to express his views, the American Delegation will be glad to hear them. It is natural that the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation should hold ideas on this subject when he does not intend to influence the Subcommissions in their work and prefers that they approache the matter without his expressing his views. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again request the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to write a counter-proposal if he can write one and present it to the Joint Commission. It may be that the Soviet Delegation will wish to recommend the elimination of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 completely; they may wish to recommend the elimination of paragraph 9 of the Joint Commission Decision No. 12; they may wish to recommend a method other than a general election to select a government. The questionnaires sent out to Koreans expressed the views of Koreans on these matters. There are many ways to form the government. The American Delegation has proposed one approach and in that proposal it is written that the general election shall be substituted for the failure to hold oral consultation in order that the Koreans may express their desires about their government. In writing these proposals the American Delegation has not attempted to answer these many questions. It must be discussed and agreements reached in Subcommissions 2 and 3 and which must be referred to Joint Commission for final decision.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has considered the American Delegation's proposal with seriousness and wishes to make more exactly a number of vague questions which arise from the American Delegation's proposal. I have already stated the details of the American Delegation's proposal would be subjected to a study by the Soviet Delegation and that the Soviet Delegation in the next regular session will express its opinion and proposals in connection with the American Delegation's proposal. The Soviet Delegation wishes to find out the sequence of the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and the realization of the American Delegation's proposal. It seems that in moving this proposal the American Delegation has thought out a number of questions which follow these proposals, consequently the question of the Soviet Delegation is what will be first created, the legislative body or the provisional government. It is a paramount question and the Soviet Delegation feels that there is nothing to hide here. Whether the American Delegation states its point of view on this question in today's session or in the subcommission, the substance won't change. With the Soviet Delegation it is very important. It is important for a study of the document and for elaboration of proposals by the Soviet Delegation in connection with the American Delegation's proposal, and further the Soviet Delegation wishes to see prospectively when this government stipulated by the Moscow Decision will be created and when the Korean people will see this government stipulated by the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation wishes that this question on the creation of a government be resolved as soon as possible. Second, General Brown in his answers on the questions presented by the Soviet Delegation tries to answer for the Soviet Delegation in stating as if it is the opinion of General Brown that the Soviet Delegation wishes to eliminate point 9 of Joint Decision No. 12. It seems that it is just like a crystal ball to foresee the intentions of

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the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation has never moved a proposal for the elimination of any accepted Joint Commission Decisions and moreover the elimination of such an important Decision as Joint Commission Decision No. 12. With its today's proposal, the American Delegation, whether they wish so or not, eliminates Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and along this point concerning the decisions of consultation, point No. 9 which General Brown refers to. It seems that in having made such a proposal, the American Delegation was in a hurry and has forgotten to include point 9 in its draft. That is why probably General Brown decided to make this draft more fuller on his answers to the Soviet Delegation's questions, and it being known that the answers received are somewhat divergent to those proposals which are being submitted by the American Delegation. I assure the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation will attentively study the proposal of the American Delegation and submit its proposal and give also an exhaustive clarification on answers which arise in this connection. I have to admit that the Soviet Delegation did not think out the question of the American Delegation's proposal. What should be first, the government or the legislative body? Inasmuch as this proposal of the American Delegation was unknown to the Soviet Delegation until today's session, I reiterate, I would like to hear the American Delegation's opinion on the sequence of the proposal.

GENERAL BROWN: It may assist the Soviet Delegation in paragraph 1 of the American proposal if the two following words were inserted. These words are not essential to the understanding of the document, but it may make it clearer. In paragraph 1 insert the words, "individual" as the first word of the paragraph. After the word "consultation", instert the words "as specified in paragraph 7 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12". That paragraph will then

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read "Individual oral consultation as specified in paragraph 7 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 shall be dispensed with and the questionnaires submitted by Korean political parties and social organizations shall be accepted as consultation under the Moscow Agreement." The proposal submitted by the American Delegation did not attempt to cancel Joint Commission Decision No. 12 as previously stated. It simply suggested the substitution of written questionnaires in lieu of individual oral consultation. The Joint Commission has accepted Joint Commission Decision No. 12 to guide it throughout its work in creating a provisional government. If the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation follows Joint Commission Decision No. 12, the answers to his questions are clear. To answer specific questions as to whether the provisional government or legislative assembly shall be first set up -- the legislative assembly is a part of the provisional government. Whether the Joint Commission decisions will later specify that the legislative assembly, after its authorization, shall elect certain specified individuals of the government is a matter for study and recommendations by Subcommission No. 3, and not a matter for statement by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation. It is believed that those statements should clear up any doubt or confusion which may exist in the mind of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. If there are any further questions, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will endeavor to answer them. The American Delegation has in mind by this proposal to complete the first phase of the work of the Joint Commission -- that is the creation of a provisional democratic government over a United Korea. That government to include a legislative assembly to be obtained by a general election to be held throughout Korea under international supervision. The remainder of that government -- that is the executive, the judicial and any other essential part of that government to be procured under recommendations to be

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evolved and submitted to the Joint Commission by Subcommission No. 3. It would be useless for the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation to express an opinion as to how any particular individual of that government should be procured until the matter is thoroughly discussed by Subcommission No. 3.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has in the main found out the point of view of the American Delegation and has exactly defined some point of the American proposal. The Soviet Delegation will study these proposals and give corresponding comments on the proposals. As soon as the Soviet Delegation is ready with these she will inform the American Delegation as to when it is expedient to have our next regular meeting.

GENERAL BROWN: Meeting is adjourned.

The meeting adjourned at 1640.

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TRANSCRIPT OF FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING OF US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
20 August 1947 at 1330 hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments on the agenda today?

GENERAL BROWN: Approved. Before proceeding with the meeting, the Chief Commissioner desires to introduce a new member of the American Delegation - Colonel Watlington, who has replaced Colonel Lincoln who has returned to his assignment in the Hawaiian Islands.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The first order of business is the approval of the minutes. Here is minutes number 48. Minutes number 51 and 53 have been agreed upon and are in the American Secretariat being typed. There is disagreement in minutes number 43 and 49.

COLONEL AVRAMENKO: In view of the disagreement on the minutes number 43 and 49, though these minutes in the main have been worked out and typed by both Secretariats of the Soviet and American Delegation, those question on which there arose disagreement, the Secretariat couldn't come to an agreement. That is why I put this question in today's session. Minutes number 49, inasmuch as the Interpreter for the American Delegation, Mr. Prostov, did not completely translate the statement of General Brown not sufficiently clear, that is why the answer of Colonel General Shtikov does not correspond to the statement of General Brown. It does not correspond to what had been stated by General Brown. Here I cite the exact statement of General Brown, of Mr. Prostov, and of General Shtikov:

"General Brown: One of the most outstanding facts is the article published in the newspaper of the Rightists concerning the fact that 430 persons were missing in North Korea. This article was taken up by the press of the United States and published a few days ago in the newspaper "Stars and Stripes"."

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"Mr. Prostov: An especially strange example was shown in the rightist press and it was used by the American newspaper agency concerning the fact as if massacres took place in North Korea."

"General Shtikov: The fact that the American newspapers did not publish concerning the alleged demonstrations and massacres in the North, it is only abuse for the American press inasmuch as it would have found itself in a foolish position with another forgery. Moreover, the representatives of the American Delegation were present during these demonstrations and not noticed this similar fact, otherwise it would have happened that General Brown and others could have lost face in their newspapers."

In bringing in conformance these minutes with the American Secretariat, I have considered the Soviet Delegation has the right to exclude some sentences and asked the American Secretariat not to include this paragraph into the minutes. The American Secretariat did not agree and this is the reason why the disagreement arose.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Colonel Edwards has the floor on this question.

COLONEL EDWARDS: The American Secretariat declined the proposal of the Soviet Secretariat to delete the statement made by General Shtikov inasmuch as it was duly recorded in substance in the transcripts of both the Russian and the American Delegations. It did appear on the examination of the translation that a misunderstanding may have occurred, but the Secretaries do not feel empowered to make deletions in the record of substantive matter.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What is the proposal made by Colonel Edwards?

COLONEL EDWARDS: The American Secretary would like to suggest that consideration be given amendment of the record in any respect which is deemed to be appropriate and proper.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I suggest that we delete this phrase from the minutes inasmuch as it does not correspond to the statement made

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by General Brown because of an inaccurate translation inasmuch as the extract from General Brown's statement and the extract from my statement proves it to be entirely contradictory contention.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the transcript of the record as recorded at the meeting should not be amended. If the minutes show that an error has been made in recording, it is believed that the Chief Commissioner of the delegation concerned should write into the record a statement which will correct the error so that the original translation and the statement of correction will both show in the minutes. It is not possible for the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation to go back several meetings and correct the transcripts recorded. Certainly that cannot be done in a Joint Commission meeting. It can only be done after some study and thought, and then by a new statement pointing out the divergency between what was recorded by the secretary as having been said and what was intended to be said.

GENERAL SITIKOV: In view of the fact that the approach of the minutes has changed during the work of the minutes to give a final working before they are included into the minutes and inasmuch as this particular phrase does not correspond to the statement which was made by General Brown, the Soviet Delegation moves that it be left without answer if the Soviet Secretariat doesn't add any new phrase. When the records were worked out the Soviet Delegation could have changed the phrase -- the answer to this statement of General Brown, but in order not to make the work of the Secretariat complicated, the Soviet Delegation suggests to have this phrase omitted. It has been done inasmuch as this omission does not change the substance of either speeches.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will consider the article and submit proposals for deletion and give answers at the next session.

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The Chief Commissioner is not familiar with what the proposal was and does not wish to take time in the Joint Commission to study it out.

GENLRAL SHTIKOV: I agree. Then discussion of these minutes should take place in the next regular session.

GENERAL BROWN: Does the American Secretary know the parts of both transcripts that are in question and the Soviet objection to both?

COLONEL EDWARDS: Yes.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: Now we take up the second question of the Agenda. The second question is a statement of the Soviet Delegation.

THE STATEMENT OF THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION

20 August 1947

As it is known, the US-USSR Joint Commission was created in accordance with the Moscow Agreement "in order to assist the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures." According to paragraph 2 of the Moscow Decision, "in preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with Korean democratic parties and social organizations."

During the course of its work this year, the Joint Commission adopted the coordinated Decision #12 on the order of consultation with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, worked out and approved questionnaires on governmental structure of Korea and on a political platform of a future Provisional Korean Democratic Government, sent out these questionnaires to all the Korean democratic parties and organizations, which expressed their desire to participate in consultation with the Joint Commission.

Democratic parties and social organizations of North as well as South Korea signed the declaration, set forth in Joint Communique #5, submitted declarations to the Joint Commission for participation in consultation, designated their representatives for oral consultation with the Joint Commission, and also submitted their considerations on the structure and principles of organization of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter), and on a political platform for a Provisional Government.

During the study of a list of democratic parties and social organizations by the Joint Commission, essential differences of opinions arose and the work of the Joint Commission is being delayed because of this.

The Korean people follow the work of the Joint Commission with anxiety and with understandable and legitimate impatience await the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

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And now, in this responsible and tense moment in the work of the Joint Commission, mass arrests of leaders and actual closing down of democratic parties and social organizations of the Leftist trend, programs of Leftist Democratic newspapers, arrests of workers of the Leftist Democratic press, began in South Korea. Arrests are being carried out in Seoul, as well as in the provinces.

It should be noted that the repression is carried out only against those democratic parties and social organizations of South Korea, which actually support the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission.

Among those arrested, some are representatives of democratic parties and social organizations, designated for participation in oral consultation with the Joint Commission.

I shall cite several instances which, nevertheless, vividly show the amplitude of repressions in South Korea, directed against the above mentioned democratic parties and social organizations.

These instances became known to the Soviet Delegation from conversations with numerous Korean delegations, as well as from the news releases of the South Korean press.

During the People's meeting of 27 July 1947 in Seoul, organized by the Democratic People's Front of South Korea for the support of the work of the Joint Commission, where, as it is known, the Chief Commissioners of both delegations were present, the Korean police, in the presence of the members of the Joint Commission, arrested the representative of the Trade Union and the representative of the Women's Union immediately following their appearance at this meeting with the appeal to support the work of the Joint Commission. A few days later one of the organizers of this meeting, KIM KWAN SU, was arrested.

The Deputy Leader of the Labor Party of South Korea, LEE GEE SOK, was arrested as well as other members of the Central Committee of the Labor Party.

On 12 August in the office of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Front and on the premises of the "Moon Hack" Publishing

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Company, a large number of leading workers and working personnel of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Front and of the Publishing Company were arrested. During 11 and 12 August leading workers of the city and region committees of the Democratic People's Front of Seoul were arrested on working premises and in their quarters.

At the beginning of August, PAIK, YONG HI, chairman of All Korea Farmer's Alliance, was arrested; on 12 August, LEE, KOO HOON, deputy chairman of the All Korea Farmer's Alliance, KIM, KI YOUNG, chief of the General Affairs Department, HYUNG SONG OOK, chief of Propaganda Department, CHOI, HAN CHOL, member of the Presidiam and many other members of the All Korea Farmer's Alliance were arrested.

YOON, UI CHONG and PAK BONG GO, members of the Central Committee of the Confederation of Trade Unions, were arrested as well as many other leading workers.

The leading workers of the Democratic Women's Union, among them, KOO, YANG CHOON, chairman of the Women's Union, and CHAN, CHIL SON, deputy chairman, were arrested.

Also the leading staff of the Cooperative Union, PAK, KYON SOO, the chairman, and AN, KI SUNG, a member of the Central Committee, the leading staff of the Union of Literary Men, PAK, CHAN MO, chief of the Propaganda Department, YOON, HAK KI, a member of the Central Committee of the Lawyers Union, workers of the newspapers "Taklin Sinbo" and "Noryok Inmin", CHAN, SUN HAK, LEE, SIN SIK, KIM, HO DGIN, and others were arrested.

In addition the leading staff of the Laboring People's Party, PAIK, NAM UN, LEE, YAH SUNG, HAN IL TE, SIN, DON IL, PAK, TAN CHAL, and many others, as well as the leading staff of the Young Friends' Party, PAK, OO CHEN, KIM, BEN DE, and others, were arrested.

Upon orders of authorities, the premises of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Front, of the Central Committee of the Labor Party, of the Central Committee of the Republican People's Party, of the Central Committee of All Korea Confederation of Trade Unions and other democratic organizations were closed down.

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Many of those arrested are members of the delegations which visited the Joint Commission with the purpose of conveying to it the demands and good wishes of the people.

A group of correspondents of democratic newspapers, which attended a press conference held by the Soviet Delegation for the purpose of informing the press and the public opinion of the course of work of the Joint Commission, was arrested upon leaving the Duk Soo Palace on 14 August.

The numerous arrests of the leaders of the democratic parties and organizations, many of whom are designated representatives of these parties and organizations for consultation with the Joint Commission, created in South Korea conditions which impede the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision on Korea, and the agreement reached between Mr. Molotov and Mr. Marshall.

Such a situation is being created, it seems with the aim of undermining the work of the Joint Commission.

The Soviet Delegation draws the attention of the American Delegation in the Joint Commission toward serious consideration of these circumstances and insists on taking of immediate measures for restoration of the normal conditions for existence and activities of democratic parties and organizations of South Korea, and for appropriate conditions for work of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will need time to have this document translated and prepare a reply. Listening to the document, it is the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation is attempting to interfere in the conduct of the government of Korea. It is not the function of the Joint Commission to govern Korea, but to prepare plans which will establish a government which in the future will govern Korea. There are others who have present responsibility for governing Korea. The American Delegation will reply to the statement at a later date.

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The American Delegation would like to ask if the Soviet Delegation has yet received instructions concerning the letter of 12 August 1947 from the American Secretary of State, George Marshall, to the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Molotov. That letter requires that the Joint Commission prepare and submit to their governments by August 21, 1947 a joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Joint Commission, which consists of both Soviet and American Delegations, has been instructed in compliance with the Moscow Decision in elaborating questions connected with the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government to consult with representatives of democratic parties and social organizations. That is why the Soviet Delegation, being a member of the International Commission on Korea, cannot be indifferent to what is going on in South Korea concerning those which are to be consulted by the Joint Commission. Consequently, this is not an interference - the statement of the Soviet Delegation is directed to the American Delegation to take necessary steps to assure that the Joint Commission comply with the Moscow Decision and the agreement reached by the Ministers.

As to the second question concerning the letter of State Secretary Marshall addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Molotov, the Soviet Delegation does not know the answer yet of Foreign Minister Molotov to Secretary of State Marshall and in this direction the Soviet Delegation has not received any instructions on the compilation of a report.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation, according to the letter of the Secretary of the United States of August 12, 1947 to the Foreign Minister of the Soviet, Mr. Molotov, has prepared and will submit unilaterally to its government a report as called for in the letter of August 12.

At the last meeting of the Joint Commission the American Delegation submitted to the Soviet Delegation a proposal which was drawn with the object of making further progress in the present task of the Joint

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Commission. Is the Soviet Delegation prepared to accept or reject the proposal of the American Delegation?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is studying the proposal of the American Delegation and when it has finished it will submit its reply to the American proposal dated August 12.

GENERAL BROWN: I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No objections.

Meeting adjourned at 1445 hours.

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TRANSCRIPT OF FIFTY-FIFTH MEETING OF
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
25 August 1947-1330 Hours

CHAIRMAN: GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has received the proposed amendment to the Agenda submitted by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation accepts that amendment with an additional amendment. The American Delegation proposes that the amendment of the Agenda submitted by the Soviet Delegation be further amended by adding paragraph 3 to the Agenda, "Proposals of the American Delegation 12 August 1947", changing paragraph 3 of the Soviet Agenda to paragraph 4, and paragraph 4 to paragraph 5.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We have such proposals: first, to accept 4 and 1 of the American Delegation's Agenda; further, to acceptpoint 2 of the American Delegation's proposal, and accept point 4 of the American Delegations proposal. Point 3 to leave in the former wording. It is the discussion of the list of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission. The reason why there is such a suggestion to leave the former wording is that this question has been discussed at one other time, and there were different opinions expressed on this question. However, the wording should not be changed, because the point has to be resolved. The American Delegation's proposal arose in connection with discussion of this question.

GENERAL BROWN: At the last meeting of the Joint Commission the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation informed the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation was studying the proposal submitted by the American Delegation on 12 August, and would be prepared to reply to that proposal at the next meeting of the Joint Commission, which is today's meeting. The American Delegation desires to get from the Soviet Delegation their reply to that proposal. It can be obtained under Section 3 of the Agenda proposed by the Soviet Delegation, that is, approval of the list of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation with the

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Joint Commission, if the Soviet Delegation desires to reply to it under that heading. The American Delegation included it as a separate heading because it was of the opinion that the Soviet Delegation would want to explain more fully their views on a separate proposal.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has completed the study of the American Delegation's proposals and will be ready to answer these proposals with a statement in tomorrow's session, but inasmuch as there are difficulties of a technical nature, the Soviet Delegation has not had time to type it and prepare it for today's session. We state further that this will be a statement connected with the question of the approval of the list of democratic parties and social organizations.

GENERAL BROWN: Based on that statement the American Delegation accepts the Agenda as amended by the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What about point 4 of the American Delegation concerning the preparation of a joint report?

GENERAL BROWN: That will be added as point 5 on the Soviet Agenda. The first item is the approval of the minutes of the previous meeting. Please do not include the two minutes which are in disagreement. The Soviet Delegation in the 54th meeting of the Joint Commission August 20, 1947, proposed that the minutes of the 49th meeting, on which there was disagreement between the secretariats, be amended by striking from the record the following statement of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation: "The fact that the American press did not publish news concerning the imaginary demonstration and executions in the north is only to the advantage of the American press, more so since the representatives of the American Delegation were present at this demonstration and witnessed nothing of the sort. Otherwise, it could have happened that General Brown and the others would have lost faith in their newspapers." The American Delegation has carefully considered the proposal of the Soviet Delegation and regrets that it cannot agree. The reason why the American Delegation cannot agree to this proposal is the fact that in his statement the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation

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states that it is the usual practice of the American press to publish falsehoods. It is indeed strange that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation should have made such a statement. The fact that he failed to understand the prior statement of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation does not justify such an accusation on his part, nor does it excuse it. Inasmuch as this statement was made and is recorded in the record, it is the opinion of the American Delegation that it must remain in the record. With regard to the proposal of the Soviet Delegation to amend the minutes of the 43rd meeting, the American Delegation cannot agree to the deletion of statements made by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation which are duly recorded in the transcript of the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: According to all existing rules, as to the editing of the record, moreover that this was not a written record, the Soviet Delegation has the right to omit any paragraph or any word. That is why such established order exists in the Joint Commission, so that the secretariat compares and makes the amendments in the records. In one paragraph of my statement it was said that it is good that the American press did not publish another fabrication. Under these words it should be understood forgery of the Korean reactionary newspapers which had previously fabricated and submitted this forgery to the press. It is that they wanted to present what they wished as a reality. Further it was stated because it was not made an exact translation of General Brown's statement. Inasmuch as General Brown in a Joint Commission stated that the American press published material that had been published in the Korean newspapers, then the Soviet Delegation could only regret that the American press having all the possibilities to check on the real facts of the material which had been published in the Korean papers through its representatives, let us say, through the representatives of the American Delegation which were at that time in Pyongyang, or through questions asked by Mr. Johnston, representative of the New York Times on the liability of the rumors which were spread, and Mr. Johnston

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presented an exhaustive answer and classifications. He even has received documental (471) photos which showed that the work of the Joint Commission was greeted. Those American newspapers which published another forgery from the Korean reactionary press have thus put themselves into an awkward position. It seems that they have an appetite for sensational information of any sort of nature. Consequently the American Delegation can convince itself how truthful are the facts published in the American press concerning the Soviet Union. This just will be an addition to the minutes of the 49th meeting. Inasmuch as the American Delegation has taken to such a method that the secretariat has to stick to such a method while checking the minutes, the Soviet Delegation categorically objects to an amendment to the minutes of the 43rd meeting which the American Delegation wishes to make, inasmuch as the Soviet record hasn't got this addition which the American Delegation wants to include.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no desire to amend the minutes of the 43rd meeting, nor does it propose in any way to amend the minutes of that meeting as it now stands. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is glad to know that the Soviet Delegation does not take as seriously as it did some weeks ago all statements which it reads in the Korean press. In order to correct any misunderstanding that may exist as to the exact statement made in the 49th meeting by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, the following literal translation of his remarks, taken from the Soviet Delegation's transcript, will be read: "A particularly strange example appeared in the Rightist press which was used by an American press agency in reference to a mass massacre that supposedly took place in North Korea during the stay of the American Delegation there. Such type of articles illustrate as well of how falsehoods of a politically inclined press against its political enemies should not be applied (or used)."

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Where is this extract taken from?

(Mr. Prostov replied to General Shtikov in Russian).

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The translation of the paragraph stated was this: "A particularly strange example appeared in the Rightist press, which was used by the American news agency, concerning the alleged massacre in North Korea." This translation proves that as if this material which appeared in the Korean press was not used inasmuch as it was such a translation. However, inasmuch as this material was used, this statement should then be deleted inasmuch as it doesn't correspond to General Brown's statement.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that with the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation and the difference in translation that the record should now be perfectly clear and that no further discussion on this matter is necessary.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There should not be any further discussion in view of the addition that will be made today in the minutes -- the amendment we will make.

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GENERAL BROWN: The next item of business is the reply of the American Delegation to the statement made by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation at the August 20 meeting of the Joint Commission.

At the 54th meeting of the Joint Commission, 20 August 1947, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation read a statement concerning the arrest of certain leftist leaders of South Korea. In this statement he requested the American Delegation to join with the Soviet Delegation in initiating certain action. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation informed the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that before the American Delegation could comment on his statement it would be necessary to have it translated, that comment would be made at a later meeting. He also informed the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation that in listening to the Soviet statement it appeared to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation as though the Soviet Delegation was attemptin to interfere with the Government of South Korea, that the Joint Commission had no responsibility at this time for governing Korea, but did have responsibility for preparing plans for the formation of a government which would later govern Korea.

On August 22nd the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation released to the American and Korean press the above mentioned statement. By informing the people of the world of a complaint against an outside third party - the South Korean Government - prior to agreement by the American Delegation, which was not even given a chance to reply, the Soviet Delegation is in fact attempting to usurp the functions of the Joint Commission and to take upon itself action which the Joint Commission could only take by mutual agreement of both delegations. The Soviet Delegation overlooks the fact that while in South Korea it is actually a guest of the South Korea Government and of the United States which this government represents, and that it should follow the normal dictates of common courtesy in conducting its business.

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The statement that fulfillment of the Moscow Decision is being impeded by the arrest of the few individuals reported in the Soviet statement is absurd. There remain tens of thousands of individuals left in the political parties and organizations represented by those arrested who can substitute for them if necessary as representatives of their parties and organizations. Moreover, for reasons totally unrelated to the arrests, the Joint Commission has had no prospect of holding oral consultation since the meeting of 2nd July. The arrests, therefore, have no bearing whatsoever on the conduct of oral consultation. Furthermore, the Soviet Delegation does not know whether, if oral consultation should commence tomorrow, the individuals of whose arrests it complains would or would not be made available for consultation. I can assure the Soviet Delegation that the American Delegation will join with it in requesting that any individual with whom the Joint Commission desires to consult be made available to the Joint Commission for that purpose. The American Delegation also expects that the Soviet Delegation will join with it in producing certain individuals now held under arrest in North Korea with whom the American Delegation is most anxious to consult.

The statement of the Soviet Delegation that these arrests seem to have been made for the purpose of creating conditions which would undermine the work of the Joint Commission is pure fantasy. The Soviet Delegation is bringing these charges for purposes of pure propaganda and of creating a smoke-screen to obscure certain strategic blunders of the Soviet Delegation. These blunders have placed the Soviet Delegation, through its inexcusable refusal to consult broadly with Korean parties and social organizations, in the position of repudiating the Marshall-Molotov Agreement and holding up the work of the Joint Commission, the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision on Korea and the final establishment of Korean independence.

While the American Delegation did not and would not have raised the issue, since the Soviet Delegation itself raised it, the American

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Delegation desires to make the following comments on the activities of the parties and organizations in South Korea which the Soviet Delegation is attempting to defend.

The South Korea Labor Party and other parties and organizations, members of the Democratic People's Front of South Korea, have since their inception been disloyal to the government of South Korea and hostile to the United States. They have used illegal means, including subversive action, to embarrass and undermine the governmental functions in the United States zone.

They have been aided and abetted in such actions by the Democratic People's Front of North Korea.

Agents from without South Korea have been sent into South Korea to organize disorders against the government and to lead parties and organizations, members of the Democratic People's Front, in such disorders.

Unless and until the parties and organizations holding membership in the Democratic People's Front cease their present policy of intrigue and disloyalty to the existing government, their leaders must accept the responsibility for the illegal acts of the parties which they lead and which they presumably plan and direct. Such responsibility includes the ever present possibility of arrest, fine and/or imprisonment.

The government of South Korea has authority to take such action as is necessary to protect itself.

The American Delegation once again advises the Soviet Delegation to avoid entanglement in Korean politics, particularly in support of parties and organizations hostile to the United States.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has listened to the statement of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation on the situation in South Korea in connection with the arrest of leaders of organizations which were stated in the Soviet Delegation statement dated August 20, 1947. The Soviet Delegation will translate this statement and study it, but the first impression after having heard the translation and those conclusions which may be made of this

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statement makes the Soviet Delegation state that first the American Delegation in substance does not repudiate the facts which have been stated in the Soviet Delegation statement and that the American Delegation acknowledges that these facts take place. Second, as to the stay of the Soviet Delegation as the guests of the government of South Korea, the Soviet Delegation in this connection has to say that it is not any guest - the Soviet Delegation is a member of an international commission which was stipulated by the Moscow Decision and the three Ministers and has the responsibility for the fulfillment of this Decision. As it is known, all existing authorities should render assistance and the social organizations should consult the Joint Commission and render all kinds of assistance in those efforts for the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. As it is seen, the Soviet Delegation is a guest with certain obligations and responsibilities That is why the Soviet Delegation in having a responsibility before the world public opinion for its work cannot agree that leaders of these parties and organizations which fully uphold the Moscow Decision be arrested - a fact which certainly does not further the work of the Joint Commission. As to the arguments that take place between the Koreans in the North, as well as in the South, it is a thing which does not concern us - they may argue over the radio, they may argue in the press as they wish to,whether they praise or blame, this is not the business of either the American or Soviet Delegation. We should change their actions only on their attitude toward the Joint Commission. As to the leaders with whom the American Delegation wishes to consult in the North which are alleged to be arrested, first, the American Delegation has not mentioned the names of those who in the opinion of the American Delegation are arrested and for information's sake the Soviet Delegation may state that the leaders in the North are not being persecuted, their premises are not being closed, newspapers are not being persecuted and they are not closed;since the liberation of North Korea there has not been such

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a fact that premises of a party, a store or a newspaper closed. All parties cooperate among themselves and have a position and equal rights. As to the statement of the American Delegation referring to the fact as if the statement of the Soviet Delegation is a mere propaganda and a screen for the Koreans so they cannot see the mistakes of the Soviet Delegation, this contention is as far from truth as the earth is from the sky. The Soviet Delegation has not made any mistakes and does not make any. The Soviet Delegation holds the previous position which it has frequently stated here in the Joint Commission session, this position can be boiled down that the Moscow Decision and the Marshall-Molotov Agreement should be exactly fulfilled. Even the recent statement of the American Delegation concerning the fact as if the Anti-Trusteeship Committee is immune, it should be said it does not correspond to reality inasmuch as this Committee continues its work against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation did not hide and does not wish to hide from the public that consultation should be only with those who fully uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. Why then is there a mistake here. The Soviet Delegation appeals to the American Delegation to undertake necessary measures so that the activity of the democratic parties and social organizations and their leaders be made possible, consequently that there be created necessary conditions for the fulfillment by the Joint Commission of the Moscow Decision on Korea.

GENERAL BROWN: I move a fifteen minute recess.

GENERAL SHTIKOF: Agree.

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Conference recessed at 1515.

Conference resumed at 1530.

GENERAL BROWN: The next item on the agenda is the approval of the list of democratic parties and social organizations.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have already stated that the Soviet Delegation is completing the study of the American Delegation's proposal and tomorrow will give answers and suggestions to this proposal of the American Delegation. Now I move that we discuss point No. 5 on our agenda.

GENERAL BROWN: Approved.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Point No. 5 is the preparation of a Joint Report. What are the proposals of the American Delegation inasmuch as they have more time to think out on how to compile this report.

GENERAL BROWN: The last statement that the Chief of the American Delegation had from the Chief of the Soviet Delegation on this matter was about August 18 when the Chief of the American Delegation invited the Chief of the Soviet Delegation's attemtion to the letter of the U.S. Secretary of State of August 12 requested the American Delegation and the Joint Commission to prepare and submit a report by August 21. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation stated that he had no instructions from his government and was unable to proceed until he received instructions. Has he actually received such instructions and is it now the desire of the Soviet Delegation that the American Delegation join with them in preparing a joint report?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have today transmitted to General Brown the text of the letter of Minister of Foreign Affairs, V. Molotov which is an answer to a letter of State Secretary, Mr. Marshall. This letter states that the Soviet Government agrees to a representation of a report to the respective governments for consideration. In compliance with instructions, the Soviet Delegation is ready to

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start a compilation of such a report and would like to ask the American Delegation to present its proposals inasmuch as the American Delegation had the letter of Mr. Marshall previously and has had time to work at this proposal.

GENERAL BROWN: Is there any time limit as to when this report must be submitted?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There is no time limit.

GENERAL BROWN: As the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation informed the Soviet Delegation at the last meeting, the American Delegation has prepared and submitted the report which it was called upon to submit. That report was forwarded to their government on the 20th of August.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the proposals of the American Delegation?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation proposes that the Soviet Delegation prepare a report and when it is completed, that one of the Subcommissions of the two Delegations review the two reports and prepare a joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation moves that this job be entrusted to Mr. Dunce and Mr. Tounkin; that they submit a draft joint report to their respective governments and as to the order of compilation of such a report, the Soviet Delegation moves that these two representatives meet today and the draft of this proposal be ready in three days.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation should prepare a unilateral report and after that report is prepared then Subcommission No. 1 should meet and attempt to reconcile the two prepared reports into a joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is understood that each Delegation must first prepare its own report, but it would be more expedient if first a plan be drafted as to what points should be included and which points should be taken up by both Delegations and then in compliance with this prepare a plan.

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GENERAL BROWN: No objection is seen to subcommission no. 1 discussing preparations of a joint report. They can't possibly prepare a report in three days. It is suggested that Subcommission No. 1 prepare an outline of a joint report and submit it for the approval of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No objections.

GENERAL BROWN: Is there any further business for today?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No.

GENERAL BROWN: Does the Soviet Delegation desire a meeting tomorrow?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I believe we should have a session tomorrow so that we could discuss this question.

GENERAL BROWN: Alright, we'll meet at 1330 tomorrow.

Meeting adjourned at 1545.

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TRANSCRIPT OF FIFTY-SIXTH MEETING OF US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
26 August 1947, 1330 Hours.

CHAIRMAN: GENERAL BROWN

GENERAL BROWN: Are there any questions on the agenda?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Approved.

GENERAL BROWN: The first item of business is the approval of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation with the Joint Commission.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Yes, the Soviet Delegation stated that it had completed a study of the proposal of the American Delegation and that it would be ready to submit its proposal in today's session. Shall we wait for our Commissioners?

GENERAL BROWN: If the Soviet Delegation wishes.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I believe they will be here in a minute, so we shall start work. The Soviet Delegation has attentively studied the proposal submitted by the American Delegation in Joint Commission session on the 12th of August. This proposal appears to the Soviet Delegation, first of all, it should be noted that in the American proposal in substance nothing definite is being said on the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government. The proposal states only that Subcommission No. 3 should prepare a plan of selection of the appointive personnel of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government. It is clear, however, that the formation of a government and compilation of a plan of selection of personnel is not one and the same thing. When, in Joint Commission session on August 12th, the Soviet Delegation asked the question in order to determine more accurately how the American Delegation imagines herself in the formation of a Provisional Korean Government and when and by whom this government will be formed. The American Delegation declined an answer to this question. Thus, the main task of the Joint Commission, the creation of a provisional democratic government, is being in the American proposal avoided and confused. Meanwhile the

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Korean people are awaiting from the Joint Commission, first of all, the solution namely of this question. There is nothing mentioned in the American proposal on consultation envisaged in point 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12, but the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is answering the question put by the Soviet Delegation made it clear that such a consultation should take place. But once it is so, then the American Delegation, if it really wishes to practically push forward the work of the Joint Commission, should state in its proposal how they think to arrange the oral consultation in compliance with point 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12. Without this, the deliberations on the question on what principle should be included in the provisional charter and with a sense inasmuch as it has not been indicated, is practically waste for elaboration of a provisional charter. The American statement in the Joint Commission session dated August 12 and especially the press communique of the American Delegation dated August 23rd, do not leave any doubt that the proposal of the American Delegation dated August 12 was submitted for the mere propaganda aim. In their press communique, the American Delegation defines the word "elections" in different ways. The American Delegation in their proposal envisage all questions connected with the elections by the American Delegation and has forgotten or consciously omitted stating the role and place of the Koreans themselves in carrying out elections to their legislative body. The American proposal states that the provisional charter should envisage elaboration of an elective legislative body. The Soviet Delegation believes that it is self-understood that in a provisional charter there should be envisaged the creation of a legislative body elected on the basis of a general direct equal electoral right and secret balloting. The Joint Commission has spent almost two months in discussing the question on the compilation of a list of democratic parties and social organizations to be invited for consultation. The American Delegation actually refused to implement the agreement of Molotov and Marshall according to which the Joint Commission should consult the parties and organizations which fully uphold the Moscow Decision.

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The compilation of a list of democratic parties and social organizations for consultation with the Joint Commission because of the position taken by the American Delegation turned out to be impossible. In order to expedite the work of the Joint Commission on the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, the Soviet Delegation is ready to agree with the proposal of the American Delegation dated July 12, 1947, not to conduct oral consultation with Korean democratic parties and social organizations envisaged in point 7 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and submits the following proposal:

1. To instruct:
   a. Subcommission No. 2 to immediately commence study of the written proposal presented to the Joint Commission of the democratic parties and social organizations on the questionnaires which have been sent out by the Joint Commission and to submit to the Joint Commission a draft of the structure of the provisional democratic government and local organs of power (provisional charter) and political platform.
   b. Subcommission No. 3 to present to the Joint Commission proposal concerning the personnel composition of the provisional government and on the procedure of assumption of governmental power.

2. To create a consultative power -- Provisional Korean People's Assembly of the representatives of democratic parties and social organizations. Provisional Korean People's Assembly to perform the representatives of democratic parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation with a membership of 10,00 or more and those who fully uphold the Moscow Decision and also do not act against the Joint Commission and the Allied Powers -- do not oppose the Joint Commission and the Allied Powers. The number of representatives into the Provisional Korean

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People's Assembly should be equal from the North as well as from the South. Representation of various parties and social organizations, the Joint Commission will establish this representation in compliance with the number of members and taking into consideration as much as possible their influence.

3. The Joint Commission directs the Provisional Korean People's Assembly for elaboration of proposal on the question of structure and principles of organizations of provisional democratic government and local organs of power (provisional charter) political platform and personnel of the Korean Democratic Government and the order of assumption of power and other questions. The provisional charter should envisage the creation of a legislative body, elections which should be carried out all over Korea on the basis of general direct equal electoral right, secret ballot. The Soviet Delegation understands that the Korean people are impatiently awaiting the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government which would unite Korea and realizes these democratic reforms which the Korean people wish. The proposal of the Soviet Delegation clearly states that there should be created a consultative body, Provisional Korean People's Assembly, of the representatives of democratic parties and social organizations. This Provisional Korean People's Assembly, consisting of Koreans themselves, and representing the views of different populations will take part -- immediate part, in the elaboration of all questions connected with the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and the program of its activities. The Soviet proposal also includes an education on the necessity to envisage in the provisional charter and creation of the legislative body, elections which should be carried out all over Korea on the basis of a general direct equal electoral right by secret balloting. During these elections, all democratic parties and social organizations should have equal opportunity to designate their candidates and equal opportunity to freely agitate for them and for their program.

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GENERAL BROWN: It will be necessary to have the document that has just been presented ~~translated and to study it before final~~ answer can be given. There is one paragraph in the document concerning which ~~that~~ the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation requires a little more information. ~~concerning it~~. It is that paragraph which relates to the formation of a consultative body. In listening to the translation, the impression was gained that this body is to be formed from democratic parties and social organizations which have applied for consultation, which parties and organizations have a membership in excess of 10,000 and which parties and organizations fully uphold the Moscow Decision and ~~who~~ which do not "struggle against" the Moscow Decision, the Joint Commission or the Allies. Is it to be understood from that statement that the only parties that would be eligible for membership in such a body would be parties which are members of the Democratic People's Front?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: General Brown's question is not quite clear, inasmuch as the Soviet Delegation is informed that there is a great number of parties and organizations which are not affiliated with the Democratic National Front but which uphold the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission, consequently they also will participate in the consultative body, namely in the Provisional People's Assembly. This follows that all democratic parties and social organizations whether they are affiliated or not with the Democratic National Front and which uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission, will participate in this assembly.

GENERAL BROWN: After three months of deliberation, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has come to the conclusion that the Soviet Delegation defines a truly democratic party as one which subscribes to the principles of the Democratic People's Front; that all other parties are defined by them as reactionary and anti-democratic. If the Chief Commissioner of the American

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Delegation is correct as to this definition which has been slowly evolved over a three month period, then it would follow that under a Soviet proposal that a consultative body would consist exclusively of representatives of parties and organizations which are in fact members of the Democratic People's Front.

The American Delegation would like to have the Soviet Delegation explain more fully just what parties and organizations would be eligible to have their members included in the consultative body under the Soviet proposal.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation's proposal clearly states what parties and organizations should participate in the creation of a consultative body, Provisional Korean People's Assembly. It is those parties and organizations which fully uphold the Moscow Decision, the Joint Commission and the Allied Powers; however, this proposal does not state whether they should be or not affiliated with the Democratic National Front. Their right to participate is being defined by the attitude toward the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. However, the conclusions of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation concerning the fact that the Soviet Delegation -- which party the Soviet Delegation considers should participate, it is his own conclusions and it is not being confirmed by any documents or facts. The Soviet Delegation does not indicate or state concerning reactionary parties, the only thing that it does state is the support of the Moscow Decision by parties and organizations. Whether they support the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission or do not, these demands of the Soviet Delegation fully follow that agreement which has been reached between Molotov and Marshall on the question of resumption of the work of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: Under what authority does the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation exclude parties that do not fully uphold the Moscow Decision, from consultation?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: On the basis of agreement that has been achieved between Minister of Foreign Affairs Molotov and Secretary Marshall.

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Point 1 of the three provisions it is agreed.

GENERAL BROWN: Point 1 of the three provisions states that the signature of the applicant for consultation, Joint Communique No. 5, will be accepted as a declaration of good faith in upholding fully the Moscow Decision. It does not state that he who signs the application of Joint Communique No. 5 has pledged himself to fully uphold the Moscow Decision. One who signs Joint Communique No. 5 pledges to himself specific conditions which are written into and contained in the body of the application. They have been often quoted before the Joint Commission. If the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation will read the application which appears above the signature, he will see specifically what the person who signs that application has pledged himself to do.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It seems that the American Delegation is thinking not of the question as how to exactly fulfill the agreement reached between the two Ministers, but on how to avoid that agreement, otherwise, General Brown couldn't have just now in Joint Commission session made such a statement in which he shows how parties and organizations should avoid documents signed not only by the Joint Commission, but each of our governments. This is a new interpretation of the agreement reached between the Ministers and the declaration and the interpretation of the declaration contained in Communique No. 5, which is presented here by the American Delegation. It is in evidence that the American Delegation does not wish to exactly fulfill this agreement.

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GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation realizes that the Soviet Delegation will misinterpret and turn to its advantage every statement which it makes. However, I want to invite the attention of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to a fact connected with the first of the three points in the Marshall-Molotov correspondence. It is a well-known principle of the law that in interpreting a document, all which is connected with the evolvement of that document must be considered. That is a principle which after some days in the Joint Commission, the Soviet Delegation partially acknowledged in the preparation of Joint Commission Decision #12. In preparing Decision #12, the American Delegation insisted that the three proposals of General Chistiakov of November 26, as well as the counter-proposition of General Hodge of December 24, be written in Joint Commission Decision #12. If the first proposal of General Chistiakov is read, it will be found ~~that it~~ stated as follows: "The Joint Commission must consult all democratic parties and organizations which uphold fully the Moscow Decision on Korea." General Hodge replied, "Signing the declaration in Communique #5 will be accepted as a declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation." To understand what General Chistiakov meant by his proposals, it is necessary to go back to the place in his letters to General Hodge stating that the American Delegation had refused at the 1946 session of the Joint Commission to consult with large parties and organizations which were members of the Democratic Peoples' Front. General Chistiakov clearly, by his first proposal, stated that the Joint Commission must consult such organizations. He did not say that the Joint Commission must refuse to consult those organizations which do not fully uphold the Moscow Decision, nor did General Hodge, in reply, make that statement. General Hodge informed him that the Joint Commission would consult with those who signed the application for consultation, as General Chistiakov stated, on a wide basis. The Soviet Delegation is attempting to read into those

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declarations an unusual and indefensible asumption. They have interferred with, and are about to disrupt, the Joint Commission, based on a false concept and a misquotation of an agreement reached between the two ministers.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation interprets the statements of the American Delegation as they are presented and in compliance with their content. The Soviet Delegation has frequently indicated and wishes to again mention once more and to remind the American Delegation that the signing of the declafation contained in Communique #5 will be viewed as a statement of good faith to fully uphold the Moscow Decision on Korea. The parties and organizations which have signed this declaration should not work against, but indeed uphold this decision and work of the Joint Commission. The Russians have a proverb that it is impossible to kill two birds with one stone. It seems that some of these parties in having signed this declaration continue to be members of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee and carry on a fight against it to disrupt the Moscow Decision and to hamper its fulfillment. They should resolve to stick to one or the other. Fair play is needed. If they want the Joint Commission to have success in fulfilling the Moscow Decision, ~~they~~ they should withdraw from this Committee and make it clear that they uphold the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission and render necessary aid to it. Consequently neither the Soviet nor the American Delegation have reason to continue any questions on whether to admit or not to consultation with the Joint Commission these parties. We shouldn't have needed almost two months to carry on deliberation of this question. The Commission as well as the Korean public are aware that because of these parties which want to kill two birds with one stone, the Joint Commission is deadlocked and cannot quickly decide these questions. It would be still better if the American Delegation would take the way of an exact fullfillment of the Moscow Decision and agreement. Then the parties which are members of the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee would in all probability withdraw from this Committee and express their wish to fully uphold it without any reservations--the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission.

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GENERAL BROWN: Nothing can be gained by continuing to repeat what has been said throughout the past two months. Apparently the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has answered the question that was troubling the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation, but, in order to get it stated specifically, does his proposal refuse to include in the consultative body those parties and organizations which the Soviet Delegation contends are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is satisfied that the American Delegation has at last resolved on clarification. It is understood that parties and organizations should not be members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee if they wish to consult with the Joint Commission and participate in the work on the creation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government on the basis of the Moscow Decision. And once it is so, it is clear that the proposal of the Soviet Delegation states that in the consultative body, that is in the All-Korean Provisional Peoples Assembly, should participate all partisan organizations which should uphold fully the Moscow Decision and work of the Joint Commission. Consequently partisan organizations which have signed declaration contained in Communique #5 should withdraw from the Committee of fight against the Moscow Decision on trusteeship and become a member of the rest of the partisan organizations which faithfully cooperate with the Joint Commission and its work on fullfillment of the Moscow Decision on Korea.

GENERAL BROWN: It is a fact that an old proverb states that you can't kill two birds with one stone. The Soviet Delegation has charged the American Delegation for the past two months with delaying the work of the Joint Commission. The work of the Joint Commission has been delayed by the Soviet Delegation looking for stones to kill a few birds which are still very much alive. The Soviet Delegation has not yet found those stones. The American Delegation will read carefully the proposal of the Soviet Delegation and reply to it at the next meeting. In view of the fact that this room will be needed tomorrow afternoon for a conference, it will not be

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available for the meeting of the Joint Commission. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will call the meeting on Thursday or Friday if convenient to the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation does not intend to accuse the American Delegation without reason, but only states or indicates the fact that if there were no support of these parties and organizations which are members of the Committee fighting against the Moscow Decision, then the Commission should have met success long ago. Then we shouldn't need any stones and needn't look for birds to kill them. These birds are rather skillful and they know that once they are encouraged, then it means that they must continue to be members of the Committee against the Moscow Decision. We should give up encouragement of these organizations and parties. The Soviet Delegation is ready to convene at any time when it is convenient for the American Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: The next time, the Soviet Delegation wants to bring a little salt to put on the bird's tail. Subcommission No 1, I believe, has a report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation wanted to have these birds invited into the Joint Commission Session, but the American Delegation wouldn't permit it.

DR. BUNCE: Subcommission No. 1 met this morning and reached an agreement on the proposed outline of the report, except for one detail. The American Delegation in preparing a report in response to the request of General Marshall felt that it was necessary to include in that report a very brief statement of the first session of the Joint Commission in 1946 and the interim correspondence leading up to the reconvening of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation felt that this was not necessary. Apart from that, the details of the discussion of the current sessions of 1947 have been agreed upon by both Mr. Tounkin and myself.

GENERAL BROWN: It would be interesting to know why the restatement on the reasons for failure of the Joint Commission to agree in 1946 does not form a part of this report inasmuch as the Joint Commission

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seems to be on the verge of disruption because of the same reason in 1947.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that this report should include the period of work of the present sessions of the Joint Commission inasmuch as the material of the last sessions and the correspondence are known to the Governments and they have them at their disposal. That is why the Soviet Delegation feels that this report should include the work of the Joint Commission starting from May 21, 1947, until the present moment.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Joint Commission commenced its work in 1946. The Soviet ~~objected~~ objective was clearly and well stated ~~it~~ by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation at the first meeting of the Joint Commission in 1946. The stand of the Joint Commission in 1947 paralells the stand taken in 1946. The Joint Commission has met in ~~54~~ 56 sessions and the story has been continuous from the first to the fifty-~~fourth~~ sixth session. In order to submit a proper report the entire story should be told.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation deems that it is absolutely unnecessary to overload with work ourselves and our governments inasmuch as our governments have the material concerning the work of the Joint Commission and the sessions the Joint Commission held last year. If however our governments need any material then this material may be sent to them. During the correspondence in April 1947 in Minister Molotov's letter, it was stated that the Joint Commission was to prepare a joint report in July or August for consideration of the result of their work. This is why the Soviet Delegation believes that we should compile a report only for the period of the present sessions of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation suggests that the Soviet Delegation prepare this report on their outline, and the American Delegation will prepare its report on its outline. Then the two delegates will try to get together in Subcommission No. 1 and adjust the report. The American Delegation

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must prepare a full report in order to show the consistency of the Soviet refusal to grant the independence of Korea under the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has never refused the Koreans independence and it doesn't refuse them now. If the American Delegation intend to refuse Koreans or to deny Koreans independence, it is a matter of conscience of the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation, however, has all the time and will defend the exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and will not let the American Delegation violate this Decision. The future will show who wants the Kor ans to be independent--whether the Soviet Delegation does or the American Delegation,-and the public knows too by information it gets. We should not play on the feelings of the people inasmuch as the people know who are friends of theirs and who consider themselves to be friends. The Moscow Decision has been adopted in the interest of the Korean people and it should be fulfilled. The Soviet Delegation feels that the report should be presented in compliance with the letters of Marshall and Molotov which indicate that there should be a report of the work of the Joint Commission starting with its resumption.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation proposes to write the report on the transcript of the record as it is written, not as the Soviet Delegation says it should be written or as they intend it to be written. That transcript covers fifty-six meetings. The position taken by the Soviet Delegation has been consistent from the opening speech of the Chief Commissioner in the first meeting through the fifty-sixth meeting. If a report is to be prepared, it will cover the entire record. The American Delegation can suggest that the Soviet Delegation write its report and the American Delegation will write its report and will attempt in Subcommission No. 1 to reconcile the two reports. From the outline it is apparent that the only difference in substance will be that

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the American report will contain one or possibly two paragraphs or sections not contained in the Soviet report. It should be comparatively easy to reconcile the report. No object is seen in discussing this matter further in the Joint Commission because the report can be prepared under the outlines as held by the respective representatives in Subcommission #1. It is moved that the Joint Commission direct Subcommission #1 to proceed in accordance with their present outline.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is of the opinion that the report should contain only the business of the Joint Commission, the actual work of the Joint Commission since the resumption of its work. The Soviet Delegation has been and stands now in a position which indicates full support of the Moscow Decision and an exact fulfillment of it. The Soviet Delegation will write a report which corresponds to the telegram of the Ministers and the draft which it presents, inasmuch as the American Delegation refuses to work jointly and draft out a report. The draft of the report will then be considered in Subcommission Number 1.

GENERAL BROWN: It is suggested that these reports be ready by Friday in order that Subcommission Number 1 may meet at 10:00 o'clock Friday to consider the draft report. I move we adjourn.

Commission adjourned at 1535 hours.

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Glen Brown

TRANSCRIPT OF FIFTY-SEVENTH MEETING OF
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
3 September 1947 - 1330 Hours

CHAIRMAN: GENERAL SHTIKOV

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments on the agenda?

GENERAL BROWN: Approved.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The first question on the agenda is approval of the minutes - No. 50, 55 and 56. Mr. Balasanov has not yet come back from Pyongyang.

The second item on the agenda is the answer of the American Delegation to the proposal of the Soviet Delegation, August 26, 1947.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has carefully studied the counter-proposals submitted by the Soviet Delegation on 26 August 1947 in reply to the American Delegation proposals of 12 August 1947.

The Soviet counter-proposals contain the same objectionable features which have characterized almost every proposal which the Soviet Delegation has made since the Joint Commission first met on 20 March 1946 and reconvened on 21 May 1947.

The Soviet counter-proposals maintain the position of "exclusion" and the right to the veto power as insisted upon by them throughout the recent discussion of consultation. More specifically, they exclude from membership in the consultative body representatives of parties stated by them to be non-democratic, representatives of all parties and organizations with membership of less than 10,000, those who do not fully support the Moscow Decision and those who struggle against the Joint Commission and the Allied Powers.

Paragraph 2 of the Soviet counter-proposals visualizes the creation of a "Provisional All Korean People's Assembly", which resembles a consultative body. The creation of a consultative group on a fair and liberal basis and the methods by which it is to be established were already agreed to by the American and Soviet Delegations and included in Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The counter-proposal

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presently submitted by the Soviet Delegation would, therefore, in fact create a consultative body of a type and in a manner different from that agreed upon by the Soviet and American Delegations, as promulgated in Joint Commission Decision No. 12.

Acceptance of the Soviet counter-proposals would create a consultative body from which would be excluded representatives of 24 major rightist groups of South Korea, with a claimed membership in excess of 1½ million. Should the American Delegation be foolish enough to accept these counter-proposals, it would change the normally substantial rightist-moderate majority throughout North and South Korea to an overwhelming and unrealistic leftist majority. It would thus reverse the actual political situation.

The Soviet Delegation offers what is ostensibly a fair proposal--"the creation of a legislative body, elections for which should be conducted throughout all Korea on the basis of general, direct, equal suffrage, by secret ballot." However, closer study indicates that the "election" would without doubt only be conducted after the leftist dominated consultative body and the government created by it had organized and prepared Korea for the type of election recently conducted in North Korea under which 99 percent of the people, as the Soviets said, "willingly and voluntarily dropped their ballots into the white box" --an election typical of those being held in other Soviet satellite countries.

What have the Soviets to be afraid of in forming a government by free participation of all political groups? They have a deep and serious fear; otherwise they would be content to proceed to form a government which would assure to all of the political groups in Korea an equal opportunity for consultation and at the polls.

The position of the Soviet Delegation has been made crystal clear, more so than ever before, by the statement in the latest Soviet proposals that "The number of representatives in a Provisional All Korean People's Assembly for North and South Korea must be equal",

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when as a matter of fact everyone will admit that the population of South Korea is more than double that of North Korea.

There is nothing in the Moscow Agreement with respect to Korea which justifies or supports the Soviet position as indicated above. That Agreement is a brief, simple document, the clear purpose of which was the setting up of an independent government for all Korea of a democratic nature through consultations with Korean democratic parties and organizations and by the rendering of such aid and assistance as might later be determined, with the participation of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government, to develop and maintain democratic self-government in Korea.

The American Delegation cannot therefore agree to these counter-proposals as presented by the Soviet Delegation.

G M.A. SHTIKOV: In order to go into the substance of those objections which were presented by the American Delegation concerning the Soviet Delegation, the Soviet Delegation has to make a translation of this statement and study it, but inasmuch as I could understand the translation of the statement of the American Delegation I have the following comments and I would like to make the following things more precise concerning those objections presented by the American Delegation to the Soviet Delegation proposal. First, as it is known, the Soviet Delegation proposal states that we agree with the proposal of the American Delegation not to conduct oral consultation. Second, the Soviet Delegation's proposal does not differ from the American Delegation proposal to commence the work of Subcommission No. 2. The functions and the tasks of this Subcommission are to present to the Joint Commission on the basis of a study and make general those answers of parties and organizations which answered the questionnaires concerning the structure of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and local organs of power in the Charter and concerning the Political Platform. There is a slight difference in point b of the Soviet Delegation from paragraph 4 of the American Delegation's proposal.

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This slight difference is such a one that the Soviet Delegation proposal is making more complete the task of Subcommission No. 3. It is that the Soviet Delegation's proposal states quite clearly that Subcommission No. 3 presents to the Joint Commission a proposal concerning the personnel of the government and the order of assumption of power by the government. This proposal of the Soviet Delegation states that the Joint Commission, as it follows the Moscow Decision, has to specifically start the question of creation of Korean Provisional Democratic Government. Paragraph 2 of the Soviet Delegation proposal, as it seems to be, wasn't much liked by the American Delegation because this point directly and specifically proposes to create a consultative body - it is a Provisional People's Assembly of the representatives of democratic parties and social organizations. This body, which is suggested to be composed of Koreans, has to directly and practically begin its participation in the creation of a provisional government and also to participate in the deliberation of the main proposals connected with the creation of this government. It seems that the objections of the American Delegation are because the Soviet proposal envisages the attraction of the Koreans themselves to practical participation in the work of the Joint Commission. The statement of the American Delegation in regard the Soviet Delegation proposing to exclude 24 parties with a 15 million membership is not well done. The Soviet Delegation has many times indicated and draws the attention of the American Delegation now that these parties may participate in this consultative body and the People's National Assembly if they wish to declare they will cease their fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission and withdraw from the Anti-Moscow Decision Committee. The proposal of the Soviet Delegation states that this body will be composed of representatives of parties and social organizations which have applied to this Joint Commission for consultation and the number of membership of which exceeds 10,000 and which fully uphold the

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Moscow Decision and also the work of the Joint Commission and Allied Powers. ~~The American Delegation without reason has made~~ its dislike to accept the proposal of the Soviet Delegation which corresponds to the wishes of the Korean people as it is proved by the press and in doing so it has started an interpretation of its own - an interpretation as they like it - in saying that the acceptance of this proposal would mean a leftist government and a leftist consultative body. Even a simple arithmetic concerning the correlation of powers shows that such final contention is now well grounded. The critics on behalf of the American Delegation concerning the elections that are carried out in Northern Korea are also not well grounded - are not convincing - inasmuch as all of the people of Korea know that the form of election which was applied in North Korea is a truly democratic form and presents the right and possibilities to any citizen of North Korea to freely participate in the elections and was convinced that his voting would not be discovered by anybody and it remained secret. Such an unconvincing criticism of elections cannot assure those who have themselves participated in elections in North Korea. These were not those elections which were carried out in South Korea where the police compel each Korean to sign his name-it is very hard to keep secrecy in such elections. The world has not seen such kind of democracy. The electioneers ~~groan have~~ groan over such kind of elections - to put one's signature it means tomorrow prison. The Soviet Delegation has frequently pointed out to the American Delegation the incorrectness and inadmittance to make attacks against the Soviet government and those countries which make their lives the way they want to - as they would like to have this life arranged, but not as the American Delegation proposes to arrange their life. The Soviet Delegation has not in a single session of the Joint Commission taken up the foreign policy of the United States and criticized it though she could have done it and they didn't do it only because this is beyond the conscience of the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation categorically protests

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against the attacks of the American Delegation against the Soviet government and against those friendly relations which are settling between the Soviet Union and other governments. The proposal of the Soviet Delegation is further unacceptable to the American Delegation because it practically suggests without any delay to fulfill the Moscow Decision and it also gives prospectives to the Korean people concerning the unification of Korea and this means that Korean independence is approaching. This the American Delegation does not like, but the Soviet Delegation has not had such a motion and they have not gotten it now to submit proposals which are liked by the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation submits proposals which correspond to the Moscow Decision and it means to the interests of the Korean people.

GENERAL BROWN: The views of the American Delegation have been set forth in statements presented. The American Delegation has nothing further to add.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already indicated that it will translate and study the American Delegation's proposal, and if the Soviet Delegation has any additional comments it will state them in the next regular session. If the American Delegation has nothing further we will take up the third item of the agenda today.

GENERAL MO N: Agreed.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I suggest a ten minute recess.

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Commission recessed for ten minutes at 1430.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We will take up the third item of the agenda, which is the report of Subcommission Number 1 on the joint report. Mr. Tounkin has the floor.

MR. TOUNKIN: In accordance with instructions given to Subcommission Number 1 at the Joint Commission meetings on August 25 and 26, Subcommission 1 was to work on the compilation of a joint report. Each delegation elaborated and presented their own draft report. After examining those drafts, the American Delegation in Subcommission 1 declared that the Soviet draft was unacceptable to the American Delegation, and the Soviet representative stated the American draft was likewise unacceptable to the Soviet Delegation. The American representative suggested to send to both governments two drafts, presented by both delegations, with a letter stating that the two delegations could not agree on the wording of the joint report. The Soviet representative said that he could not agree to this proposal inasmuch as the Joint Commission instructed in accordance with the agreement between the two ministers to compile a joint report and to present it to the governments. The Soviet representative suggested to continue to work on the compilation of a joint report, accepting the following plan: (1) To enumerate Joint Commission decisions accepted by the Joint Commission; (2) To state factually the positions of both delegations; (3) To give further proposals of both delegations. Subcommission 1 cannot agree to this plan and decided first of all to reconsider the statements of position of both delegations. The American representative suggested to give those statements in the wording of each delegation. The Soviet representative replied that that would be a mechanical insertion in the joint report of two separate reports on the main problem, and therefore that it wouldn't be in reality a joint report. The Soviet representative suggested to redraft the statement of positions with a view to making them acceptable for inclusion into a joint report. This suggestion was agreed to. This morning Subcommission No. 1 discussed the question on how to state the positions of the two delegations in the joint report. The

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American Delegation did not present a re-draft of the American position. The Soviet representative gave his comments on the statement of the American position as it was in the American draft of the joint report. The Soviet representative presented their re-drafted Soviet position and asked the American representative to give his comments on this statement. The American representative replied that the American Delegation would study the re-drafted Soviet statement after translation, but that the American remarks would be of approximately the same kind as the Soviet remarks on the American statement of the American position. He further stated that in his opinion it was hardly possible to state the position of one delegation so that this statement would be acceptable to the other delegation. He said that in his opinion the only solution possible was to present a re-draft of the two draft reports submitted by the Soviet and American Delegation. The Soviet representative stated that compilation of the joint report would be a certain achievement and would signify that the two delegations agreed on at least to what they disagreed. He further stated that to give a factual statement of the oppositions on the compilation of the Joint report might be quite possible. This is the status of the work of Subcommission No. 1 and the compilation of the joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Has Mr. Bunce anything to add?

DR. BUNCE: Yes, I would like to point out the reason for rejecting the re-writing of the Soviet Delegation statement of its position regarding consultation. We ~~do~~ agreed to an outline for the form. Part 5 of that outline called for the discussion of the problem of oral consultation, with a statement of the Soviet position and then a statement of the American position. In the report presented by the Soviet Delegation the statement of the Soviet position was quite acceptable to the U. S. Delegation if they (Soviet Delegation) would accept the statement of the American position written by the American Delegation. However, when I made the suggestion that these two statements be accepted, Mr. Tounkin stated that the part in the body of his report giving the Soviet position was not a full statement because he had followed up the statement of the American position with a series of about four pages of

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argument against the American position. He has inserted in the Soviet report something which was not included in the outline agreed to by Subcommission 1 and by the Joint Commission. I would suggest that Mr. Tounkin re-write the Soviet position in one document, as the American Delegation has already done, and that then we could look at these two statements of position and see if there is a possibility of obtaining mutual agreement. The second statement of the Soviet position was presented to the American Delegation this morning. I also asked Mr. Tounkin to outline specifically his criticisms of the American report, and I would like to just run over those difficulties because that illustrates the trouble the Joint Commission or Subcommission 1 faces in attempting to draft a statement of two opposing positions which are is acceptable to both delegations. The American Delegation's position consists of approximately ten paragraphs. Only two of those paragraphs are acceptable to the Soviet Delegation -- that is paragraph a and paragraph e. Regarding paragraph b, Mr. Tounkin stated that it was an incorrect statement, that the Joint Commission had never discussed the question of eligibility and the question of admissability. He also said that we should not state, as we do in this paragraph, that the Soviet position nullifies the Marshall-Molotov correspondence. He also suggested that we should not use the word "veto" because this is not the basic issue facing the Joint Commission and that we only use the word because it forms headlines in the news. On paragraph c he stated that the statement of the American Delegation was not correct because the U. S. Delegation had never suggested a definition of "social organizations". He also stated that we would have to make it clear that it was only the U.S. that claims these words are not defined in the Moscow Decision. In paragraph d, the suggestions of the American Delegation to eliminate two of the organizations, he states that these proposals were very bad proposals, and that the U.S. refused to make specific suggestions and that therefore paragraph d was incorrect and not properly stated. Paragraph e he accepted. Paragraph f was subject to strong criticism because we state there that the Soviet Delegation insisted on arbitrary exclusion and that they exercised the veto power themselves. He feels that this is purely argumentation and is not practicable. He said that the statement of the

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American Delegation does not bring true charges against the members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and he suggested that the whole paragraph be reworded on a practical basis. In par g he states that the concept of unilateral exclusion nullifying the Marshall-Molotov correspondence and ~~that it~~ illustrates the technique of putting the Democratic People's Front in control is not true, that it is unacceptable and purely argumentative. Finally in par g we have three paragraphs of figures showing the relationships of the various political parties, and he suggested that those all be deleted as they were purely controversial matters. If we take the suggestions made by Mr. Tounkin there would be nothing left of the American report. It was on the basis of this criticism of the American Delegation's statement of its position that led me to believe it would be exceedingly difficult to obtain a statement of the American position that would be acceptable to the Soviet Delegation, and similarly from our studies of the Soviet statement it would be very difficult to get one which we would accept as a true statement. For that reason I suggest that it would be much better to have the two statements prepared entirely separate.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It seems that Subcommission No. 1 has agreed that it again cannot agree. We have instructions from the ministers that the Joint Commission has to present a joint report concerning the result of the work of the Joint Commission. Consequently our task is that we compile such a joint report. This compilation of a joint report has been assigned to Subcommission Number 1, and it must do it. The Soviet Delegation believes that it would be incorrect to accept any other proposal concerning the presentation of separate reports with a letter, inasmuch as according to the instructions, the report must be a joint one. That is why Mr. Bunce's proposal is not acceptable, and I would suggest that the Joint Commission has to today again direct Subcommission No. 1 to compile such a joint report.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the understanding of the American Delegation that the joint report must be submitted not later than 5 September -- that is two days from now. It appears useless to direct Subcommission

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Number 1 to write a report to which both the delegations will give agreement. It appears to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation as though there are only two approaches to this problem. One is to forward the Soviet report and the American report as prepared, with a cover letter signed by the chief commissioner of each delegation, stating the substance of the divergent points of view in Subcommission Number 1 and why the Joint Commission was not able in the time provided for the preparation for this report to write a joint report. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation proposes that that action be taken, not only that it be taken, but that agreement to take it be reached today; and that Subcommission Number 1 be directed to prepare such a report for signature of the chief commissioner of each delegation, and to present it for signature not later than 1:30 tomorrow, September 4th.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation's understanding is that this report must be compiled and must be a joint one. The proposal which was made by the representative of the Soviet Delegation in Subcommission No. 1 is that each delegation give its wording on the question of consultation with their position without any regard to the position of the other delegation. It is just upon what the Soviet Delegation has insisted during the work of the Joint Commission--that this be stated in the document objectively without any argumentation, which sometimes took place during discussion of a point or whole question. The Soviet Delegation made such a proposal and submitted it with their position which is objective and this was done in order to achieve agreement on the compilation of a joint report. A statement of both positions will give to those who will study these positions the possibility of discriminating between them. Certainly if we take a unilateral judgment, it would be very hard to compile a joint report, and we won't be able to draw up a joint report. It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that if we approach this question objectively, such a joint report may be compiled. It is known that during the Joint Commission's work when taking the question of adopting decisions up, there was an argument that took place, but in spite of this, it seems we should agree on the compilation of a joint report. It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that the instructions which have been given to us by the Ministers must be fulfilled exactly and the Joint Commission forward its joint report. In this connection the Subcommission No. 1 has bo be instructed to work at this joint report today and tomorrow so as to be able to present it in tomorrow's session of September 4.

GENERAL BROWN: There is no objection to Subcommission No. 1 going back to work. However, the Soviet Delegation must realize that it cannot write in its own terms on the American position; for instance, the outstanding priciple that the American Delegation has continuously insisted on is that the first agreement of the ministers means what it says; that is, that the party or organization which signs the application for consultation must be accepted for initial oral consultation under the premise that it has signed the application in good

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faith. The Soviet Delegation has consistently refused to accept that agreement. There is only one way it can write the American Delegation position and that is in the words of the agreement itself, which their Foreign Minister has accepted. Any attempt of the Soviet Delegation to write another concept into that agreement cannot be accepted in a final report any more than the principle which they tried to change could be accepted by the American Delegation throughout a month and a half of debate. That same principle applies to the American position as stated in the report prepared by Dr. Bunce and presented to Subcommission No. 1. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation repeats that the American Delegation has no objection to Subcommission No. 1 attempting to write a joint report provided the Soviet member of Subcommission No. 1 accepts the American position as written by the Americans and does not try to alter or amend that position ~~in a way which~~ so that it is not corredtly stated. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to accept the Soviet position as written by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation asks that the Soviet Delegation afford equal consideration to the American position as written by the American Delegation. With that understanding the American Delegation has no objection to Subcommission No. 1 endeavoring to prepare a joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has always stated that it is necessary to compile a joint report and achieve agreement on this question. Wishing to achieve agreement of this question, the Soviet Delegate, as it has been agreed upon before, has stated the position of the Soviet Delegation in Subcommission No. 1, in nine points, and handed in this written position of the Soviet Delegation to the American Delegate in Subcommission No. 1. If we compare today's document, which stated the position of the Soviet Delegation, with the draft report which was presented on the 30 of August, one can immediately see the position of the Soviet Delegation is closed against criticism of the position of the American Delegation and only lays down the position of the Soviet Delegation. This is absolutely objective and a correct approach to the compilation of documents. The American Delegation did not change the wording in the report which was presented by them on the 30th of August and this is proved by the draft of the report which has been

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submitted by the American Delegation to the Soviet Delegate today. It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that if the American Delegation approaches the compilation of the joint report objectively and will report on its position without any criticism and demands of the Soviet Delegation position, then Subcommission No. 1 will be able to present a joint report. I have always stated that the study and comparison of these two positions without any interpretation will be sufficient. It is quite natural that in such an instance there can be included Point 2 because if you include this point, it won't be any more a position, but it will be comments. If the Soviet Delegation then states these numbers in their interpretation, we will then have a whole controversy, but this controversy has already been presented through communiques published. That is why the Soviet Delegation insists that Subcommission No. 1 be directed to compile a joint report on the basis of instructions given by the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation agrees with the Soviet Delegation to an objective approach. It has no intention of criticizing the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation has advanced and maintained a position which is their position. The American Delegation does not intend to criticize that position, but it does intend to make it clear to those who have not been sitting with us for ~~six~~ three months that there can be no misunderstanding of the Soviet position, nor the Soviet objective, nor the means which the Soviets have attempted to use to reach that objective. That is the objective approach which the American Delegation intends to use in preparing this report. If the American Delegation simply stated a few principles, such, for instance, as the Soviets have contended, that the whole delay of six weeks is the responsibility of the American Delegation because ~~they~~ it will not consult certain parties that the Soviets contend should be consulted, ~~which~~ and because ~~they~~ it insists on consulting with 24 parties which the Soviets insist not be included, that will not tell the whole story. But, if the American Delegation points out that by eliminating these 24 parties the Soviets in fact reverse the political complexion of the resulting

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government, that is a very important point to include in this report. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to prepare an objective report, but, I repeat, it must be a complete report, not subject to censor by the Soviets nor to the deletion of essential material and ~~dates.~~ data.

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GENERAL HTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already stated that it is necessary to compile a report and to objectively state both positions. The Soviet Delegation considers that in stating its position without any comments or criticism of the American position, it will thus show for what it was striving and what was meant by the Soviet Delegation. It is that the position, as it is stated, educates for itself. Why then does the American Delegation believe that if it states its position without comments on the position of the Soviet Delegation that this position will not be understandable? This report will be read by intelligent people, and they will be able to discern. I further believe that point #27 of the American Delegation report does not correspond to reality. I would like to read it. The wording of it is: "As a result of the publication of Joint Decision 12, there have been received 425 applications for consultation from political parties and social organizations of South Korea and 38 applications from parties and organizations of North Korea. In compliance with Joint Commission Decision 12, there was carried out an official session with representatives of organizations eligible for consultation." (I would like to underline the words "eligible for consultation.") on 25 June 1947 in the town of Seoul and on 1 July 1947 in the town of Pyongyang. During these sessions the procedure of broad consultation was stated." If the author of this wording remembers, and if memory is true to this person, and also if Mr. Bunce has not forgotten, and General Brown as well, there was an agreement between both Chief Commissioners and besides there was a draft submitted which stated that this will be a convention, but this does not mean that the people who will be present at this session will be admitted for consultation. Why then should we write things which do not correspond to reality--things which are not exact. The Soviet Delegation is against the fact that we insert in our report things which do not correspond to reality--which are not true.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has used an excellent example to show the difficulty of writing a joint report. Paragraph 27 as read by him is a simple, brief, and accurate statement of the American position. He has underlined the

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words "eligible for consultation", and they should be underlined because it is the position of the American Delegation that, under the first agreement of the Ministers, every party and organization which signed and submitted an application for consultation must be accepted for oral consultation. The Soviet Delegation's position contrary to this has never been acceptable to the American Delegation, and the Soviet Delegation fully understands that. There is no reason why the position of the American Delegation should not be fully and accurately stated in this report. It must be so stated or there can be no report concurred in by the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Yes, I agree with General Brown that this is just the reason why the American Delegation does not wish to compile a joint report inasmuch as the approach of the Soviet Delegation is subjective and it is to state exact wordings and to truthfully evaluate facts and events which have taken place in the Joint Commission. This the American Delegation does not like, but what can we do? That is just the reason why we have a Joint Commission which requires an objective statement of things. It is known to the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation had agreed to such a session of representatives before having a list of them, and that it had been expressly stated, and besides there was a document which stated that the participation in this session does not mean eligibility for consultation. This is a very fresh history, and it is also fresh in the memory of witnesses. That is why they should not falsify it. As to the statement of the position of the American Delegation. In regards to this, it should be said that the American position has been stated in other points of this document of the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation does not try to exclude the American Delegation from stating its position. On the contrary, it insists upon the American Delegation stating its position, but without any comments. As the objective things show, should the position show. The Soviet Delegation's position is that this joint report include an objective interpretation of the position of both delegations which they have maintained during the work of the Joint Commission, and the Soviet

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Delegation again reiterates the necessity of instructing Subcommission 1 to draw up such a report in this connection.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation does not have to agree with the position taken by the American Delegation. The use of the word "falsify", however, is hardly justified. I hope that it has been incorrectly translated. The American Delegation is not falsifying its statements. It is stating facts. It intends to continue to do so whether the Soviet Delegation likes the facts or not. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to have Subcommission No. 1 attempt to write a joint report provided the position of the American Delegation is fully and correctly stated in that report. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation sees nothing to be gained by continuing this discussion. He suggests that the preparation of the joint report be referred back to Subcommission No. 1, which will be directed to make three approaches--to endeavor to write a joint report; if they find that this cannot be done, then to recommend to the Joint Commission that the reports previously submitted by each representative of Subcommission No. 1 be forwarded as a Joint Commission report with a proper cover letter to be drafted by Subcommission 1; if agreement cannot be reached on this solution, then to prepare a joint report which will consist of three parts: statement of the agreed decision of the Joint Commission; statement of the position of the Soviet Delegation to be written by the Soviets; statement of the position of the American Delegation to be written by the Americans; and subsequent proposals submitted by each delegation; that there be no discussion, criticism, or comments from either delegation on the position as stated by the other delegation; that Subcommission No. 1 be directed to report to the Joint Commission not later than 1530 tomorrow as to their solution of this matter.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: That sentence should have been translated as follows: "This is a very fresh history and there are many witnesses. That is why it should not be presented untruthfully." It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that Subcommission 1 be given

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precise instructions, and these instructions ~~should be that it be~~ instructed in drafting a joint report to stick to one of these three proposals. It is that it base its work on one document. It will be impossible for Subcommission 1, during the time left, to work on all three documents, and that this proposal given to Subcommission 1 be a proposal that is directed towards compilation of a joint report.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has no objection to requesting Subcommission No. 1 to attempt to write a joint report. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation extends ~~his~~ his sympathy to Subcommission No. 1 Unless the Soviet Delegation is willing to accept a full and complete statement of the American Delegation, we are giving Subcommission No. 1 a hopeless task. I move that with these instructions to Subcommission No. 1, the Joint Commission adjourn for today.

GENERAL SMITHOV: I cannot agree to have Subcommission 1 bury it. I insist that Subcommission 1 show examples of courageousness and that it show an example of drafting a joint report.

GENERAL BROWN: I would also suggest that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation write the Soviet ~~part~~ part of the joint report and the American Chief Commissioner write the American part of the report, and I will meet with him tomorrow and see if we can adjust it.

GENERAL SMITHOV: I hope Subcommission 1 will be able to achieve agreement, or both head Commissioners will have to do the job.

Meeting adjourned at 1645.

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Gen. Brown
Note: Corrections
Pages 8-12-
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TRANSCRIPT OF FIFTY-EIGHTH MEETING
OF US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
4 September 1947 at 1530 hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV:

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Today the agenda has one question. It is the approval of a joint report for presentation to both governments. Are there any comments?

GENERAL BROWN: No.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Mr. Tounkin has the report.

MR. TOUNKIN: In accordance with instructions received yesterday from the Joint Commission, Subcommission No. 1 had two meetings today. In the first meeting, the Soviet representative presented a draft or rather re-draft of the first and third parts of the joint report. The American representative made his comments on the Soviet statement of the Soviet position. (the second part of the joint report.) The American representative advanced quite a number of objections to the Soviet statement, admitting at the same time that the position of the Soviet Delegation in its statement has been adequately stated, but nevertheless this statement was considered by him unacceptable. The American representative presented the American draft of the statement of the position of the American Delegation. The second meeting took place at 1330 hours. The Soviet representative gave his remarks on the American statement of the position of the American Delegation. The Soviet representative stated that in his opinion in the original American statement, very slight changes have been made in the direction of making this statement acceptable for inclusion into a joint report. At the same time, the new American draft contained some additions and new unacceptable additions for a joint report. The Soviet representative suggested to continue the work on the joint report with the view of trying to reconcile those two things. The American representative repeated the proposal he made at the very beginnning of the discussions on the compilation of the joint report, and suggested that two drafts be sent with a covering letter. In his opinion, that was the only possibility of presenting the report. The

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Soviet representative, however, did not agree to this suggestion, stating that the direct instructions of the Joint Commission were to compile a joint report. Agreement was not reached, and the representatives decided to report to the respective Chief Commissioners as the Joint Commission yesterday directed Subcommission No. 1 to present a draft report by 15^{00} or 1530 today.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What comments has Mr. Bunce?

DR. BUNCE: The only comment I would make would be that since Mr. Tounkin agreed he did not like the wide divergence in the two statements of positions, it would be very difficult to draft a joint report. I am perfectly willing to try to do so if he is willing to do so. I would, however, point out that we would not accept any statement of the American Delegation which was not inclusive and clear-cut and gave the American position so it could not be clearly understood by both governments.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Is that all? What then are the proposals of Mr. Bunce?

DR. BUNCE: I would suggest that we consider the suggestion made by Mr. Tounkin that maybe we would have to write a joint letter stating that we could not reach an agreement on a joint report.

MR. TOUNKIN: I should state that I have not made a proposal to Mr. Bunce according to my record of proposals.

DR. BUNCE: It was not a proposal but a remark.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments of General Brown?

GENERAL BROWN: [redacted] You are chairman this week. I am waiting to hear from you.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In yesterday's session, the Soviet Delegation pointed out the necessity of the compilation of a joint report--that both representatives in Subcommission No. 1 once more work on the draft of a report which would reflect objectively the positions of both delegations and which would be acceptable as a joint report for wording to the two governments. The Soviet delegate and the Soviet Delegation in Subcommission 1 have carried out their work in this

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direction, wishing thus to compile a document which would reflect factually the work in the Commission and which would objectively lay down positions of both delegations. This is seen if you compare the original report of the joint report prepared by the Soviet Delegation and those additional proposals which set forth the position of the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation believes that in stating positions of both delegations, it was not required to state any controversy or criticism of the position of the other delegation--that each delegation try to exactly state its position without criticism of the position of the other side. In yesterday's session the Soviet Delegation stated that an objective statement of positions of both delegations will educate for themselves and will give the necessary clarification. The American delegate in Subcommission No. 1 seemingly was guided by another principle. In spite of the discussion of this question in yesterday's session, the American delegate in Subcommission No. 1 has not only not excluded criticism of the Soviet position, but just the opposite, he has added a whole number of paragraphs and wordings (polemics), thus complicating still more the work on the joint report and the work of Subcommission No. 1. Is it possible to achieve an agreement on the presentation of a joint report? The Soviet Delegation answered this question in the affirmative. It is possible and it is expedient. The Soviet Delegation has already indicated that during the work of the Joint Commission there have been many such questions. During these discussions, there arose divergence of opinion, and each delegation would differently approach the decision of them--to resolve these questions. Inasmuch as there was a wish to reach agreement without losing the substance of the question, both delegations would come to terms and decisions would be adopted. That is why it is possible to compile a joint report. The Soviet Delegation believes that the American Delegation should once again instruct their delegate in Subcommission No. 1 to approach the compilation of a joint report objectively so that an agreement may be reached.

GENERAL BROWN: It would be useless to request Subcommission No. 1 to try ~~and~~ to get an agreement on a document in which the Soviets object to

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having facts stated. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation states that the report of the American Delegation contains criticism of the Soviet position and polemics. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation requests the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to point out specifically what portion of the report of the American Delegation he refers to as being critical of the Soviet Delegation without just cause and what portion of the American Delegation report he regards as polemics.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has shown an example to the American Delegation of how to objectively approach the compilation of a joint report. The Soviet Delegation has stated for inclusion into the joint report its position in the way it was set forth during the session of the Joint Commission and Subcommission No. 1. From the first to the last point of the position which was stated by the Soviet Delegation, it exactly reflects that which the Soviet Delegation has maintained and which it has upheld. Could the American Delegation have set forth its position in the same exactness? Yes it could have if it wished to do so. As it is known to the American Delegation, during the discussions of the question of a list of parties and organizations for consultation, the Soviet Delegation during this time discussed figures and compared them in order to convince the American Delegation of the inconsistency of its contention that the Soviet Delegation wished to consult only with parties and organizations which belonged to the Democratic People's Front, but the Soviet Delegation does not state its figures--not because these figures are not convincing enough. They are convincing, but this is not the position of the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation in its proposal in two points stated in figures, calculations which in itself could define the position, but here in this document they are not needed. Inasmuch as this arithmetic is arbitrary and would not tell anything to anybody; consequently the American Delegation tried to add to its position, perhaps to make it more convincing they referred to a letter of 15 parties which was submitted to the Joint Commission. It is asked then, why has this

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been done? It seems in order to make their position stronger, but it is known to the American Delegation that the substance and contents of this letter ~~was~~ were not discussed in Joint Commission session--that the Soviet Delegation has had and still has up until now questions on this letter that are not clear to it. The Soviet Delegation could not have made them more precise or could not have found them out inasmuch as the American Delegation refused to ask them (the writers of the letter) to be present at the Joint Commission. Then it is asked, why then include them ~~into them~~ in the position of the American Delegation? I could have named here a number of examples where the American Delegation states that no facts have been stated concerning the 24 parties. This would have led to the Soviet Delegation adding whole pages of records to its position. I ask why? The Soviet Delegation believes that if the position of the American Delegation which it has maintained in the Joint Commission session would have been done by the American Delegation, then there should not be needed any clarification which would justify its position. Probably, the American Delegation is afraid that without this, its position would not be convincing enough. That is the answer that I would like to give to the questions that have been asked by General Brown.

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GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation appreciates the information given by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. It is possible that maybe the two delegations can reach agreement if we can find out what each other ~~are~~ is thinking. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation has mentioned objections to two paragraphs--two sub-paragraphs rather--of paragraph 7 of the American Delegation's position. Inasmuch as he has made no mention of objections to any other paragraphs, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation assumes that he accepts the other paragraphs as written. In order that that question may be cleared up, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation would like to ask the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation whether he has objected to any other sub-paragraphs of paragraph 7 of the American Delegation's position other than sub-paragraphs 10 and 11 which he has specifically mentioned.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I have not enumerated all the comments on the American draft only because they have been made in Subcommission No. 1 and they are known to the American Delegation. If the American Delegation agrees with those comments which have been done in Subcommission No. 1 and here in Joint Commission session, then the Soviet Delegation may be satisfied that the achievement of the Joint Report is already present, that Subcommission No. 1 may then meet and bring this report into one joint report and submit it for approval of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has met with the Joint Commission this afternoon at the call of the Chairman, ~~of~~ the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, in order to attempt to resolve a disagreement which has occurred in Subcommission No. 1. The American Delegation desires to make the attempt. If the Soviet Delegation will inform the American Delegation as to ~~their~~ specific objections to the report submitted by the American Delegation, it is possible that success may be obtained by the

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Joint Commission. If the Soviet Delegation is not willing to inform the American Delegation as to why ~~they~~ it does not agree with the American Delegation's report, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation fails to see why the Joint Commission is in session this afternoon. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again requests the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to inform the Joint Commission, paragraph by paragraph, as to what objections the Soviet Delegation has to a report which the American Delegation has carefully reviewed and approved as a delegation and considers to be a correct, simple, factual statement of its position.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: As it is known, the session of the Joint Commission was agreed beforehand in Joint Commission session yesterday. In the Subcommission No. 1 meeting today the Soviet representative proposed to postpone today's session in order to work further on the compilation of a joint report, but the American Delegation in Subcommission No. 1 insisted to have today's session in order to discuss the study of the compilation of the joint report. Inasmuch as such was the proposal, the Soviet Delegation did not object. I have already mentioned a number of paragraphs and they have been mentioned in Subcommission No. 1, and they are known to the American Delegation. If the American Delegation agrees, then the Soviet Delegation expresses satisfaction that we are on the way to an agreement and directs its representative to compile the joint report for presentation to both governments. If this is acceptable to the American Delegation, then the Soviet Delegation moves to adjourn for today so that this work may be completed in Subcommission No. 1.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation knows that he called today's meeting of the Joint Commission. He did not call it at the request of the American Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation also knows that Subcommission No. 1 has failed to reach agreement on a joint

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repeat
~~proposal~~. He refused the offer of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation at yesterday's meeting that the two Chief Commissioners meet together and attempt to prepare a joint report. The only method left known to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is for the Joiht Commission in joint session to prepare this report. The American Delegation cannot act intelligently in attempting to revise its report unless it knows specifically what the Soviet Delegation's objections to the report as now presented are. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again asks the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation to inform the American Delegation, paragraph by paragraph, as to the Soviet objections to the position of the American Delegation as stated in paragraph 7 of the report as presented by the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation agrees that both head commissioners together with Subcommission No. 1 start compilation of a Joint Report and that we adjourn so that both head commissioners together with Subcommission 1 work at the compilation of a joint report.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has made no such proposal. He did make a proposal at yesterday's meeting that the two Chief Commissioners meet to draft a report. That proposal was refused by the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation. It is the understanding of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Chairman of the Joint Commission for the week, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation, has called the Joint Commission in session in order to discuss the preparation of and prepare a joint report. The American Delegation desires to go on with that work. In order to do it, it is necessary that it have specific information as to the objections which the Soviet Delegation has to the American position as stated

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in paragraph 7 of the draft report submitted by the American Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again requests that the Soviet Delegation inform the American Delegation, paragraph by paragraph, as to its objections to paragraph 7, the position of the American Delegation as stated in the draft report prepared and submitted by the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: If the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation in yesterday's ~~proposal~~ meeting proposed that both head commissioners meet, then I accept this proposal and agree together with Subcommission No. 1 to draft a joint report and there to exactly point by point discuss both the American and Soviet positions.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has not prepared and is not now proposing that the joint report be prepared other than in the Joint Commission. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is now proposing that the Joint Commission adjourn for one hour and a half for dinner; that it commence immediately and take both proposals point by point and remain in session all night until agreement is reached on a joint report or until the Joint Commission fails to agree.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Inasmuch as in General Brown's statement today he suggested in yesterday's session that both Subcommissioners meet and draft a joint report, I agree to a draft of such a report. Inasmuch as it is not recorded in our ~~report~~ record that there was such a proposal, consequentely the Soviet Delegation could not have refused. If this is the proposal of General Brown, then I agree to do this work whether or not correct.

GENERAL BROWN: Let us start by the Soviet Delegation informing the American Delegation why ~~they~~ it objects to paragraph 7 in the position of the American Delegation as stated in the draft report submitted by them.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: Do you mean that we now adjourn this session and work tonight?

GENERAL BROWN: No, it means that we work right now until we get this job finished.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that we meet at 7 o'clock.

GENERAL BROWN: Why not use the hour? We have an hour till 6 and then we will eat till 7:30.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then we will have to work all night. We eat at 5.

GENERAL BROWN: That's all right; we will meet at 7:30.

Conference recessed at 1700.

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Commission reconvened at 1930 hours.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We will proceed with today's agenda. I move that we begin par 1 of the draft of the joint report. The first point of the draft of the Soviet Delegation report and the first point of the American Delegation's draft report coincide. Are there any proposals as to the acceptance of these points? Shall we read both points?

GENERAL BROWN: I don't think it is necessary.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The first point has been accepted. The second point of the Soviet and American drafts coincide as being agreed upon in Subcommission Number 1.

GENERAL BROWN: No comment on point 2.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet draft which has been handed in today to the American Delegation has no point 3. The original draft of the Soviet Delegation contained three conditions, and as a result of the discussions that took place in Subcommission 1 these three conditions have been dropped. Now the Soviet Delegation proposes that the American Delegation drops point ~~three~~ 3 of its draft.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is not willing to omit that point. It is suggested that we go through the report and mark those we agree on, and put a question mark on those we do not agree on, and come back to them when we finish the entire report. It is believed that if we can agree on the position of the two delegations, that Subcommission Number 1 can adjust the remainder of the report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is my understanding that we should start from the very beginning, ~~that is, to~~ that is, take up the first part of the report and then approach the positions of both delegations and discuss them. The joint draft report states the chronological dates when questions were decided upon starting with May 22, 1947. It is stated here that in the Joint Commission session on 22 May it was decided that the work of the Joint Commission consists of two stages -- the first stage the fulfillment of par 2 of the Moscow Decision; and the second stage the fulfillment of the ~~first~~ third paragraph of the Moscow Decision on Korea. According to Joint Commission Decision Number 8 the first stage

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includes the following questions which are stated in the decisions of the Joint Commission. Does the American Delegation object to the inclusion into the draft of Joint Commission Decision Number 8? (Performance of work par 3 Soviet Report)

GENERAL BROWN: We can tentatively agree to include it if the Soviet Delegation wishes.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: If there are no objections we will include it.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is not agreeing finally to any part of this report. The final agreement will have to be reached after we see what the entire report consists of. The purpose of tonight's meeting is to see the main points of difference between the two delegations in order that the report may be prepared. The American Delegation will tentatively accept par 3 of the Soviet report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This is a decision that can't be objected to because it has been adopted in a Joint Commission session.

GENERAL BROWN: There is nothing going to be adopted tonight by the American Delegation. The American Delegation wants to find out why we cannot prepare a joint report. We want to find out what the differences in views are.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation believes that we have come here not only just to talk, but to adopt decisions, and if the American Delegation has any objections to any of these paragraphs ~~they~~ it may just now state ~~their~~ its objections.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation tentatively agrees to par 3 of the Soviet proposal.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: All right. In the course of work of the Joint Commission the following decisions were adopted. This is taken as it was in the American Delegation's draft report, where the American Delegation enumerated all the decisions that had been adopted in the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: You are going a little too fast. There is a par 3 in the American Delegation's report. The American Delegation wants that included in the report or wants to know what the Soviet objection to that par 3 is.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already mentioned not to include into the draft of the report par 3 of the American Delegation's

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report inasmuch as it has been agreed upon in Subcommission 1 to exclude the three conditions. That is the agreement that has been reached between the ministers. It doesn't follow anything that is connected with the proceedings. That is why the Soviet Delegation mentions not to have this point included. This question has been excluded during discussions of Joint Decision Number 12 in Joint Commission sessions and in the session of Subcommission 1.

GENERAL BROWN: As far as the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation knows, no decision has been reached about that paragraph. The paragraph is a correct statement of the facts and it is believed that it belongs in the report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: During the discussion when document Number 12 was deliberated by the Joint Commission the American Delegation mentioned that those three conditions which had been agreed upon by the ministers during their correspondence -- they moved then to include approximately what has been suggested by them to include into the draft of proposal, which is point 3, but then as a result of the discussions that took place in Subcommission 1 and in the Joint Commission itself there was not reached a decision, and this point was not included in Joint Commission Decision Number 12. Consequently we have no reasons to include it as an independent point. That is why the Soviet Delegation moves that this point be not included into the draft of the joint report -- that it be excluded.

GENERAL BROWN: Let's put a question mark after it and go on.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No objections. The American Delegation has not answered whether they have any comments on the inclusion of the enumeration of all the decisions that have been adopted in a Joint Commission session.

GENERAL BROWN: Tentatively accepted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to know what are the comments of the American Delegation on the draft report of the Soviet Delegation -- to that part in particular which starts with the words "On June 12, 1947 the Joint Commission published a document on the procedure of consultation, etc." and which ends with "the following is the position of the Soviet and American Delegations on this question."

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GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the American Delegation that par 5 of the American report contains the substance of the paragraphs in the Soviet report and is more concise, and could be accepted by the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation understands that this part of the Joint report as presented by the Soviet Delegation is more exact. That is why I believe that it would be more expedient to adopt this part in the wording of the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is not able to agree with the Soviet draft for the following reasons: The second paragraph (on page 3) of the Soviet draft states, "The list for Northern Korea submitted by the Soviet side included...." The Third paragraph states, "The list of parties and organizations of Southern Korea which ~~have~~ had filed applications for participation ~~and~~ consultation ... included....." The ~~fourth~~ fifth paragraph states, "According to the decision of the Chief Commissioners of the delegations, the Joint Commission, without ~~permitting~~ waiting compilation of the list for consultation....." The last paragraph states, "Following a brief discussion in Subcommission Number 1, ~~on~~ the question regarding the compilation of the list of democratic parties..." The Soviet Delegation has written into that paragraph ~~their~~ its position that no list existed; that a list had to be compiled from the list which ~~their~~ its own paragraph states ~~[illegible]~~ existed. That is the basis of ~~their~~ its contention later that in compiling the list ~~they~~ it would only place parties and organizations on the compiled list by mutual agreement. The American Delegation cannot write into a joint report a paragraph which includes that principle to which the American Delegation does not subscribe.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In the statement of the Soviet Delegation there are mentioned facts, but not the position of either the American or Soviet Delegation. It is a fact that the Soviet Delegation has entered the list of representatives of 38 parties and organizations of North Korea, and it is also a fact that the American Delegation in its turn presented a list of 425 parties as it had been agreed upon. It is also a fact that the Joint Commission without waiting for the compilation of the list conducted a session in Seoul on 25 June and in

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Pyengyang on 30 June 1947. This is not a position, but corresponds to Joint Commission Decision Number 12, point 6 of which states that such a session had to take place after the lists had been approved by the Joint Commission. Here I shall cite this point. It reads as follows: "After the approval by the Joint Commission of a list of democratic parties and social organizations and their representatives, which is mentioned in par 5 of the Joint Commission Decision, there convenes in Seoul on 25 June 1947 a joint session to which it invites the abovementioned representatives of parties and organizations in South Korea. A similar session with democratic parties and social organizations in North Korea will take place in Pyengyang on 30 June 1947." The last paragraph of this part states that the oral consultation had to commence on 7 July. It is also a fact that it is not clear what are the objections of the American Delegation. It is not a position, I would like to repeat once more, but an enumeration of facts.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has stated why it cannot accept the Soviets proposed par 5. Will the Soviet Delegation be good enough to state why it cannot accept the American par 5?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation considers that point number 5 of the American draft proposal -- that the wording is not quite exact. It is stated here ~~they~~ due have applied for consultation 425 parties and social organizations of South Korea, yet it is known that among them there were non-social organizations. Further, and second, their statement that in compliance with Joint Commission Decision Number 12 there were held meetings in the town of Seoul on 25 June and in the town of Pyengyang on 1 July -- it is not quite so, inasmuch as those meetings were held on the basis of the arrangement which had taken place by both commissioners, and the decision itself states that such meetings must take place after the list of representatives had been approved. A further objection -- objection number 3 -- it is stated that divergent views have arisen in connection with different interpretations of the Moscow Decision and of the correspondence that took place between the ministers. This should not be stated inasmuch as the divergent views are being stated further. Further the 4th

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comment is that what is being stated in the American draft, that there arose a divergence of opinion on the question of consultation -- on the list of parties and organizations to be invited for consultation. It is just the wording in which it was given in the agenda of the Joint Commission, and it corresponds to the reality.

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GENERAL BROWN: That brings up a question in the third sub-paragraph of paragraph 5 of the Soviet proposal. Subparagraph 4 of the Soviet proposal reads: "The list for North Korea submitted by the Soviet side included 38 democratic parties and social organizations..." Subparagraph 5 reads, "The list of parties and organizations of Southern Korea which had filed applications for participation in consultation, submitted by the American side and Subcommission No. 1, includes 425 parties and organizations." Why are the words "democratic" and "social" purposely omitted when describing parties and organizations of Southern Korea?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It corresponds to reality in stating that there submitted 38 democratic parties and social organizations in the north of Korea inasmuch as there are no non-social organizations which have applied for consultation here. Inasmuch as the list has not been compiled and not approved, the Soviet Delegation doesn't mind that the words "democratic" and "social" are applied in North Korea.

GENERAL BROWN: Is the Soviet Delegation willing to add the words "democratic" and "social" to describe the parties in south Korea?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already indicated that among those parties which applied for consultation in South Korea there are unsocial organizations.

GENERAL BROWN: Then the answer is yes. You do not wish to include the words "democratic" and "social."

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already indicated that its position on these two adjectives concerning North Korea and will not include them concerning parties and organizations in South Korea.

GENERAL BROWN: Let's put a question mark on paragraph 5. We cannot agree for the moment on that paragraph.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We will proceed further. What are then the comments of the American Delegation on the draft of the statement of the Soviet Delegation stating the position of the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will read to the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation paragraph 1. "Among the parties and organizations of Southern Korea which have filed application for participation in consultation, there were organizations which are non-social mercantile and industrial companies, adminis-

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trative institutions, schools, etc., whereas the Moscow Decision on Korea stipulated consultation of democratic parties and social organizations. The Soviet Delegation proposes not to include in the list for consultation those organizations which are not social." The Soviet Delegation has failed to use the words "democratic parties." It has stated that certain mercantile, industrial, and administrative institutions,which they classify as non-social, are included. There are also, under that definition, non-social organizations included on the list of 38 parties submitted from North Korea. The American Delegation cannot take exception to the position stated by the Soviets although it may not be correct, but the American Delegation would like to draw attention to the error of the statement contained in the Soviet position.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is not quite clear.

GENERAL BROWN: I didn't think it would be. The Soviet Delegation has failed for six weeks to understand what the American Delegation has been talking about.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has very well understood what what was stated by the American Delegation and no verification is needed.

GENERAL BROWN: Any other comment?...[redacted].

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments and objectsions to Point 1.

GENERAL BROWN: The main objection of Point 1 is that the Soviet Delegation is objecting to parties as non-social which come within the definition of the word "social" as contained in the dictionaries of the world, and their objections are not well founded.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In Point No. 1 the Soviet Delegation has stated its position. It is the attitude towards non-social organizations which is maintained in the Joint Commission sessions. What is there wrong in this point? Does this point not correspond to the position of the Soviet Delegation?

GENERAL BROWN: It is the position of the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation accepts it as such.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: So there are no objections.

GENERAL BROWN: The Soviet Delegation pointed out that among those filing applications for participation in consultation in South Korea, there were branches of central organizations narrowly local and insignificant organizations of non-zonal character, ~~whom~~ which the Soviet Delegation proposed not to admit into the list for consultation, declaring that Decision #12 of the Joint Commission stipulates consultation with democratic parties and social organizations of zonal scale. At the same time the Soviet Delegation pointed out that the number of local organizations of both North and South Korea are great and that if the Joint Commission were to consult with all local insignificant organizations, ~~its~~ its work would be greatly delayed and confused. The American Delegation wishes to point out that the opinion of the Soviet Delegation that Decision #12 stipulates consultation ~~of~~ with democratic parties and social organizations of a zonal scale is incorrect. Joint Decision #12 does not so stipulate. The Soviets have no basis for an opinion that the Joint Decision requires something which they cannot find in that decision.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I would like to read point 3 of Joint Commission Decision #12 which states the "democratic parties and social organizations of North and South Korea are being invited to submit their applications for participation in consultation with the Joint Commission. Each party and organization must present only one application through its central zonal organ only.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has frequently pointed out that that concerns the submission of the application. It is not a stipulation that consultation of democratic parties and social organizations of zonal scale only must be had. However, the American Delegation is not going to argue ~~the~~ these points with the Soviet Delegation. It merely intends to point out where the American Delegation does not agree with the statement of position presented by the Soviet Delegation. Attention also is called to the last clause of the statement of the Soviet Delegation, "if the Joint Commission would consult with all locally insignificant organizations, its work could be greatly delayed and confused." A plan was drawn under which consultation would have

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been completed within two weeks. The day after tomorrow will be the eighth week that the Joint Commission has been wasting time talking about something which could have been completed six weeks ago.

Paragraph 3 - The Soviet Delegation declared that in accordance with the agreement reached between the Foreign Minister of the USSr, V. M. Molotov, and Secretary of State of the U. S., George C. Marshall, during April-May 1947, the Joint Commission must consult with democratic parties and social organizations which fully uphold the Moscow Decision on Korea and which after signing that declaration do not incite active opposition against the work of the Joint Commission or against one of the Allied Powers or against fulfillment of the Moscow Decision." That is not a correct statement of fact. That quotes none of the three agreed proposals of the Ministers.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This position of the Soviet Delegation corresponds to the agreement reached by the Ministers.

GENERAL BROWN: The last paragraph, "On the basis of this, the Soviet Delegation introduced a proposal stating that parties and social organizations which had filed application for participation ~~and~~ in consultation which are affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee may be admitted ~~for~~ to consultation only provided they ~~would~~ withdraw from ~~the~~ that Committee and cease ~~struggling~~ struggle against the Moscow Decision and Joint Commission." Attention is invited to the words, "on the basis of this", this being a false assumption and an incorrect statement, and the words, "cease struggle against the Moscow Decision." The Soviet Delegation has not established the fact that any party or organization has actually been struggling against the Moscow Decision. As a matter of fact, ample proof was submitted before the Joint Commission to show that that contention was not correct.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Thank them for such support of the work of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: In that paragraph the Soviet Delegation pointed out that after the reconvention of the Joint Commission and even following the

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publication of the Decisions of the Joint Commission on the order of consultation, the Anti-Trusteeship Committee had not only failed to discontinue but as is shown by numerous and widely known facts presented by the Soviet Delegation at the sessions of the Joint Commission, actually intensified its struggle against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission, striving to frustrate its work on the creation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government." The words, "has not only failed to discontinue but as is shown by the numerous and widely known facts presented by the Soviet Delegation" are not correct. The Soviet Delegation has produced no facts; it certainly has produced no widely-known facts; and they have not in any way established a statement which it states as a fact.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: As it is known from the records of the Joint Commission, the Soviet Delegation has presented numerous facts of struggle against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission by parties and organizations affiliated with the so-called Committee for Struggle Against the Moscow Decision. Moreover in connection with the statement of the American Delegation, it should be mentioned, made by them on July 10, where it was stated that this committee especially intensified the struggling against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission starting with May 19. The Soviet Delegation was to present facts but it also presented documents.

GENERAL BROWN: The Soviet paper goes on, "Until and unless the parties and organizations which are affiliated with that Committee state that they withdraw from that Committee, they continue to bear responsibility for its activities. The Soviet Delegation further indicated that parties and organizations affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, having signed the declaration, thus undertook the obligation to fully uphold the Moscow Decision on Korea." The American Delegation takes exception to the statement, "to fully uphold the Moscow Decision". In the application submitted by those parties and organizations, they pledged themselves to cooperate with the Joint Commission in working out the terms of the Moscow Decision. They did not pledge themselves to fully uphold the Moscow Decision, as the Soviet proposal states, including the acceptance of every paragraph, sentence, clause, word and punctuation mark of that Decision. That is an incorrect statement of fact.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This is correct and corresponds to the conditions of the agreement reached between the Ministers, Molotov and Marshall. The first point of that agreement states that "signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5 will be considered as a declaration of good faith to fully uphold the Moscow Decision."

GENERAL BROWN: Reading on, "At the same time, while continuing their membership in that Committee, the aforementioned parties and

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organizations retained their signature under the program of the Committee which contains the obligation to struggle against the Moscow Decision and they continue actually to participate in the struggle against the Moscow Decision. The one is not compatible with the other." That statement that they continue actually to struggle against the Moscow Decision is not a correct statement of fact. It has not been proven by the Soviet Delegation. Evidence has been produced before this Commission to show that that is not a correct statement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has frequently presented facts and examples of the participation of this Anti-Trusteeship Committee in the fight against the Moscow Decision and also against the Joint Commission. If General Brown intends to follow the press and those policies which were carried out by this Committee, then he should be aware of those facts and of the work of this Anti-Trusteeship Committee which was directed against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. Not wishing to acknowledge these facts, the American Delegation rejects and does it only in order to defend these parties and organizations -- members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee.

GENERAL BROWN: Four: "The Soviet Delegation has frequently proposed to summon to the sessions of Subcommission No. 1 or to sessions of the Joint Commission the pepresentatives of parties and organizations affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee in order to more fully define their position regarding the Moscow Decision and the work of Joint Commission. The American Delegation declined these proposals." The statement that the American Delegation declined these proposals is correct, but the Soviet Delegation should also state that the American Delegation insisted that the Soviet Delegation challenge such parties and organizations as provided by the third point of the agreement between the two Ministers and proceed in an orderly agreed manner to challenge those parties and not to arbitrarily eliminate them. The American Delegation was not willing to have any party

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put on question before the Joint Commission session as provided in point three of the Agreement of the Ministers.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation considered and does consider now that it had the right to invite any party and organization to the session of the Joint Commission and to make precisely defined those questions which they had concerning any party or organization, but the American Delegation did not want these parties and organizations to be invited to the Joint Commission session and gave necessary clarification of the questions which the Soviet Delegation had -- which arose in the Soviet Delegation. This, the American Delegation did not do because it alledgedly contradicted the Agreement between Molotov and Marshall because that was not profitable for the American Delegation. It confused them and would have weakened the position and stand taken by the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation does not exclude the fact that if these parties and organizations would have been summoned to the Joint Commission session, as it was suggested by the Soviet Delegation, that the argued question which has not been resolved by the Joint Commission could have been resolved. It seems that being afraid of this, the American Delegation refused from summoning of these parties and organizations to the session of the Joint Commission.

GENERAL BROWN: Paragraph 5: "The Soviet Delegation declined the assertion of the American Delegation claiming that the inclusion of parties and organizations affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee into the list for the consultation is indispensable in order to preserve the definite and allegedly firmly established correlation in the political life of Korea between the parties of the rightist and leftist orientation in proportion of three to two. Pointing out that it is impossible to conduct the work of the Joint Commission upon party basis, the Soviet Delegation declared this Joint Commission must be predicated on as regards the question of consultation with Korean parties and organizations upon the attitude of those latter toward the Moscow Decision and not upon their belonging to this or

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that political orientation." There is nothing in the Moscow Decision that bears up the contention that the question of consultation with Korean parties and organizations must be predicated upon the attitude of the parties and organizations towards the Moscow Decision. The Moscow Decision clearly provides that consultation will be with the political parties and social organizations.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Moscow Decision states that the Joint Commission must consult with democratic parties and social organizations. Joint Commission Decision No. 12 and the Agreement reached between the Ministers states that the Joint Commission will consult with democratic parties and social organizations which fully uphold the Moscow Decision. This is just what the Soviet Delegation holds. The Soviet Delegation did not take up arithmetical calculations between leftists and rightists, but it approached with a single measurement and this measurement is the Moscow Decision and the Agreement between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in dealing with parties and organizations to be consulted by the Joint Commission. It is seen from this that the position of the Soviet Delegation which has been stated in point 5 is stated correctly.

GENERAL BROWN: Paragraph 6: "After analysing the preliminary list of parties and organizations of Southern Korea submitted to Sub-commission No. 1 by the American Delegation, the Soviet Delegation noted the total membership of these parties and organizations expressed by figures of 70,000,000 individuals while the entire population of Southern Korea consists of approximately 18,000,000." This figure of 70,000,000 is not correct, it is 56,000,000. The 18,000,000 is not correct, it should be 20,300,000.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: These figures are the result of calculation of those statements which were translated and have been presented by the South Korean parties. The exact number of those 435 parties is 69,830,557. As to the number of population, this data has been taken from the American Delegation's statement which was made by them in Joint Commission somewhere last year and their census was

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done through official census that were carried out by the Japanese in South Korea.

GENERAL BROWN: Paragraph 7: "Whereas the discussion regarding the list was delaying the beginning of the oral consultation, the Soviet Delegation in order to expedite the work of the Commission, had many times proposed to begin consultation with democratic parties and social organizations regarding consultation ~~with democratic parties and social organizations with~~ which there were no objections on either the Soviet or the American Delegation without awaiting for the compilation of the final list. This proposal was declined." "The American Delegation declined that proposal because the only objection came from the Soviet Delegation and those objections were being made to parties and organizations which were not members of the Democratic People's Front. The American Delegation could not agree to commence consultation until the Soviet Delegation agreed to conduct consultation on a wide free basis as provided in the Agreement between the Ministers and as agreed by them in Joint Commission Decision 12.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: From the last statement of the American Delegation, point 7, it seems that such a proposal was done by the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation does not refute it. The Soviet Delegation has pointed out to the inconsistency of the American Delegation's contention by the fact that in the list of the American Delegation and also the list presented by the Soviet Delegation on July 10, inasmuch as in the list of the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation there were not only parties which are affiliated with the Democratic National Front but also the great majority. Judging by the number which was overwhelming, there were parties and organizations which belonged to the rightist camp. Consequently, there were no reasons for the American Delegation to further delay the work of the Joint Commission and the commencement of the consultation.

As to parties and organizations affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, the Soviet Delegation has frequently pointed out that they could have participated in the work of consultation provided they withdrew and cease fight against the Joint Commission.

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GENERAL BROWN: Paragraph 8: "The Soviet Delegation likewise frequently proposed to charge Subcommission No. 1 with examining specifically the objections or remarks regarding each organization separately, but the American Delegation declined these proposals." It is not stated that the American Delegation submitted at least 7 proposals which would enable the work of the Joint Commission to have been carried to completion had the Soviet Delegation accepted them.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: But the American Delegation does not repudiate that the Soviet Delegation submitted also such proposals and submitted them frequently and that the American Delegation rejected them, so that the comments of the American Delegation of Point 8 do not repudiate it, but, just the opposite, they cooperate this point.

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GENERAL BROWN: The Chairman of Subcommission No. 1, Dr. Bunce, pointed out to the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the statement made by the Soviet Delegation in paragraph 8 is not correct--that the Soviet Delegation did not submit a proposal in the terms which they state in paragraph 8 they submitted. The American Delegation frequently stated its willingess to examine the list of parties and organizations and exclude any party and organization which under the Moscow Decision, the agreement of the Ministers and Joint Commission Decision 12 could be found by both delegations by mutual agreement to be not acceptable for consultation. Paragraph 8, as correctly stated should read: "The Soviet Delegation likewise frequently proposed to charge Subcommission No. 1 with examining specifically the parties and organizations which had applied for consultation and to prepare by mutual agreement a list composed of those parties and organizations which both delegations were willing to accept for consultation." This is a correct statement of fact.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It was only in the July 10 session that the Soviet Delegation submitted proposals in which it suggested to consider lists of parties and organizations presented by the Soviet Delegation for consultation, and also in the session the Soviet Delegation has frequently suggested that Subcommission 1 meet and discuss comments which both delegations have concerning each party and social organization, but for some unknown reasons, Mr. Bunce did not want this. That is why the position of the Soviet Delegation as stated in point 8 is correct--corresponds to reality.

GENERAL BROWN: The remark of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation shows the incorrectness of the statement made in point 8. Point 8 states,"the remarks regarding each organization". He now states that he is referring to an examination of the list of parties and organizations submitted by the Soviet Delegation for consultation. This list did not include each party but excluded 24 of the major rightist parties and included only parties and organizations with a membership in excess of 10,000. Even these proposals did not guarantee that the Soviet Delegation would consult with all parties

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and organizations on their list, but the Soviet Delegation reserved to itself the right of unilateral exclusion from the list for final consultation parties and organizations appearing on the list submitted by them.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Here is the proposal of the Soviet Delegation which was not accepted by the American Delegation. "The Joint Commission directs Subcommission No. 1, Mr. Bunce and Mr. Tounkin, to commence the work and to check on the whole list of applicants and to review all the objections of both delegations concerning various parties and organizations in order to find out which parties and organizations must be included into the list upon mutual agreement.

GENERAL BROWN: Paragraph 9 "As regards the question of compilation of the list the Soviet Delegation declares that whereas Subcommission No. 1 had not submitted an agreed list of parties and organizations, it devolves upon the Joint Commission to decide which parties and organizations which had filed application must be included into a list for initial oral consultation in accordance with the Moscow Decision and Joint Commission Decision No. 12 of the Joint Commission. It will be possible to exclude from the list only when there will be available a list approved by the Commission. The Soviet Delegation pointed out that the position of the American Delegation regarding this question tends to make the Joint Commission consult with all parties and organizations which had filed application and signed the declaration which the American Delegation deems it necessary to invite for consultation." A more correct wording of that paragraph would delete the words "Moscow Decision and Joint Commission Decision No. 12 of the Joint Commission," and in lieu of these words the words, I quote "the principle of mutual agreement for inclusion enunciated by the Soviet Delegation". After the word "application" in the next line, the words, "and signed the declaration" should be included. In lieu of the word "American" in the last line, the word "either" should be inserted. With these changes, the statement becomes very near being a correct statement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: But this is a point which is set forth in the

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Soviet position and corresponds to what the Soviet Delegation suggested in the sessions.

GENERAL BROWN: I move a ten minute recess.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: O.K.

The Commission recessed at 2200 hours and reconvened at 2215 hours.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Thus we have considered the position of the Soviet Delegation as it is stated in their draft of the joint report. From the analysis which has been carried out by the American Delegation, point by point, of the Soviet position, it became clear that the American Delegation does not object to the factual statement of the position that the Soviet Delegation maintained during the work of the Joint Commission. The Soviet position is stated in its draft without criticism of the position of the American Delegation, which corresponds to the agreement reached in the Joint Commission session of September 3. The American Delegation made comments on certain points and sentences of the Soviet position, but not because this is not true or incorrect, and the American Delegation objected against it for quite unnatural reasons. Inasmuch as if there had been no objections by the American Delegation, then we could have achieved agreement and the work of the Joint Commission could have progressed successfully. Now I move that we proceed with the consideration of the position of the American Delegation as it is stated in its draft.

GENERAL BROWN: I agree.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Paragraph 7 of the American draft states the position of the American Delegation, and this position is here divided into separate points. The first point of this statement, the Soviet Delegation has no objections to. The Soviet Delegation considers such wording of point 2 incorrect and not corresponding to the Decision No. 12 and to the agreement reached between the Ministers and the Moscow Decision. The eligibility for consultation does not follow automatically either of these decisions. Joint Commission Decisions 12, 14, and 16 stated the necessity for compilation of a list in Subcommission No. 1. Consequently with such a wording the American Delegation contradicts itself in its decisions that were adopted by the Joint Commission. Consequently

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the last phrase does not correspond to reality and does not follow the decisions. It is that they may be excluded from the list of consultation only on the basis of just reasons upon mutual agreement by both delegations. It would have corresponded only in case the Commission had compiled the list.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation does not agree with the statement of the Soviet Delegation and adheres to the second subparagraph of paragraph 7.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: But it does not correspond to Joint Commission Decision Nos. 12, 14 and 16.

GENERAL BROWN: The Soviet Delegation has been arguing that for two months, and the American Delegation cannot accept the argument.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation considers that this point should be excluded entirely inasmuch as it has been never there and nowhere discussed, and the question is the eligibility for admittance of new questions that have not been brought up either by the Soviet or American Delegations. "Point 3 is an effort to exclude any party or social organization to which it is opposed. This position is a violation of the agreement reached by Mr. Molotov and Mr. Marshall...." As to the last part of this point concerning the violation of the agreement reached, it is criticism of the Soviet Delegation. As it is known, during the discussion of this question, there was no question of the veto. The question which was discussed was the list. That is why the Soviet Delegation believes that this point should be excluded from the American Delegation's point as a point which does not correspond to factual data.

GENERAL BROWN: The insistence of the Soviet Delegation on compiling a list by mutual agreement and their refusal to accept the combined list of applicants clearly makes a distinction between eligibility for consultation by those who signed the application for consultation, Joint Communique No. 5, and admission by them for incorporation in a new list of parties and social organizations which they insist must be prepared before the Joint Commission proceeds to consultation. As a matter of fact, the Soviet member of Subcommission No. 1 early in the deliberation of the Joint Commission answered a questioned asked

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by Dr. Bunce, I quote: "Do you believe that an individual shall be excluded because of the opinion he holds and because of expressing his opinion?" Mr. Tounkin replied: "The question is not clearly stated. You confuse two problems: one, freedom of opinion, eligibility for consultation; two, admission for consultation." The position of the Soviet Delegation in this regard has been very clear throughout six weeks of debate on this issue. Point #3 as stated in the American position is correct and must remain in the American position.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This question has never been discussed in Joint Commission sessions and is a free interpretation of the American Delegation which desires to continuously discuss--to include this as their position.

GENERAL BROWN: The question was discussed in the Joint Commission for six weeks.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This question was not discussed. It was taken by the American Delegation arbitrarily. Point 4 of the American position reads: The United States Delegation repeatedly tried to obtain agreement on the definition of political parties and social organizations. Due to opposition of the Soviet Delegation, the Joint Commission was unable to agree . ....." The American Delegation states that it was guided by dictionaries in getting a definition of the word "social". First of all, there can be no reference to the Soviet Delegation inasmuch as the Soviet Delegation must not make dictionary definitions of the word "social". Moreover, the American Delegation does also not make such definitions. This word "social" is widely known. The Soviet Delegation indicated that when discussing the list, it would express its opinion as to whether or that organization is social or not. If the American Delegation tries to state that it does not understand--it is not clear for them the word "social"-then it should..... That is why the Soviet Delegation moves that the words "due to opposition of the Soviet Delegation, the Joint Commission was unable to agree upon terms ....." be deleted.

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GENERAL BROWN: In the 28th meeting of the Joint Commission the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation stated, "It is necessary to agree on a definition which will determine which parties and social organizations shall be consulted." Further, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation stated, "It is the desire of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation be able to reach an agreement on a definition which will determine what political parties and social organizations shall be consulted with." The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation replied, "The Soviet Delegation agrees not to limit the number of parties and social organizations." At the 29th meeting the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation stated, "The American Delegation sees no reason why we cannot agree on a standard of a political party. We request the Soviet Delegation, through Mr. Tounkin, to offer in Subcommission 1 a definition of what constitutes a political party. If that point can be agreed on I can see no reason why the Joint Commission cannot go forward and approve Joint Decision 4." In the 29th meeting the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation further stated, "There is nothing in any decision known to the American Delegation which would define a political party or social organization, nor which states to whom Communique No. 5 will be sent. The American Delegation feels that it is essential before Communique 5 is sent out that determination be had as to whom it is to be sent. What do we mean by all political parties and social organizations?" In that same meeting the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation stated, "You must agree with me that there must be some definition of a political party. None is now in existence." In the 31st meeting the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation stated, "The American Delegation opposes any change in the agreement reached in Joint Commission Decision Number 4 after the decision is approved." He stated that "in consideration of pressure which will likely be brought to bear on the Joint Commission to revise its decision, it is necessary that any and all limitations on political parties and

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social organizations be stipulated in Joint Decision Number 4." The Soviet Delegation having refused the repeated requests of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation to define a political party or social organization, the only definition which the American Delegation can accept for those terms is that carried in the accepted dictionaries of the world.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation remembers the argument on this question in the Joint Commission session, but the American Delegation has never given a definition of what a social organization is. It has continued to refer to world dictionaries, but there are many such dictionaries, and the question is what dictionary should be taken as a guide. But there is still one definition, and the Soviet Delegation stated it would during discussion of a list of parties and organizations state it and state this definition specifically. It was that it would give a complete definition to the word "social" but it was not an accepted one. Certainly we couldn't have given a definition to the word "social" as it is in the dictionaries, and this shouldn't have been done. The Soviet Delegation did not calculate upon and couldn't have done so that certain leaders of parties of South Korea, as was stated by General Brown, would through the night create parties and organizations, such parties with a membership of one million members. It would have only thus confirmed the position of the Soviet Delegation which it holds in order not to include into the list for consultation non-social and non-existent organizations, and organizations with a fabulous number of members, without a detailed check of them. Thus it has happened, and we only can be thankful to Mr. Bunce that he presented such a number of parties and organizations in South Korea. It is known that later on certain parties refused to present their answers on the questionnaires, and a part of them which had submitted applications later applied to be excluded from consultation with the Joint Commission.

To Point Number 5 of the American Delegation the Soviet Delegation has no special objections, inasmuch as it corresponds to the position of the American Delegation, but it does not correspond with the

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substance of the question, and the Moscow Decision, and the agreement reached between the ministers. The Soviet Delegation deems it expedient that the last sentence of this point be deleted. It is the sentence which states, "....which in the statement of the Soviet Delegation is purely local."

GENERAL BROWN: The words which the Soviet Delegation proposes to delete are correctly stated. The sentence is correctly stated. The American Delegation cannot agree to their deletion.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: They are tied together, and by deleting these words as written in the sentence it then would correspond with the American position.

Point Number 6: "Fraudulent organizations should be excluded from consultation by mutual agreement provided no such organizations be excluded where the sole claim of fraud was aggregation of the total membership, a fact evident in some applications of both North and South Korea organizations." The Soviet Delegation considers that this point as it remains is correct and corresponds to the American position, inasmuch as the American Delegation was against the exclusion of non-existent parties and parties which submitted fraudulent data, but the Soviet Delegation objects to what is stated concerning North Korea, inasmuch as it corresponds to reality with a population of 11 million to have a number of party members of 13 million. This is a real figure.

GENERAL BROWN: It is a real figure providing you include about 5 million people not yet old enough to hold the franchise, and about 4 million not yet born.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation believes that the data concerning the question of North Korea is correct. Concerning the question of birth, it doesn't object if the American Delegation helps.

"Organizations which are, or have been, members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, or similar organizations, are eligible for initial consultation under the Marshall-Molotov agreement if they have applied for consultation and have signed the required declaration." I would like to underline the word "and". Those organizations which were members and then withdrew from the Anti-Trusteeship Committee are

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eligible
/ for consultation, and the Soviet Delegation did not object against these parties and organizations, and couldn't have objected against them; but those organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and which are specifically created to this effect, they are not eligible under the Marshall-Molotov agreement inasmuch as they carry out the fight against it. This is the factual side -- but it corresponds to the position of the American Delegation inasmuch as it has all the time defended these parties and organizations which carry on the fight against the Moscow Decision.

GENERAL BROWN: This is not only the position of the American Delegation, it is the position of the ministers. It is the agreement which Mr. Molotov agreed to and which the Soviet Delegation has repudiated.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In the agreement of the ministers they stated that parties should fully uphold the Moscow Decision and not carry on a fight against it and the Allied Powers. If they do so they are ineligible for consultation.

Point Number 8: "Evidence to support ~~and justify~~ an indictment justifying the exclusion from consultation of organizations which are ~~apparently~~ or have been members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee has not been submitted to the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation has made a persistent and continuous effort to exclude ~~these~~ 24 eight parties and organizations which they ~~think~~ claim are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee from the list of organizations to be consulted. This is ~~a~~ an arbitrary unilateral exercise of the veto power ~~and a~~ in violation of the Marshall-Molotov correspondence, which specifies exclusion shall be by mutual agreement only." The whole paragraph is not a position, but an argument to defend the position of the American Delegation. First, the Soviet Delegation in a Joint Commission session has presented many facts which showed the fight of parties and organizations which are affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. Second, the Soviet Delegation did not insist upon the exclusion of 24 parties. It only pointed out that they shouldn't be included with the parties and organizations unless they would withdraw and cease their fight

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against the Moscow Decision. The last paragraph of this point which states that "This is an arbitrary and unilateral exercise of the veto power in violation of the Marshall-Molotov correspondence which specifies exclusion shall be by mutual agreement only", this is a phrase which is much favored by the American Delegation and which it often used in the process of discussion in the Joint Commission. That is why it also does not suit, inasmuch as it is an argument and not a position. The Soviet Delegation did not include arguments, and believes the American Delegation shouldn't do this. If the American Delegation is sure that its position corresponds to the Moscow Decision and the agreement, then it will agitate for itself without any arguments, and if it isn't so, then that is probably why the American Delegation includes this. That is why the Soviet Delegation mentions that this point be excluded entirely.

GENERAL BROWN: That paragraph is not an argument. It is a statement of fact. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation frequently pointed out to the Soviet Delegation that the ministers had foreseen the possibility that it might be necessary to challenge a political party or social organization which fomented or incited active opposition against the Moscow Agreement, and wrote Point 3 to provide a method by which either delegation could proceed to eliminate such a party or social organization. The Soviet Delegation has not used that method because ~~they~~ it knew that ~~they~~ it didn't have the evidence which would justify the exclusion of any of these parties or organizations by proper process as provided in the agreement reached by the ministers, so ~~they~~ it attempted to arbitrarily exclude them by unilateral exclusion from the list. The American Delegation cannot agree to remove that statement from their position.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Point 9 of the American Delegation's draft; "The Soviet Delegation has ~~stated~~ challenged no political parties or social organizations under Point 3 of the agreed proposals for reconvening the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation submitted a list of 146 parties and organizations of both North and South Korea with a membership in excess of 10,000 whose eligibility for consultation they were willing to discuss. The list ~~contained~~ included 24 parties and organizations stated by the

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Soviet Delegation to be members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, but ~~where~~ no acceptable evidence or indictment was presented." Again he stated the 24 parties which the Soviet Delegation wished to exclude. "Evidence available to the U.S. Delegation shows that only 9 of the 24 parties were members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, and there were no further reasons for excluding the remaining organizations, who were represented in the Joint Commission." As a point of argument it is a correct point, but on the other hand the Soviet Delegation has presented data, and it should be viewed as a mere argument and evidence which the American Delegation uses to support the position which the American Delegation holds. If we accept this point then we should add to the Soviet position another two pages of clarifications and argument. It is useless to review this point inasmuch as it doesn't present the position of the American Delegation.

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GENERAL BROWN: The paragraph not only presents the position of the American Delegation, but shows the incorrectness of the Soviet proposals. The Soviets have produced no evidence which ~~can attempt~~ showed ~~to show~~ that these 24 parties are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. As a matter of fact they have offered to remove certain of these parties from the list of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee which shows that they are informed of the fact that these 24 parties are not all members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee. This paragraph is essential to the proper understanding of the American position because it shows the incorrectness of the Soviet position and the fact that they make serious proposals based on slight, if not incorrect, data.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Point 10 of the American position: The Soviet Delegation stated that ~~partisan~~ parties and organizations affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee ~~would~~ could be considered for consultation with the Joint Commission only if they publicly withdrew from that organization, and the U. S. Delegation refused to demand any such act by these parties and organizations that on the basis that it was tantamount to a refusal of the Joint Commission to accept their signatures in good faith. In spite of this, the nine organizations which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, together with other members of the United Council, submitted a letter to the Joint Commission, which was published in the press, stating that they intend to ~~would~~ cooperate fully with the Joint Commission and that they only reserved the right to express an ~~their~~ honest difference of opinion with respect to aid and assistance ~~for the~~ (trusteeship) in a form which would clearly limit the sovernity of the Korean government." It seems that this point is correct--that the American Delegation defended these parties and insisted upon ~~their~~ this inclusion into the list, but this is only an argument. On the other hand, we are not discussing the letter which has been written by these parties, and inasmuch as the American Delegation refused to have these parties summoned to the Joint Commission session, the Soviet Delegation until now has not made clear the questions that arose ~~by~~ in the Soviet Delegation in connection with this letter. That is why the Soviet Delegation believes that this point which interprets

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both the positions of the Soviet Delegation and American Delegation should be excluded inasmuch as the American Delegation should interpret only its position and not the position of the Soviet Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: This paragraph ~~doesn't~~ does give the American position; furthermore, it shows that the contention of the Soviet Delegation is not well founded, in spite of the fact that ~~they~~ it challenged the good faith of these parties and organizations. Instead of leaving the Joint Commission and refusing to have anything further to do with those who questioned their honesty, these parties and organizations informed the Joint Commission that the accusations against them were not well founded and pledged themselves to support the Joint Commission as they had agreed to do in their signed declaration. It is essential to a proper understanding of the American position that that paragraph and the reference to the letter contained therein remain in the American position.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The letter cannot serve as a document inasmuch as its genuineness was not established and a number of questions occur concerning this letter. How then can we approve a reference to a document which is unofficial? The Soviet Delegation considers that this is not the American Delegation position but is a fact being included by the American Delegation which is being used by the American Delegation to confirm its position. This is an untrue and incorrect statement of the substance of the question.

GENERAL BROWN: The letter is more ~~creditable~~ credible than any evidence offered by the Soviet Delegation upon which ~~they~~ it bases the right to exclude these parties and social organizations. ~~It~~ the letter bears the chop of individuals known to the American Delegation. It is not a newspaper article; it is not hearsay. I repeat, it is more ~~creditable~~ credible and convincing than any evidence produced before the Joint Commission by the Soviet Delegation to sustain any position taken by the Soviet Delegation during the session of the Joint Commission in 1947.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation beleives that if we include this point--this letter--instead of the American position, it would not differ from the position of the American Delegation. This arouses

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a suspicion that this letter was composed with assistance or by consultation or ~~any~~ some other way. That is why the American Delegation considers it ~~creditable~~ credible. The wording of the letter corresponds to the wording of the American Delegation position. The trouble is this is the reason why the American Delegation was afraid that these organizations be summoned to the Joint Commission session. The Soviet Delegation would like one thing--to speak with these parties and organizations.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation did not accuse the Soviet Delegation of writing the newspaper articles which ~~they~~ it read before the Joint Commission, nor did the American Delegation accuse the Soviet Delegation of writing a letter which ~~they~~ it said Kim, Koo had written and a carbon copy of which ~~they~~ it said ~~they~~ it had but did not read into the record of the Joint Commission, as the American Delegation remembers, nor did the American Delegation ask that the editors of those papers or Kim Koo be produced by the Soviet Delegation in order that they could be questioned by the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation's assumption that Americans wrote the letter about which they are arguing are totally unfounded and the allegations are denied by the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is pointing out the fact that ~~this fact~~ one may compare the letter with the arguments and proofs which are presented by the American Delegation and ~~which~~ they will correspond to its contents. As to the extract from newspapers which were presented by the Soviet Delegation, they couldn't have been written by the Soviet Delegation inasmuch as these newspapers are Korean newspapers of the rightist parties, and it seems that they wouldn't accept the Soviet Delegation as their reporter, although the Soviet Delegation would not mind writing some articles to these papers making clear to them the substance of the Moscow Decision. As to the letter of Kim Koo, the Soviet Delegation received the carbon copy from the American Secretariat. The Soviet Delegation does not think that the American Secretariat would engage in falsification, moreover, of such a document as a letter from Kim Koo.

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When the Soviet Delegation asked to receive the original, the American Secretariat said that this copy of the letter General Brown had in his portfolio. Consequently, there is all reason to believe that this letter exists, and why did not the American Delegation present the original copy of this letter. It should be mentioned that the letter from Kim Koo is divergent from the position of the Soviet Delegation, but is being defended by the American Delegation. Point No. 11 of the American position: "While the Soviet Delegation insisted that its actions to exclude a large group of rightist parties were not politically motivated, an analysis of the above proposal of the Soviet Delegation indicates that acceptance of this proposal would in fact give parties and organizations affiliated with the Democratic People's Front an overwhelming majority in Consultation. The figures supporting this statement are as follows." The American Delegation proceeds to state figures. I shall mention some of these figures which will repudiate the statement of the American Delegation that the overwhelming majorigy would belong to the Democratic National Front. Here are such figures: The People's Front has 136 organizations with a membership of 27,296,000, which makes up 41% of the total claimed membership which applied for consultation; Moderates have 72 organizations which applied for consultation with a membership of 14,785,000, which is 22% of the total claimed membership which applied for consultation; and the rightists have 252 organizations with applied membership of 24,920,000, which is 37 percent. If we take simple mathematics which the American Delegation often applies, then we have 324 organizations or rightist and moderates with the number of members of 39½ million which make up 59%. Leftist organizations affiliated with the Democratic National Front consist of 136 organizations or 27 million. We thus wouldn't have even a simple majority, not to say an overwhelming one. If we go on mentioning the rest of the figures, these are also in doubt, and they do not point out the absolute majority of the Democratic National Front. The whole point doesn't state the position of the American Delegation but is an arbitrary argument and an arithmetical calculation which has not been checked by anybody.

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Certainly the Soviet Delegation cannot sign such a document which is an ~~arbitrary interpretation because it does not say~~ anything to anybody. That is why this point should be excluded. The Soviet Delegation does not present figures, it only states the substance of their position, and the American Delegation should have restricted itself also to the statement of its position, but ~~not~~ in substance without mentioning criticism, comments, and arguments. Here are the comments which the Soviet Delegation would like to present on the American Delegation position.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has adopted a very simple method to point out the objection of the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation could go into greater detail, and, if the Soviet Delegation desires, the American Delegation will do so. It could start, for instance, with the opening addr ss of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation of the Joint Commission in 1946, which stated the Soviet objectives. It could mention the strategy followed by the Soviet Delegation ~~in the first meeting~~ of the Joint Commission in 1946 and the ~~other~~ Soviet insistence on consulting only parties and organizations of Democratic People's structure. It could mention the many acts of the Soviet Delegation in 1947 which pursued the same strategy and made every effort to eliminate all parties other than Democratic People's Front parties, and it might point to the last proposal of the Soviet Delegation, where, having assured to itself an overwhelming majority of Democratic People's Front parties and organizations with whom to consult, ~~they were~~ it was not even satisfied with that, but insisted that the 38 parties in North Korea be given equality of representation of only 9,000,000 people with the 4 22 parties of South Korea which represent 20,000,000 people. There is a saying in English that figures don't lie. It is the opinion of the American Delegation that the figures quoted in that paragraph are correctly quoted and mathematically are correctly stated, that the implication is properly pointed and that the implication is essential to the position of the American Delegation as stated.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has never refused, but feels now that those proposals and statements which have been submitted by the Joint Commission session in 1946 as well as in 1947--the Soviet Delegation has not taken up any arithmetical calculations so as to create a favorable position for itself. It has been working at the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision, which was adopted by the Three Ministers on Korea. The only criteria that exists for the Soviet Delegation in approaching parties and organizations when deciding the question on their inclusion into the list for joint consultation is their attitude towards the Moscow Decision. The American Delegation has not cited and it cannot do it, and ~~they~~ it cannot move another fact which would show the position of the Soviet Delegation except that it wishes to consult only with those parties and organizations which uphold the Moscow Decision. The Soviet Delegation sticks to its words--~~it is~~ they are the words that corresponds to its deeds, but the words of the American Delegation do not correspond to their deeds. Inasmuch as the American Delegation in Joint Commission session pointed out the exact necessity for exactly fulfilling the Moscow Decision, and outside these sessions, they said parties and organizations may carry on their fight against the Moscow Decision, in doing so they screen themselves by freedom of expression of opinion. This is a fact. The American Delegation should take it into consideration. It seems it does it consciously. It is known that if there were no opposition to the Moscow Decision from parties and organizations in South Korea, Korea would long ago have had its government and Korea would have been united into one. Only those who are not interested in the creation of a united democratic government as stipulated by the Moscow Decision may carry on the fight against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission, inasmuch as this corresponds to their interest. The Soviet Delega-

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tion has shown and does now show an example of an objective approach to a draft of documents of the Joint Commission. As it is known, the American Delegation in today's session could not make a single comment on the substance of the position of the Soviet Delegation--not only these comments were only on the form, and Mr. Bunce in Subcommission No. 1 stated that the position of the American Delegation is set forth as it was held by the Soviet Delegation in Joint Commission session, and the Soviet Delegation exerted its efforts to objectively state its position in the joint report. General Brown has not made any proposals. Now we have discussed both positions, but what shall we do further. The Soviet Delegation believes that on the basis of this discussion, each delegation should take into consideration those comments made in today's session, then the joint report may be completed and presented for approval by our governments.

GENERAL BROWN: I move we adjourn and meet at 1030 hours to continue the discussion.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I accept the proposal--10:30 tomorrow morning.

The meeting adjourned at0100 hours.

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Note Corrections P: 1-4-5-11

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TRANSCRIPT OF FIFTY-NINTH MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
5 September 1947 at 1030 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV:

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Are there any comments on the agenda today?

GENERAL BROWN: Accepted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Yesterday we completed a discussion of positions of both Delegations. We elect now to consider the various parts of the joint report and further proposals of both Delegations. There is a document and this document is the proposal which was submitted by the Soviet Delegation in the 51st Joint Commission session of August 5.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will read the proposal. "At the 51st Meeting of 5 August 1947, the Soviet Delegation instituted the following proposal which was rejected by the American Delegation: 'Taking into consideration...'" I see no reason for copying these into the record. I think we could refer back to them -- I ~~just~~ make that suggestion JUST to save the secretaries work.

COLONEL EDWARDS: The Soviet Delegation is the Secretariat this week.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The question at issue is not to read this into the record, but it is what is included in the draft. What are the comments on the new draft proposals?

GENERAL BROWN: They will be made later. We are simply giving the American Delegation's VIEWS concerning the record. "Taking into consideration that the Joint Commission, during an entire month could not attain any progress in the question of compilation of the list of democratic parties and social organizations, in connection with which all the work of the Joint Commission is being delayed, the Soviet Delegation, with the object of expediting the work of the Commission, introduces the following proposals:

"1. To commence the elaboration of the proposals concerning the structure and principles of organization of a Provisional Korean

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Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter), the political platform for this government, and also questions of the executive personnel of a Provisional Government, ~~the order of assumption of power by a Provisional Government~~ and the selection of personnel, for the purpose of which:

"a. In accordance with paragraph 8 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12, to transfer the considerations and proposals received from Korean democratic parties and social organizations of North, as well as of South Korea, to Subcommission No. 2 for study and elaboration of the conciliated proposals.

"b. To direct Subcommissions No. 2 and 3, to present the plans for their work to the Joint Commission, within a 5 day period.

"c. To direct Subcommissions No. 2 and 3 to present their considerations regarding the formation of Subcommittees.

"2. To direct the Chief Commissioners of both Delegations, jointly with Subcommission No. 1, to:

"a. To continue consideration of the question regarding the list of democratic parties and social organizations for oral consultation, with the purpose of reaching an agreement.

"b. To prepare the list of representatives of parties and social organizations for oral consultation.

"c. To elaborate the proposals according to point 9 of the Joint Commission Decision No. 12."

The American Delegation has no objections to including into the joint report any proposal introduced by either Delegation if after comparison, it is found to be the statement as was stated at the time the proposal was submitted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: So there are no objections to the inclusion?

GENERAL BROWN: No objections if, on comparison, the proposal agrees with that issued at the time it was entered in the minutes of the meeting of that date.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It is quite necessary to have the documents compared.

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What are the comments on the American proposal included into this document dated August 12?

GENERAL BROWN: No objections if after comparison it is found to be a correct report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Further the document contains the Soviet Delegation's proposal dated August 26.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief of the American Delegation will read that part of the Soviet digest which refers to the Joint Commission meeting of 26 August in which the Soviet Delegation submitted an answer to the American Delegation's proposal:

"The fundamental task of the Joint Commission -- formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government -- is by-passed and confused in the American proposal, while the Korean people are expecting from the Joint Commission, before everything else, the solution of that very problem.

"The American proposal does not mention consultation stipulated in paragraph 9 of the Decision No. 12 of the Joint Commission; yet the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation when answering a question of the Soviet Delegation explained that such consultation must take place. Nevertheless, he has not introduced any proposals regarding the method of conducting these consultations.

"The Soviet declaration declared that it considers it self-evident that the Provisional Charter should provide for the creation of a legislative body elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal franchise and by secret ballot. The Soviet Delegation noted that it was getting the impression that the proposal of the American Delegation of 12 August had been introduced for purely propagandistic purposes.

"Having agreed with the proposal not to conduct the oral consultation stipulated in paragraph 7 of the Decision No. 12 of the Joint Commission, because of the impossibility of reaching an agreement regarding the list of parties and organizations, the Soviet Delegation introduced the following proposal."

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The statement as just read by the Chief of the American Delegation contained many ~~inaccurate statements. It is not objective if the~~ Soviet Delegation insists that the Soviet report be objective; it is very argumentative, and it is not a statement of fact -- specifically, the statement in the third sub-paragraph: "The American proposal does not mention consultation as stipulated in paragraph 9 of Joint Decision No. 12; yet the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation when answering ~~the~~ question of the Soviet Delegation explained that such consultation must take place. Nevertheless, he has not introduced any proposal regarding the method of conducting these consultations. "Not only did the American Delegation introduce such a proposal, it was accepted by the Soviet Delegation and issued as a part of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 over the signature of the Soviet Delegation. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation carefully explained when his proposal was introduced that Joint Commission Decision No. 12 was in no way being amended except that the questionnaires submitted by the political parties and social organizations were, under the provisions of paragraph 7, Joint Commission Decision No. 12, to be accepted in lieu of initial oral consultation. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation knows that by inserting such a sentence in his argument he is not honestly presenting the American viewpoint. He must know that that is correct. With reference to the next paragraph, the Soviet Delegation declared that it considers it self-evident that the Provisional Charter should provide for the creation of a legislative body elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal franchise and by secret ballot. The provisional charter was not under discussion at this time nor was there any discussion as to what the provisional charter should contain. The question as to what should be placed in the provisional charter is a matter under the early agreement of the Joint Commission and was referred to Subcommission No. 2. Neither the Soviet nor the American Delegation knows at this time what the provisional charter will contain because the provisional charter has not yet been discussed."

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For the Soviet Delegation to bring the provisional charter in this argument is like ~~bringing a red herring across the trail of a~~ baying hound. It can produce nothing but a diversion.] The statement ~~in that same paragraph~~ in the next paragraph: "The Soviet Delegation noted that it was getting the impression that the proposal of the American Delegation of 12 August had been introduced for purely propagandistic purposes." Why should the impression of the Soviet Delegation be written into a joint report? The Soviet Delegation has many impressions; ~~they~~ it may have chills and fever; ~~they~~ it may be sick; but why clutter up the joint report with ~~strenuous~~ extraneous impressions of the Soviet Delegation as to ~~their~~ its state of health or any matter not at issue. The next paragraph -- no comment on that paragraph. The comment will be covered later. That is all. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation will amend his remarks by deleating the statement he has made concerning the provisional charter. Further reading of the statement of the Soviet Delegation concerning the provisional charter indicates that it is a reply to the American proposal that the charter contain provision for free election. The portion of that paragraph to which the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation was taking exception was the statement that the Soviet Delegation noted that it was getting the impression that the proposal of the American Delegation of 12 August had been introduced for purely propagandistic purposes. The remarks of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation concerning that statement are confirmed.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has included nothing new except what was ~~stated~~ made in their proposal ~~they did~~ August 26. These proposals, inasmuch as they were submitted as an answer to the proposal of the American Delegation dated August 12, there was given criticism of the proposal of the American Delegation and certain clarifications of the proposal of the Soviet Delegation. The statement of the Soviet Delegation dated August 26 contains

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only factual conclusions and suppositions. The Soviet Delegation on the basis of the analysis of the proposal of the American Dele ation and on the basis of discussion which took place in the Joint Commission during the discussion of the American Delegation's proposal, the Soviet Delegation indicates once more to the ~ American Delegation's proposal consists of four points which do not contain any indications concerning the carrying out of consultation stipulated in Point 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12. By the by, point 9 of Joint Commission Decision 12 doesn't state anything on the creation of any consultative body to which the American Delegation refers. Point 9 states ~~that~~ "the Joint Commission in elaborat~~ing~~ion of ~~the~~ recommendations ..." with parties and or anizations and the number of these representatives of parties and organizations will be ~~defined~~ determined by a decision of the Joint Commission. This point states that the Commission will ~~complicate united~~ convene joint sessions with these representatives. This doesn't mean a consultative body. At such a session there may be present 5, 10 or 100 representatives. Besides, I have already stated that the American proposal dated August 12 doesn't indicate and doesn't now, and this cannot be understood inas~~ }~~much as it doesn't follow from any point. It is that the carrying out of consultation in compliance with point No. 9 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12. That is why the American Delegation makes a reference which it shouldn't have made. The Soviet Delegation agrees to exclude from its draft of the joint report criticism of the American Delegation's proposal and to include into the joint draft proposals of the Soviet Delegation dated August 26, 1947 in the following conference. Here I shall read them as I want them to be included.

GENERAL BROWN: Just a minute here, I don't quite understand, taking out what is in here and substituting this for it.

(Mr. Prostov then explained)

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: I shall read this proposal as follows:

"The compilation of the list of Korean democratic parties and social organizations for consultation with the Joint Commission proved impossible because of the position taken by the American Delegation.

"In order to expedite the work of the Joint Commission in establishing a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, the Soviet Delegation is ready to agree with the proposal of the American Delegation made on 12 August 1947, not to conduct oral consultation with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, as provided for in point 7 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12, and introduces the following proposals:

"1. To charge:

(a) Subcommission No. 2 to begin immediately the study of the written proposals of democratic parties and social organizations submitted to the Jdnt Commission pertaining to the questionnaires which were distributed by the Joint Commission, and to submit the drafts for the structure of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, of local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and of political platform to the Joint Commission;

"(b) Subcommission No. 3 to submit to the Joint Commission proposals regarding the personnel of a Provisional Government, and the order of acceptance of authority by the Government.

"2. To create a consultative body, a Provisional All-Korean People's Assembly, composed of representatives of democratic parties and social organizations.

"A Provisional All-Korean People's Assembly should be formed from representatives of democratic parties and social organizations with a declared membership of over 10,000 which submitted applications to the Joint Commission for consultation and which fully support the Moscow Decision, and do not oppose the Joint Commission and the Allied Powers.

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" The number of representatives in a Provisional All-Korean People's Assembly from North and from South Korea must be equal.

" Representation from various parties and organizations will be determined by the Joint Commission in accordance with their membership, and by taking into consideration, as much as possible, their influence.

"3. The Joint Commission invites the Provisional All-Korean People's Assembly for the purpose of the working out of proposals regarding structure and principles for the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) for the formation of a political platform and selection of personnel of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, and for the order of acceptance of authority by the Government as well as other matters.

" The Provisional Charter should provide for the creation of a legislative body, elections for which should be conducted throughout all Korea on the basis of general, direct, equal suffrage by secret ballot."

GENERAL BROWN: The last statement substituted for what is now in the record has not yet been read by the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation so he will comment on it when he comes to it at the appropriate time. To continue discussion of the item which was being commented on by each Delegation, it is desired to point out in the opening paragraph of the Soviet proposal the Statement of the Soviet Delegation. At the 51st Meeting of 5 August 1947, the Soviet Delegation introduced an alternate proposal which was rejected by the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation discloses in seven words the reasons why the American Delegation rejected their proposal and yet they devote a full page of argumentive debate as to why they are objecting to the American

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proposal. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again points out that the American Delegation agrees with the Soviet Delegation's insistence that this report be objective and not include argument and debate. If the joint report is to include argument~~ive~~ and debate, then it should be confined to the statements as the minutes contain them, as that argument and debate was read at the time of consideration of the proposal. If the Soviet Delgation intends to rewrite the minutes in a joint report, the American Delegation naturally cannot agree with the position it takes.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation included in the joint report its proposal dated August 5, according to the American wording in the draft report. In the 51st Joint Commission session on August 5, 1947, the Joint Commission moved the following proposal. The Soviet Delegation moved the following proposal which was rejected by the American Delegation. I will read the whole extract from the American draft of the report: "In the 52nd session on August 7, 1947, the American Delegation proposed to direct the Chief Commissioner of both Delegations to meet with the Chairmen of Subcommission No. 1 and discuss and resolve the consultation issue." In addition to this the American Delegation agreed to review paragraphs 1 a,b,c, and paragraph 2c as soon as the question of consultation is resolved. This proposal was rejected by the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation does not mind to have this draft part fully included into the draft of the joint report. Further then follows the proposal of the American Delegation dated August 12 and further the Soviet proposal as it has been read now. Are there any objections?

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GENERAL BROWN: It will be considered when the final report is considered. Reference the new proposal made by the Soviet Delegation as a substitute for the proposal contained on page 3 of their report as submitted, it is desired to point out two errors in the openin; paragraph of that statement. First, with reference to the words, "the proposal of the American Delegation of August 12 not to conduct oral consultation". The proposal of the American Delegation of August 12 was to substitute the written questionnaires received from political parties and social organizations for initial oral consultation as provided by paragraph 7 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12. The statement of the Soviet Delegation is not correct. It should be amended in accordance with the facts.

Furthermore, the statement of the Soviet Delegation contains the words, "because of the position taken by the United States Delegation", again charging the American Delegation for the two months delay which has occurred in the work of the Joint Commission because of failure of agreement to conduct initial oral consultation. The American Delegation suggests that the wording be changed to, "because of the position taken by the Soviet Delegation". The Soviet Delegation well knows that, had ~~they~~ it been willing to comply with the agreement of the Ministers and Joint Commission Decision No. 12 as signed by ~~them~~ it, that oral consultation would have been completed six weeks ago, and the report of the Joint Commission as to the formation of the provisional government would at this time have been in the hands of the Allied Powers.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation made the substitution inasmuch as it fully corresponds to its proposals. There is nothing new added in it. As to paragraph 1, this paragraph actually corresponds to reality, but inasmuch as it contains criticisms of the American Delegation's position, the Soviet Delegation agrees to have this paragraph omitted. It is the paragraph that reads, "The compilation of a list of Korean democratic parties and social organizations for consultation with the Joint Commission because of the

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position taken by the American Delegation turned out impossible."

As to paragraph 2 of this point, this paragraph is correct in substance as well as in form. Here I want to read an extract from the American Delegation's proposal, "...not to conduct oral consultation", and in the answer the Soviet Delegation has said, "The Soviet Delegation is ready to agree with the American Delegation's proposal dated August 12, 1947 to not conduct oral consultation with Korean democratic parties and social organizations as stipulated in paragraph 7 of Joint Commission Decision No. 12 ...." This paragraph as it is here should not be changed inasmuch as it corresponds to the substance of the issue. However, the Soviet Delegation moves that the whole decision be included into the draft of the joint report, except the first paragraph.

GENERAL BROWN: It is suggested that when the Soviet Delegation reads an extract from the American statement that ~~they~~ it read the entire statement - not only two or three words. The American Delegation cannot agree to the ~~exclusion~~ inclusion of the proposed paragraph in the report. The American Delegation has no objection to including into the report the statement and proposals made as previously quoted provided after comparison they are correctly stated.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation in its proposal referred to that part of the American Delegation's proposal which it accepts and is not obliged to cite in its proposal both points of the American Delegation's proposals. It should be noted that the American Delegation ~~submitted~~ in submitting its proposals for consideration on August 12 ~~which~~ had a head-line: "Elimination of oral consultation". This fact in itself states that the American Delegation suggested not to have oral consultation. The Soviet Delegation agreed not to conduct oral consultation, and it states so in its paragraph 2. The whole draft report will be checked with the decisions. This text also will be compared with the proposals submitted by the Soviet Delegation on August 26.

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GENERAL BROWN: Is the number 9 which appears in the next to last line of the second paragraph of the introduction to the Soviet proposal an error, and if so what should that number be?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: It should be point 7. The Russian text has point 7.

GENERAL BROWN: On page 4 of the Soviet report is the following:

"At the Joint Commission meeting of 20 August 1947, the Soviet Delegation made a statement concerning the arrests in Southern Korea in which it pointed out:

"The Korean people follow the work of the Joint Commission with anxiety, and with understandable and legitimate impatience await the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

"And now, in this responsible and tense moment in the work of the Joint Commission, mass arrests of leaders and actual closing down of democratic parties and social organizations of the Leftist trend, pogroms of Leftist Democratic newspapers, arrests of workers of the Leftist Democratic press, began in South Korea. Arrests are being carried out in Seoul, as well as in the provinces.

"It should be noted that the repression is carried out only against those democratic parties and social organizations of South Korea, which actually support the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission.

"Among those arrested, some are representatives of democratic parties and social organizations, designated for participation in oral consultation with the Joint Commission.

"I shall cite several instances which, nevertheless, vividly show the amplitude of repressions in South Korea, directed against the above mentioned democratic parties and social organizations.

"An enumeration of facts follows:

'...The numerous arrests of the leaders of the democratic parties and organizations, many of whom are designated representatives of these parties and organizations for consultation with the Joint Commission, created in South Korea conditions which impede the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision on Korea and the agreement reached between Mr. Molotov and Mr. Marshall.

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'Such an situation is being created, it seems with the aim of undermining the work of the Joint Commission.

'The Soviet Delegation draws the attention of the American Delegation in the Joint Commission toward serious consideration of these circumstances and insists on taking of immediate measures for restoration of the normal conditions for existence and activities of democratic parties and organizations of South Korea, and for appropriate conditions for work of the Joint Commission.'

"At the Joint Commission meeting of 25 August 1947, the American Delegation made a counter-statement in which it pointed out:

"The Soviet Delegation answered that it is not merely a guest, but that it is a member of an international commission specified in the Moscow Decision of the 3 Ministers on Korea, which carries responsibility for the execution of that Decision. Consequently, the Soviet Delegation could not regard indifferently the events which had been mentioned above.

"The Soviet Delegation noted that the American Delegation had not named a single leader which had been arrested by the authorities in Northern Korea. The Soviet Delegation pointed out that in Northern Korea leaders of parties and organizations are not arrested, parties and organizations are not persecuted, their premises and newspapers are not padlocked, and from the moment of liberation there have been no facts in Northern Korea of supression of newspapers of any parties or organizations or of wrecking of newspaper offices or of closing of the headquarters of this or that party or organization. All parties cooperate among themselves and solve problems having equal opportunities and equal rights."

The American Delegation wishes to point out that all other proposals included in the report consist of the proposals only, with no argumentation for the proposal. Actually no proposal is here made. The Soviet Delegation insists on taking immediate measures for restoration of normal conditions for existence and activities of parties and social organizations in South Korea and for appro-

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priate conditions for work of the Joint Commission. This is not a proposal regarding the work of the Joint Commission. Injection of this question into this joint report is an effort on the part of the Soviet Delegation to find an issue. That is the reason why they injected the issue into the Joint Commission. The facts stated by the Soviet Delegation are only partially correct. They are like many other facts which apparently the Soviet Delegation has obtained from the South Korea Labor Party. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation has frequently cautioned the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation against believing Korean rumors and mis-statements. The issue is not an issue of interest to the Joint Commission. It is a matter purely within the responsibilities of the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea. There is no place in this report for a statement of that issue. The American Delegation cannot agree to its inclusion in the report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation considers that the facts of the statement made by the Soviet Delegation in Joint Commission session on 20 August concerning arrests and reprisals should be fully included into a joint report; also should be included the reply made by the American Delegation to this report on 25 August 1947. The Soviet Delegation then indicated it is an international organization and it carries responsibilities on the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision, and that is why its functions and obligations are to consult with representatives of democratic parties and social organizations. Consequently it made the statement, inasmuch as in South Korea there are created impossible conditions for the activities of the representatives of the democratic parties and social organizations. After this statement and when the Soviet Delegation addressed the American Delegation to undertake corresponding measures, nothing has changed. The premises of the Leftist organizations are up to now closed and the leaders have turned to

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underground and this is all proved by the press. This has importance, inasmuch as these actions are against the organizations and parties which uphold the Moscow Decision-- is directed toward the disruption of the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision - and our governments should know about this. That is why the Soviet Delegation proposes these two should be fully included, the Soviet Delegation statement of August 20 and the statement of the American Delegation dated August 25.

GENERAL BROWN: In the Joint Commission session on 4 September, the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation quoted statistics from the statement of the American position to show that the Democratic People's Front does not have a simple majority for consultation as claimed by the American Delegation. As indicated in the American statement, the 460 groups applying for consultation in all Korea can be classified approximately as follows:

Right

252 groups ... 24,920,000 claimed members 37%

Moderate Right, Moderate, and Moderate Left

72 groups ... 14,785,000 claimed members 22%

People's Front

136 groups ... 27,296,000 claimed members 41%

What the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation failed to point out, however, was that the Soviets have persistently refused to accept for consultation a list which did not include an absolute Democratic People's Front majority. If successful, Soviet efforts to eliminate without just cause twenty-four Rightist groups, with a total membership of 15,286,000, would in effect give the Democratic People's Front an absolute majority for consultation. Under the Soviet Proposal of 10 July for consultation with certain groups of over 10,000 members, the Democratic People's Front and other Leftists would comprise seventy-five groups with a claimed member-

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ship of 32,417,000, while the Right, Moderate Right, and Moderate groups would comprise seventy-one groups with a claimed membership of 18,581,000.

The statements and the report of the American Delegation are correct. Computation of the Soviet Delegation is also correct, but is it only a part of the story. The Americans have given the entire story.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has frequently in Joint Commission session pointed out that ~~they are~~ it is being guided in fulfillment of the Moscow Decision not by arithmetic and those figures which are named by the American Delegation, and that it did not make comparison of these figures with the correlation between the Right and Left and Moderate, and it didn't turn them to its profit. The position of the Soviet Delegation is that the Commission consult those parties, whether Moderate, Right, or Left, who uphold the Moscow Decision. The American Delegation, it seems, in the result of certain calculations, or miscalculations, began to cite correlations between Rightists, Leftists, and Moderates. It is not known for what reason - probably in order to justify its correlation in page 2. If the American Delegation wished, as it stated, then when 24 parties were included the Right would have the majority. Then it should have done so - at least advised these parties to cease their struggle against the Moscow Decision and the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation did not exclude these, but just the opposite; it suggested. It is seen from this proposal that when consultation started the Right and Moderate would have the majority, but in general speaking the Soviet Delegation does not accept their figures inasmuch as the figures of the American Delegation belong to the American Delegation and are used in different ways by the American Delegation in different sessions. Some-

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times the American Delegation mentions a bigger number, then makes the number smaller as it is profitable to them. That is why the Soviet Delegation considers that these figures should not be included in the draft of the joint report.

GENERAL BROWN: I move we recess until 2 o'clock.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Agreed.

Meeting recessed at 1230 Hours.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: Col. Korkulenko will not be present.

The Joint Commission has thus far completed discussion of all the parts of the drafted joint report. Both delegations in yesterday's Joint Commission session stated their points of view on both positions. The Soviet Delegation after this had been done yesterday stated its point of view on the compilation of a joint report. The Soviet Delegation would like to know what are the proposals of the American Delegation on this?

GENERAL BROWN: The Joint Commission has not yet completed the discussion on the American proposal. Paragraph 8 of the report submitted by the American Delegation has not yet been discussed.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This part of the draft of the joint report had been discussed.

GENERAL BROWN: When?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This chapter of the Joint Commission report was covered by the discussions of the proposals submitted by the Soviet Delegation dated August 5, of the proposals submitted by the American Delegation dated August 12, then the Soviet Delegation's stated proposal dated August 20, and the American Delegation's proposal of August 31.

GENERAL BROWN: Every other statement in both the Soviet and American reports has been discussed, but par 8 has not been discussed, and it is a part of the joint report. The American Delegation proposes to include in the joint report par 8 as it appears in the draft report submitted by the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What has General Brown in mind?

GENERAL BROWN: To determine whether or not the Soviet Delegation agrees to include in the joint report par 8 as written in the American Delegation's draft of the joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Paragraph Number 8 of the American Delegation's proposal and a part of the report of the Soviet Delegation were discussed. If the American Delegation moves that we include into the report the American Delegation's proposals dated July 29 and August 1

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then the Soviet Delegation will have to include its proposals dated July 24 and July 10, and a number of others. The Soviet Delegation believes that the main proposals are included and doesn't consider it expedient to include the proposals of the Soviet Delegation dated August 10 and 24 and others, and moves that the American Delegation proposal dated July 29, and the proposal of August 1 also be not included in that.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation believes that its proposals made in the 48th meeting, 29 July 1947, as covered in par 8 a of this report should be included in the joint report. I quote the proposal: "That the Soviet Delegation conduct consultation with political parties and social organizations of North Korea, and the American Delegation consult with those parties and social organizations of South Korea."

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation does not consider it expedient to have ~~those~~ this proposal of the American Delegation included, inasmuch as it contradicts the substance of the agreement, and the Soviet Delegation did not take it seriously then, inasmuch as consultation should be carried out both in the north and in the south of Korea by both delegations. The Soviet Delegation considered and does now consider that it is important for ~~them~~ it to consult representatives of democratic parties and social organizations not only in North Korea, but also South Korea as well.

GENERAL BROWN: Paragraph 8 b: The U.S. Delegation made the following proposal, which was refused by the Soviet Delegation in the 50th meeting, held 1 August 1947: "That consultation be jointly conducted north and south of the 38th parallel with those parties which the Soviet Delegation is willing to hear, and that the American Delegation conduct unilateral consultation south of the 38th with those parties they (the Soviet Delegation) claim are suspicious to them. Such consultation by the U. S. Delegation will be considered consultation with the Joint Commission." The American Delegation moves that that proposal be included in the joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In the Joint Commission session ~~dated~~ on August 1 the

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Soviet Delegation stated that this proposal was unacceptable and that it contradicted the agreement on consultation of democratic parties and social organizations, and that if parties and organizations affiliated with the Anti-Trusteeship Committee wished to participate in the consultation with the Joint Commission they should have withdrawn from this committee and then the Soviet Delegation would have been willing to consult with them, and the American Delegation would not have been required to carry out unilateral consultation. For these reasons the Soviet Delegation believes that Point 8 should not be included in the joint draft report.

GENERAL BROWN: Paragraph 8 c of the American Delegation report covers in substance the proposal submitted by the Soviet Delegation at the 51st meeting, and if it is correctly recorded should agree with the proposal as quoted in the Soviet Delegation report. Has the Soviet Delegation any objection to the wording of the American Delegation's proposal?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has included its proposal as it was done in the Joint Commission session, and when it was discussed the American Delegation did not object to it; it agreed to it. Therefore it is not clear to the Soviet Delegation why does the American Delegation again return to a question that has already been decided upon.

GENERAL BROWN: It is quite likely that the two delegations could agree on statements concerning that proposal in spite of the fact that the Soviet report contains a paragraph, an introductory paragraph, not included in the American report.

Paragraph 8 d -- "In the 52nd meeting held 7 August 1947, the U. S. Delegation proposed that par 2 of the above proposal be amended as follows:....." It is the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation agreed this morning to include that statement in the Soviet report. Is that correct?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has given consent to have this included in the joint draft report.

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GENERAL BROWN: Paragraph 8 e -- "The U. S. Delegation made the following proposal in the 53rd meeting held 12 August 1947....." That proposal is stated in the American Delegation's report. Apparently it has been omitted from the Soviet Delegation's report. Has the Soviet Delegation any objection to including that proposal in the joint report? The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is incorrect in that the proposal is included in the Soviet report, omitting the first paragraph. Has the Soviet Delegation any objection to including in the joint report the first paragraph: "The American Delegation, mindful of the solemn obligations of its government under the Moscow Agreement and conscious of its duty to the Korean people to establish as early as possible a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, makes the following proposals to overcome the present impasse regarding consultation...." Then follows four proposals of the American Delegation.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation doesn't mind to have this included, provided that the American Delegation will not object to what it has been objecting to concerning the Soviet proposal dated August 5.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is not able to withdraw any objection stated to the Soviet proposal. If the Soviet Delegation does not wish to accept the paragraph in the American proposal, it should so state.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already indicated that it accepted the American Delegation's inclusion of Point 1 of its proposals dated August 12, which reads that "The American Delegation, mindful of its solemn obligations" and so on, provided that the American Delegation will not object to similar points in the Soviet Delegation report.

GENERAL BROWN: We will put a question mark at that paragraph for further discussion.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: There will be all throughout the whole report question marks.

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GENERAL BROWN: There are lots of them. Paragraph 8-f of the American report: "The Soviet Delegation countered the above proposal in the 56th meeting held 26 August 1947, with the following proposal." It appears to be identical to the proposal as quoted in the Soviet report. If comparison shows it to be similar, then it is assumed that the Soviet Delegation has no objection to including such a paragraph in the joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation, after listening to the objections of the American Delegation on the draft of this proposal which was in compliance with the accepted report, in today's session has submitted a new version, and it was discussed here in Joint Commission session, and the American Delegation agreed to the inclusion of the new version.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation did not agree to the opening paragraph but stated its objections.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: This is a proposal, and it should be included with the introduction part. That is why the Soviet Delegation didn't and does not object to the introduction part of the American Delegation proposal dated August 12.

GENERAL BROWN: This apparently concludes the work of the Joint Commission in reviewing the two draft reports as submitted.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: As it was agreed upon, the Soviet Delegation agreed only on the text of the proposals--the introductory--which was made by the American Delegation, and the Soviet Delegation, as it has been agreed upon, does not include any comments to the draft, and the American Delegation also doesn't include any comments.

GENERAL BROWN: What is the proposal of the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation concerning the joint report?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: In yesterday's session on the dicussion of both points, the Soviet Delegation submitted its proposals on this question, and it would like to know what the proposals of the American Delegation are on this question.

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation regrets that he does not recall the Soviet proposal.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: We shall read this part from the record of yesterday's session. It is the following: "The Soviet Delegation believes that on the basis of the discussion, we may draw the conclusion that if both delegations take into consideration the correct comments which have been made on both positions--the substance--the compilation of the joint report may be completed and approved for forwarding to our governments."

GENERAL BROWN: After listening to the discussion of the point of view of each delegation as advanced at the last two meetings of the Joint Commission, it is the opinion of the American Delegation that it is not possible for the Soviet and American Delegations to agree on the substance of the joint report and to forward that report as required by our governments. It is the opinion of the American Delegation that another solution must be found to this problem. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation asks the Soviet Delegation to offer proper solution.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already indicated that it is possible to compile such a report if all the comments which have been made concerning the positions of both delegations are taken into consideration, and, if the American Delegation has any other objections or any other proposals, then so state them.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation proposes that both reports be forwarded as prepared by cover letter to be signed by the Chief Commissioner of each delegation, that that cover letter state that the American Delegation does not agree with the Soviet position as stated in ~~their~~ its report, and that cover letter also state that the Soviet Delegation does not agree with the American position as stated in its report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What then will it be--a report or something else?

GENERAL BROWN: Your guess is as good as mine.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The correspondence which took place between the Ministers states that the Joint Commission has to present a joint

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report, but it doesn't state that there will be a joint letter which ould lay down the objections of the American Delegation to the Soviet Delegation's position and the objections of the Soviet Delegation to the American Delegation position.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation then proposes that the Soviet position, as stated in paragraph 7 of the Soviet Delegation report, and the American position, as stated in paragraph 7 of the American Delegation report, be forwarded under cover letter as the joint report of the Joint Commission with the statement that the American Delegation does not agree with the Soviet Delegation's position as stated; that the Soviet Delegation does not agree with the American Delegation's position as stated.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: /hat kind of a document will it then be? /hat will this document express, and what will this document give our governments?

GENERAL BROWN: You can answer that as well as I can.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I don't make such a proposal.

GENERAL BROWN: Has the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation a proposal to offer.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has already pointed out that after this discussion a joint report should be compiled, taking into consideration all the comments that have been made.

GENERAL BROWN: It is the opinion of the American Delegation, as previously stated, that it is not possible for the Soviet Delegation and American Delegation to agree as to what shall be included in a joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: /hat then has been proposed?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation proposes that both delegations inform their governments that they are unable to agree on a joint report.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation could have anticipated this from the very beginning of the work of the compilation of a joint report, ~~that~~ the American Delegation did not want this compilation of a joint report, and already in Subcommission No. 1 session--in the first session on this question--the American Delegation representative

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submitted a proposal to send separate reports with a covering letter. In the course of discussion of this question in the Joint Commission sessions, the arguments and objections presented by the American Delegation on this question were like red thread, pointing out that the American Delegation did not want to do it and pointing out the impossibility of a compilation of a joint report. Inasmuch as there is no other way out, the Soviet Delegation accepts the proposal of the American Delegation to report to both governments that the Joint Commission was unable to agree on the compilation of a joint report.

GENERAL BROWN: Why does the Soviet Delegation object to sending the report of the American Delegation to its government. The American Delegation is perfectly willing to send the report of the Soviet Delegation to its government?

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Both delegations have been given instructions to submit a joint report but not separate reports.

GENERAL BROWN: I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The session is adjourned. Next week the chairman for the week will be General Brown.

The meeting adjourned at 1500 hours.

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TRANSCRIPT OF SIXTIETH MEETING
OF US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
17 Sept. 1947, 1330 Hours

General Shtikov, Chairman.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Colonel Korkulenko has not yet returned from Pyongyang. General Lebedeff was seriously sick yesterday and had to be taken to Pyongyang.

GENERAL BROWN: We are sorry to hear of General Lebedeff's illness, and hope to see him back soon.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The first item on the agenda is approval of the minutes of the 49th meeting. Minutes approved.

GENERAL BROWN: Approved.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The second item on the agenda is the statement of the Soviet Delegation. (This statement to be attached as Exhibit A)

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation has heard with much interest the statement of the Soviet Delegation. In order to reply to this document, it will be necessary to have it translated and to study it carefully. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation is somewhat disappointed in that he has not heard any statement in this document of the willingness of the Soviet Delegation to proceed to the formation of a Provisional Government which will include all Korean political parties and social organizations on a basis of equality of consideration for membership in that government. The document will be translated and a reply will be made to it after it is translated.

I move that we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: When shall we have the next session?

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation will have to have the document translated and study it. It depends upon the time required to prepare the reply.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: Then the American Delegation will inform us when ready?

GENERAL BROWN: Yes.

Meeting adjourned at 1415.

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STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION

17 September 1947

The work of the Joint Commission already has been at a standstill over a prolonged period of time. (The Soviet Delegation regrets to recognize the unwillingness of the American Delegation to work in the Joint Commission on the solution of the questions connected with the formation of a unified Provisional Korean Democratic Government, which became so evident lately.) Instead of striving for the overcoming of the difficulties which have arisen in the Joint Commission and for the acceptance of coordinated decisions, the American Delegation resorted to an artificial complication and prolonging of the Joint Commission work, leading to the emphasizing and sharpening of dissensions between the delegations with the purpose of proving the impossibility of resolving the questions confronting the Joint Commission.

It became especially apparent during the working out of the joint report by the Commission. Prior to the discussion of the presented joint draft reports by both delegations, the American Delegation proposed to dispense with the compilation of a joint report, and to forward the draft reports presented by the Soviet and American Delegations to the Governments along with an accompanying letter pointing out, that both Delegations could not reach an agreement regarding the joint report. Instead of a business-like discussion of the presented drafts, which should have as its aim the compilation of an acceptable joint report, the American Delegation resorted to trifling fault-findings, emphasizing the differences in the drafts, attempting to exclude any possibility of the compilation of a joint report, and thus, attempting also in this instance to show the impossibility of reaching an agreement in the Joint Commission.

The events which took place lately in the Joint Commission itself and outside of it, fully confirmed the apprehensions in connection with the true attitude of the American Delegation toward the

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work of the Joint Commission, which involuntarily arose even before in connection with the position of the American Delegation in regard to the proposals, submitted by the Soviet Delegation with the object of speeding up the work of the Joint Commission.

As it is known, the work of the Joint Commission was being delayed because of differences of opinion between the delegations on the question of compilation of the list of democratic parties and social organizations for consultation.

The Soviet Delegation, striving to expedite the solution of the question on the compilation of the list for consultation, repeatedly proposed to instruct Subcommission No. 1 to begin reviewing the applications for participation in consultation received from parties and organizations, to include in the list and immediately begin consultation with those parties and organizations whose admission to consultation in accordance with the Moscow Decision, the agreement between Mr. Molotov and Mr. Marshall as well as Joint Commission Decision No. 12, did not arouse suspicion, and then to continue consideration and verification of the remaining statements as to parties and organizations, comprising the Anti-Trusteeship Committee, the Soviet Delegation made several proposals, whose object is the resolution of this question in compliance with the Molotov-Marshall agreement. If the American Delegation would have shown sufficient willingness to expedite the resolution of the disputed questions, the work of the Joint Commission would have considerably advanced as early as July. However, the aforementioned proposals of the Soviet Delegation were rejected by the American Delegation, which preferred to carry on discussions on general issues, avoiding the concrete individual considerations of applications for participation in consultation, submitted by parties and organizations, and by this prolonging the work of the Joint Commission.

Considering that as a result of the position taken by the

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American Delegation on the question of compilation of the list, the entire work of the Joint Commission was held up, the Soviet Delegation as early as 5 August 1947 suggested the commencement of the elaboration of proposals on the Provisional Charter, political platform, as well as on the questions of personnel of the Provisional Government the order of assumption of power by the Provisional Government and the selection of personnel.

The Soviet Delegation proceeded from the consideration that the Joint Commission has to perform a great amount of work on the elaboration of aforementioned proposals and that it is necessary to begin this work as soon as possible. However, even this proposal of the Soviet Delegation was rejected by the American Delegation, which refused to consider other questions listed on the program of work of the Joint Commission until the question of the list of parties and organizations would be solved.

26 August 1947, the Soviet Delegation introduced new proposals in reply to the proposals of the American Delegation of 12 August 1947. The Soviet Delegation accepted point 1 of the proposals of the American Delegation - to dispense with oral consultation and to substitute it with the written proposals of Korean parties and organizations which were submitted to the Joint Commission as returns to the questionnaires. Therefore, the Delegations have reached an agreement on this question.

The Soviet Delegation proposed - to direct Subcommission #2 and #3 to commence the study of written proposals of democratic parties and social organizations on the questionnaires which were submitted to the Joint Commission and to present the drafts of proposals on corresponding questions to the Joint Commission. These proposals ensue from the plan of work which was accepted in the meeting of the Joint Commission on 22 May 1947, according to which the first stage of work of the Joint Commission includes the following questions:

1. Conditions and order of consultation with democratic parties and social organizations.

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2. Elaboration of recommendations on the structure and principles of the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter).

3. Preliminary elaboration of the political platform and other appropriate measures for the future Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

4. Elaboration of recommendations on the personnel of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

5. Order of assumption of power by a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and the order of selection of personnel for a Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

The proposals of the Soviet Delegation of 26 August concerning the work of Subcommissions #2 and #3 correspond in many ways with the proposals of the American Delegation of 12 August.

The proposals of the Soviet Delegation of 26 August also provided for the creation of a Provisional All-Korea People's Assembly of representatives of democratic parties and social organizations. This consultative body should be created in order to draw Koreans now towards a direct participation in the working out of all questions connected with the establishment of a Korean Provisional Government.

" The American Delegation in the meeting on 3 September, stated that on the whole it was against the proposals of the Soviet Delegation of 26 August, but actually presented objections only against the proposals concerning the creation of a Provisional All-Korea People's Assembly.

The American Delegation, in substance, did not object to other points of the proposals of the Soviet Delegation of 26 August.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned, the Soviet Delegation, striving to expedite the creation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government, insists upon the realization of those items

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from the proposals of the American Delegation of 12 August and the proposals of the Soviet Delegation of 26 August regarding which the points of view of the two delegations are closer together and which correspond to the above cited decision of the Joint Commission of 22 May 1947, and it proposes to entrust:

(1) Subcommission No. 2 immediately to initiate the study of the written answers to the questionnaires distributed by the Joint Commission which had been submitted to the Joint Commission in written form by the democratic parties and social organizations, and to submit to the Joint Commission projects for the structure of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and the local bodies of authority (Provisional Charter) and the political platform.

(2) Subcommission No. 3 to submit to the Joint Commission proposals regarding the personnel composition of the Provisional Government and regarding the order of assumption of authority by that government.

As regards the problem of the formation of the Provisional All-Korea People's Assembly, the Soviet Delegation considers that the objections regarding that question advanced by the American Delegation in its statement of 3 September to be not well founded and supposes that it is necessary to continue the discussion of this problem for the purpose of reaching agreement.

If this proposal will be accepted by the American Delegation, the Joint Commission directly will be able to begin elaboration on the proposals regarding the questions connected with the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, which, in accordance with the Moscow Decision, the Joint Commission must present to the respective governments.

The Soviet Delegation deems it necessary to add that the successful work of the Joint Commission on the formation of a

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Provisional Korean Democratic Government is possible only on the condition of complete abolishment of the repressions regarding the democratic parties and social organizations of South Korea, the release of arrested leaders and members of these organizations, and the assurance of free and unimpeded activities of the said parties and organizations.

The Soviet Delegation proceeds from the fact that all efforts should be directed toward the formation of a unified All-Korean organ of power, that is of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, and considers that the plans recently introduced which are actually leading to the re-enforcement of the already existent division of the country into two zones, conceal an even greater peril for the Korean people.

The Soviet Delegation still holds to the point of view that if both delegations desire to fulfill exactly and completely the Moscow Decision on Korea, and the agreement between Mr. Molotov and Mr. Marshall, the Joint Commission can successfully solve the problem, put before it, on the formation of a unified Provisional Korean Democratic Government, which is so impatiently awaited by the Korean people.

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Gen Brown

TRANSCRIPT OF SIXTY-FIRST MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
26 September 1947 at 1330 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL BROWN:

GENERAL BROWN: The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation as Chairman of the Joint Commission for the week has called today's meeting at the urgent request of the Soviet Delegation. The agenda has been submitted by the Soviet Delegation. The American Delegation proposes that the third item on the agenda be amended to read, "Such discussions of future steps in the work of the Soviet-American Joint Commission as the Soviet Delegation wishes to initiate." The American Delegation proposes that the agenda be approved with the amendment stated.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The wording of point 3 is clear. It indicates the discussion of future steps in the work of the Joint Soviet-American Commission. The Soviet Delegation will expound its point of view and if the American Delegation wishes it will do the same. That is why it is inexpedient to have this item in the agenda changed. However, if the American Delegation wishes, the Soviet Delegation has no principal objection to the change which has been suggested by the American Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: The agenda will stand approved then with the change noted. The first item of business on the agenda is approval of the minutes of previous meetings. How does this leave the Joint Commission with outstanding minutes?

COLONEL EDWARDS: We have three sets of minutes outstanding on which current agreement has not been reached; 57, 58, and 59. 57 and 58 have been prepared but the Secretaries are not able to agree and will present their views to the Chief Commissioners of the respective delegations as soon as possible.

GENERAL BROWN: How about the 59th?

COLONEL EDWARDS: It is still in the process of translation and typing.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: So we will then direct the Secretariat to have these minutes prepared for the next regular session in order not to further delay the work.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation agrees to so direct the Secretariat. The second item of the agenda is the reply of the American Delegation to the statement of the Soviet Delegation of 17 September 1947.

(Statement of Chief Commissioner attached.)

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Press Release

26 September 1947

STATEMENT OF CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF AMERICAN DELEGATION

At the 60th meeting of the Joint Commission, the Soviet Delegation presented a formal statement, which was given to the press on the 18th of September.

The Soviet statement is illustrative of what the American Delegation has with regret come to accept as typical Soviet propaganda. It is replete with misstatements. It manipulates facts in such a way as to distort them to bolster the Soviet Delegation's weak position. It deliberately omits reference to facts which support the American position and highlights those which support the Soviet position.

It would be both useless and pointless for the American Delegation to attempt to make specific replies to the false allegations or to correct the misstatements contained in the Soviet paper. The Soviet Delegation well knows the real point of disagreement between the two delegations. Briefly stated, it is the refusal of the Soviet Delegation to permit all segments of the Korean people to participate in the formation of their government and by the exclusion of certain groups which it does not like to insure the setting up of a Communist-dominated leftist government over a United Korea.

The methods used by the Soviet Delegation to sell a false concept to the peoples of the world are interesting. They undoubtedly will fool some people, particularly those who are blinded by propaganda. Fortunately the devious methods followed by the Soviet Delegation in the Joint Commission in 1946 and 1947 to attain its ends have been written into the record of the Joint Commission. There is no statement which it can now prepare which can change the written record. Any accusation which it may make can be answered by pages or quotations from the written record.

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The Soviet Delegation refuses to admit that any political party or social organization can be defined as "democratic" unless it follows the Moscow line. In doing this it has adopted the word "democratic" for its own purposes, using a definition without historical precedent and in violation of over two centuries of usage and development. Its refusal to consult with or to permit any political party or social organization other than one which is "democratic" by Soviet definition to participate in the formation of the provisional government naturally follows as a means of implementation.

The Soviet Delegation attempts to assure successful attainment of its objective by refusing to deal with any political party or social organization which "struggled against" the Moscow Decision. This was a particularly valuable fiction, which it invented to inflame an already volatile opposition.

The U. S. Delegation attempted to find a solution and has proposed many alternatives, one of which was a general supervised election which is recognized throughout the world as a democratic method of expression by a people. These were all refused by the Soviet Delegation, which instead proposed an unrepresentative consultative assembly. Not only did it exclude from this suggested consultative assembly all parties and organizations which opposed certain phrases in the Moscow Decision but it also claimed that representation from North Korea (where only Democratic People's Front parties and organizations were permitted to apply for consultation) should have equality of representation with South Korea, in spite of the fact that the population statistics show there are twice as many people in South Korea as in North Korea. The only possible result from accepting such a proposal

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would be the establishment of a Communist-controlled provisional government, with the majority of patriotic Koreans being excluded from participation.

The recent effort to reach agreement on a joint report to be submitted to the two governments also fully reflects the Soviet attitude. The Soviet Delegation openly and determinedly attempted to write a joint report which concealed the Soviet attempt to deny consultation with and participation by a large segment of Korean opinion in the formation of a provisional government for the specific purpose of arbitrarily setting up a Communist-dominated government.

The Soviet Delegation has the effrontery to demand the release of certain leftist leaders who have been arrested by the South Korean authorities for plotting subversive activities. The Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation again suggests that the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation confine his activities to matters which are of proper concern to him--the establishment of a provisional government and an independent Korea free from foreign domination. The arrest and punishment of subversive elements are the concern of the proper authorities, namely those who are responsible for the government of South Korea.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that unless and until the Soviet Delegation is willing to accept the principle of equality of consideration for participation in the formation of the provisional government of all political parties and social organizations which are not barred for specific cause by mutual agreement of both delegations, the American Delegation perceives no object in assigning tasks to Subcommissions 2 and 3 or in the further discussion of the formation of the Provisional All-Korean People's Assembly under the conditions proposed by the Soviet Delegation.

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The position of the American Delegation as expressed in the preceding paragraph is in exact accord with the agreements reached in the Marshall-Molotov exchange of letters on the basis of which the Joint Commission resumed its discussion.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation on the statement made by the American Delegation may state only one thing -- that the facts that are stated in the American Delegation's statement are complete fictions directed to justify their position. All those who wish to discover the real truth on how the report to the governments was being compiled -- the report on the work of the Joint Commission -- can be convinced that the American Delegation has purposely led the work in this manner so there would be no achieved agreement on the compilation of a joint report, and another time to underline the fictitious differences which exist in the Joint Commission and which have been created by the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation wished to establish a democratic government, while the American Delegation wished to establish an anti-democratic government which does not correspond to the Moscow Decision. In order to successfully create such an anti-democratic government it encouraged it, inasmuch as it has not taken measures on the seizure of reprisals. The Joint Commission is an international body; consequently the Soviet Delegation had the right to demand that these arrests of Koreans who wished freedom of expression and of press and activities of their organizations, that they be not subjected to reprisals for this. We should not and it is undemocratic to support only one political camp and to create unbearable conditions for the work of a democratic camp. The Soviet Delegation did what it could on this question, and has repeatedly stated it in the Joint Commission sessions, addressing the American Delegation that the rights be defended for the free activities of democratic organizations which are supporting the Moscow Decision. However, this has not been followed. Measures have not been taken; consequently for all these events the responsibility is being placed on the conscience of the American Delegation. Further, the Soviet Delegation proposes to have a ten-minute interval, after which to continue the discussion on this question.

GENERAL BROWN: We will adjourn for ten minutes.

Commission recessed ~~for ten minutes, beginning~~ at 1415 and resumed discussion at 1425 hours.

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GENERAL SHTIKOV: I move that we proceed with Item No. 3. The Soviet Delegation has the following statement on this point: The Soviet Delegation in its statement in the Joint Commission session of September 17, 1947, had already stated the clearly presented undesire of the American Delegation to work in compliance with the Moscow Decision on Korea over the solution of questions connected with the creation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and the unification of Korea. The occasion of the present session of the Joint Commission and also the declining of the American Delegation of the proposals of the Soviet Delegation of September 17 are additional proof of the undesire of the American Delegation to work in the Joint Commission, by striving to delay and wreck the work of the Joint Commission. The proposal of the Soviet Delegation of September 17 included first to dispense with oral consultation, second to commence work in Subcommissions No. 2 and No. 3 on the preparation of proposals on the structure and principles of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and political platform, and also on the personnel composition of the government and the procedure of assumption of government over a united Korea. The points of view of the delegates on these questions were quite close. The proposal of the Soviet Delegation did not include any new and arguable points; nevertheless it was rejected by the American Delegation. As to today's session, the Soviet Delegation had to write three letters and make several oral requests in order to have today's session. The stated position of the American Delegation is the reason that during four months of its work the Joint Commission has not succeeded in coming to an agreement on the question of a united Provisional Korean Democratic Government, and in this connection the Soviet Delegation deems it necessary to make the following statement and proposals:

(See Soviet statement attached.)

GENERAL BROWN: May I have a copy of that? I propose a 15-minute recess.

Commission recessed at 1455 and resumed discussion at 1510 hours.

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STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION IN THE MEETING OF THE JOINT COMMISSION, 26 September 1947

The Soviet Delegation in the Joint-Soviet American Commission has repeatedly made declarations regarding the exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision of the Three Ministers of Foreign Affairs on Korea and has insisted on them.

The Korean people with the assistance of the great allies must obtain its democratic government and independence. The basic document which expresses the aims of the allied governments to assist the Korean people in the rebirth of its statehood is the Moscow Decision on Korea of the Three Ministers of Foreign Affairs. This decision expounds the program of the allies on the restoration of Korea as a free and independent state.

As it is known, the majority of the Korean people and of the democratic parties and social organizations regarded with approval this decision. It is also known that certain political parties and their reactionary leaders have opposed and are still opposing the Moscow Decision. Up to date it is the fault of these reactionary leaders and their patrons that the Provisional Democratic Government of Korea has not yet been formed.

The Soviet Delegation, which represents the Soviet Command in Korea and which, in the course of a year and a half, has observed events, moods and aspirations of the Korean people, can note that the Korean people from the very first days of its liberation from the yoke of Japanese imperialism, began to evince a tremendous interest in political life, and is striving to acquire the experience in independent governing of its state.

At the moment of the arrival of the Soviet Army in Korea in August 1945 the Korean people have created throughout Korea organs of people's authority - local People's Committees as well as the Central People's Committee, the People's Republic. Representatives of all strata of the Korean people took part in these organs of authority.

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The Soviet Delegation can also note that in the course of two years of work the People's Committees, as organs of people's authority in North Korea, have performed a tremendous task and have realized a series of democratic reforms, supported and approved by the people. However, it should be noted that there were great difficulties in the progress of this work. These difficulties consisted in the guiding cadres having no necessary experience in solving the questions of state. It is true, as we know, that peoples are not born with experience, the experience is acquired through practical work. Therefore, the five-year term of trusteeship, anticipated in the Moscow Decision of the Three Ministers, is fully sufficient for the growth of the national governmental cadres.

A different situation arose in South Korea. The People's Committees were not recognized by the American Military Command as organs of people's authority. The People's Committees of South Korea have not been admitted to govern the political and economic life, and, consequently, the growth of the guiding governmental personnel in the ranks of the Korean people was hindered. No democratic reforms have been introduced. Democratic parties and social organizations, upholding the Moscow Decision on Korea, their leaders, members and even sympathizers of these organizations, are subjected to cruel persecution.

Reactionary leaders of certain political parties of South Korea, being disposed against democratic reforms and against developing Korea along the democratic lines, opposed and are opposing the Moscow Decision of the Three Ministers of Foreign Affairs. They explain their opposition by the fact that the Moscow Decision stipulates trusteeship, which is allegedly not acceptable to Korean people. The Korean reactionary press, as well as some American newspapers, attempted to prompt the Korean people that the trusteeship was adopted because of the demand of the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union alledgedly strives to seize Korea and to establish there the Soviet ways.

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The Soviet Delegation deems it necessary to refute the rumors originating from the reactionary circles that the Soviet Union intends to seize Korea and to establish there Soviet ways as fictitious and inimical towards the Soviet Union. As it is known, the question of Korea was discussed at the Conference of Three Foreign Ministers in Moscow at the initiative of the American Delegation. The American draft proposed to establish a unified administration headed by the two commanders, who would have to govern Korea until the establishment of the trusteeship. The American draft anticipated the creation of an administrative organ composed of the representatives of the Four States (USA, China, United Kingdom and USSR), which would have to act in the name of the United Nations and in the name of the people of Korea. This administrative organ would have to be vested with such executive, legislative and judiciary authority which might be necessary for effective governing of Korea until the establishment of a Korean Government. At the same time, this administrative organ would have to realize its powers and functions through a high commissioner. It was proposed to carry out such governing of Korea in the course of five years. This term could have been extended by a further five years which would constitute in fact a ten year mandate type of government over Korea. The American draft did not anticipate the creation of a Korean Government.

The Soviet Union could not, of course, agree with such proposals of the American Delegation, in the first place because Korea had not been a belligerent against the Allies and in the second place because a five year term could be fully sufficient for restoration of statehood of Korea, for creating state institutions and for training the cadres for independent governing of the state.

The Soviet Delegation submitted its draft proposals for the consideration of the Ministers. The Soviet proposal took into account the interests and aspirations of the Korean people and provided for the formation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Govern-

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ment with the participation of which there would have to be worked out measures for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea.

The proposal of the Soviet Delegation, with slight amendments, was adopted in the Conference of the Ministers. If the American proposal on Korea, submitted for consideration by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, should be compared with the decision adopted by the Three Ministers, it will become clear to every Korean that the Moscow Decision is the more progressive decision respecting Korea and that it takes into account the interests of the Korean people. The Korean reactionaries are opposing this decision because they do not desire a democratic development for Korea. Nor do they desire democratic reforms demanded by the Korean people.

We are convinced that it is impossible to deceive or to intimidate the Korean people with clamor and slander. There are parties and leaders in Korea who are closely bound to the people, know their aspirations and expectations and who are able to discern what is more to their advantage: lawlessness, tyranny, want of rights, poverty, and colonial dependence or liberty, democratic rights and a free democratic independent Korean state. The Korean people cannot be bought with riches from beyond the seas; it has enough riches in its own country, with the mastery of which it could in a short time enter the ranks of most advanced countries of Asia.

The Soviet Delegation cannot understand the behavior of the American Delegation, which considers that whereas there are some Koreans who do not desire trusteeship, therefore, it is possible to get along without trusteeship. The Soviet Delegation is for trusteeship only because this trusteeship is stipulated by the Moscow Decision, which had been signed by our Ministers and must be exactly fulfilled. The Soviet Delegation cannot understand why the American

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Delegation, which regards with favor the activities of a small coterie of Korean reactionaries who appear under the motto of struggling against trusteeship, does not wish for the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision on Korea, which had been adopted by the American Delegation itself. For its part, the Soviet Delegation has applied all its efforts in order to expedite the establishment of one democratic government for all Korea on the basis of exact fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. However, the position taken by the American Delegation has up to now impeded the formation of this government.

The Soviet Delegation considers that it would be a deception to the Korean people to state that they could get along without trusteeship while American and Soviet troops remained upon the territory of Korea. Korea can become a free and independent state only then, when it will obtain its own democratic government supported by the people, and when the American and the Soviet troops will be withdrawn from its territory.

The Soviet Delegation has always regarded small peoples with respect and still so regards them. It has struggled and it shall continue to struggle for their independence and sovereignty. Therefore, the Soviet Delegation considers that it is possible to afford the Koreans an opportunity to form a government by themselves without the aid and participation of the Allies under the condition of withdrawing the American and Soviet troops from Korea. The Soviet Delegation declares that if the American Delegation would agree with a proposal for the withdrawal of all foreign troops during the beginning of 1948, the Soviet troops will be ready to evacuate Korea simultaneously with the American troops.

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The Soviet Delegation has no other proposals. In the course of the work of the Joint Commission, the Soviet Delegation with sufficient completeness has expounded its point of view concerning the ways of re-establishing Korea as an independent democratic state.

The Soviet Delegation awaits the answer and the proposals of the American Delegation.

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GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation requests information as to whether or not in making the proposal for troop withdrawal, early in 1948, the Soviet Delegation is speaking with the authority of its government.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation is responsible for the statements they make to their government. Consequently it is not necessary for the American Delegation to know whether the Soviet Delegation makes this statement in behalf of its name or in behalf of the name of its government.

GENERAL BROWN: The American Delegation is not in a position to discuss a matter of this sort which lies beyond the scope of the Moscow Agreement.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation in its statement indicated that they have no other proposals; that they have submitted their proposal; and they are waiting for an answer and a proposal from the American Delegation.

GENERAL BROWN: I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: No objection.

The meeting was adjourned at 1525.

S Del answers for its proposals to its own government

[The govt holds them responsible.]

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TRANSCRIPT OF 62ND MEETING OF
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea
18 October 1947 at 1000 Hours

Chairman - GENERAL SHTIKOV

GENERAL SHTIKOV: What are the comments on the agenda?

GENERAL BROWN: Approved.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: We will take up the first question of the agenda, approval of Minutes No. 57, 58, 59 and 61. We will proceed with item 2, Reply of the American Delegation to the Statement of the Soviet Delegation of September 26, 1947.

GENERAL BROWN: (Statement attached)

GENERAL SHTIKOV: I propose a 15 minute recess.

Meeting recessed at 1030 hours.

Meeting resumed at 1045 hours.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: The Soviet Delegation has discussed the proposal of the American Delegation and decided that inasmuch as there has been submitted by the American Delegation a proposal to interrupt the work of the Joint Commission, the Soviet Delegation will bring it before its government and will request necessary instructions. After receiving instructions, the Soviet Delegation will inform the American Delegation of it.

GENERAL BROWN: I move we adjourn.

GENERAL SHTIKOV: Inasmuch as there are no other questions, I agree.

Meeting adjourned at 1050 hours.

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STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY MAJOR GENERAL ALBERT E. BROWN,
CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF AMERICAN DELEGATION

18 October 1947

In accordance with instructions of my government, the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation presents to you the following proposal on Korea submitted to the United Nations by the Government of the United States.

Following is the text of a letter which was addressed on October 17th, 1947, to his Excellency, Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, New York:

"Excellency:

"I have the honor to refer to the facts that on September 17, 1947, the United States Secretary of State announced that the United States was placing the problem of Korean independence before the General Assembly and on September 23, 1947, the General Assembly voted to place that problem upon its agenda. On September 26 the Chief Soviet Delegate on the Joint United States - USSR Commission meeting in Seoul, Korea, made the following statement, in translation:

> 'Therefore, the Soviet Delegation considers that it is possible to afford the Koreans an opportunity to form a government by themselves without the aid and participation of the Allies under the condition of withdrawing the American and Soviet troops from Korea.'

"The United States Government desires to take any practicable step which will further the speedy establishment of a truly independent Korea. The only concern of this government is to make certain that its responsibilities to the Korean people and to the United Nations are properly carried out. It will be recalled that, after negotiations in the Joint Commission had reached a stalemate, the United States Government proposed that the question of forming a

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government for Korea be discussed in Washington by representatives of all powers adhering to the Moscow Agreement with respect to Korea: China, the United Kingdom, the USSR and the United States. China and the United Kingdom accepted this suggestion but the USSR did not. It was only after this that the matter was presented to the United Nations. It is believed that inasmuch as the General Assembly has already voted to consider the problem of Korean independence, its attention should be called to the most recent Soviet proposal, referred to above, as well as the suggestions for a solution of the problem which the Secretary of State said the United States Government would be prepared to advance. With these proposals before it, the General Assembly will, it is hoped, be able to recommend measures for orderly transition from the present systems of government in North and South Korea to an independent, united Korean Government and the consequent speedy withdrawal of all occupying forces.

"There is therefore transmitted herewith a Resolution which contains the suggestions the United States Delegation will submit for the consideration of Committee members of the General Assembly when the problem of Korean independence comes before that Board. It is considered that an arrangement of the nature indicated in this Resolution should make possible the early establishment by the Korean people themselves of their own government and the withdrawal of all Soviet and United States armed forces from Korea. It is requested that copies of this letter together with its enclosure be circulated to the various delegations to the General Assembly for their information.

"Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

"Warren Roger Austin,
"United States Representative."

RESOLUTION

"The General Assembly, recognizing the urgent and rightful

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claims to independence of the people of Korea:

"Having in mind that it is one of the purposes of the United Nations to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;

"Having noted the international obligations undertaken with respect to Korea, including the Cairo Declaration of December 1, 1943, in which China, the United Kingdom and the United States stated their determination that in due course Korea shall become free and independent, the Potsdam Proclamation of July 26, 1945, in which China, the United Kingdom, and the United States reaffirmed the terms of the Cairo Declaration and to which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics adhered upon entering the war in the Pacific, and the Moscow Agreement of December 27, 1945, in which the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States, with the adherence of China, provided that there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government with a view to the reestablishment of Korea as an independent state;

"Believing that the national independence of Korea should be reestablished and all occupying forces should be withdrawn from Korea at the earliest practicable date;

"To this end, recommends that the occupying powers hold elections in their respective zones not later than March 31, 1948, under the observation of the United Nations, as the initial step leading to the creation of a National Assembly and the establishment of a national government of Korea in conformity with the procedure set out in the annex to this Resolution;

"Further recommends that immediately upon the establishment of the national government of Korea referred to above, that government will constitute its own national security forces and will arrange with the occupying powers for the early and complete withdrawal from Korea of the Armed Forces of the USSR and the United States;

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"Resolves that the responsibilities assumed by the United Nations under this Resolution should be discharged by a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, consisting of the representatives of (names of states).

"This United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea shall:

"(1) Be present in Korea during the elections in each zone with the right of freedom of travel and observation throughout all of Korea,

"(2) Be available for such consultation as may be appropriate in connection with the elections, the organization of the National Assembly, the formation of the national government and the conclusion of agreements for the withdrawal of the occupying forces,

"(3) Report to the General Assembly or, if in its judgment developments so require, to any competent agency of the Assembly, with respect to its activities under the terms of this Resolution, and make any recommendations that it may wish concerning further United Nations action in maintaining the independence of Korea;

"Calls upon the member states concerned to afford every assistance and facility to the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea in the fulfillment of these responsibilities."

Annex and Recommended Procedure for the Holding of Flection for the Establishment of a National Government OF Korea.

"(1) The elections to be held by the occupying powers in their respective zones not later than March 31, 1948, shall be for the purpose of choosing representatives to a National Assembly. The number of representatives elected to the National Assembly from each zone shall bear the same proportion to the total membership of the National Assembly as the population of that zone bears to the total population of Korea. Subject to this principle, the number of representatives to be elected from each zone shall be determined by the United Nations Commission on Korea in consultation with the occupying powers.

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"(2) As soon as possible after the elections the National Assembly of Korea shall meet and form a government and shall notify the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea of the formation of this government.

"(3) Upon notification to the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea of the formation of a national government of Korea, that government shall take over the functions of North and South Korea, respectively, in accordance with arrangements to be agreed upon under the auspices of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea between the Government of Korea and the respective occupying authorities.

"(4) The United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea shall be available for such consultation and assistance as may be requested and appropriate in connection with the decisions and actions contemplated in paragraphs (1), (2) and (3) above."

Proposal of American Delegation:

In view of the action taken by its government, as stated above, and with the approval of its government, the U. S. Delegation proposes that, pending consideration of the Korean question by the United Nations, the Joint Commission recess and the two delegations hold themselves in readiness at the headquarters of the respective occupation forces for such assistance as may be requested by the United Nations.

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[redacted]

Roll 4

Target 2

Minutes of Meetings Between Members of the
Joint Commission and Individual Koreans, 1946-47

[redacted]

US - USSR Joint Commission
(Meetings Between Members
of the Joint Commission and
Individuals Koreans)

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CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR PEACE AND LIBERATION DAY 15 AUGUST, 1946

The meeting was convened at 1530 on July 30, 1946.

Those present included:

1. General Hodge's Representatives:

   Brigadier-General John Weckerling
   Lieutenant-Colonel J.B. Coolidge
   Major C.N. Weems, Jr.
   Dr. H.H. Underwood (Interpreter)

2. Representatives of the General Public

   Oh, Seh Chang
   Won, Seh Hung
   An, Chai Hong
   Kim, Kwang So
   Toh, Yu Ho

3. Representatives of Local Government

   Koo, Jha Ok
   Kim, Hyung Nin
   Lee, Chong Ha

4. Representatives of Military Government

   Cho, Pyung Ok
   Yu, Uck Kyum
   Chyung, Il Hyung

GENERAL WECKERLING: Gentlemen, as you know, we are meeting here to organize a Joint Committee, a Joint United States-Korean Committee, to supervise the joint celebration of the first anniversary of the liberation of Korea on 15 August.

Is that the concensus of the committee?

I understand that Mr. Oh, Seh Chang is the agreed chairman of the representatives of the general public, which consists of Mr. Won, Seh Hung, Mr. An, Chai Hong, Mr. Kim, Kwang-So, and Mr. Toh, Yu-Ho.

MAJOR WEEMS: I might say, Sir, that there has been no formal election, but there might be a question as to whether or not it has been agreed upon.

KIM, KWANG SO: We have come today as observers to learn what opinions are expressed here rather than as official delegates, and we would rather not participate in any official action until we can go back and report to our parties and get their official views as to what we ought to do. We, therefore, do not want to be on the record as taking part in any election.

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GEN. WECKERLING: Perhaps I had better read a general statement from General Hodge, which I think will give you some idea as to the purpose of this celebration:

15 August 1946 is the First Anniversary of a day that will always remain bright in the memories of both Americans and Koreans. This day a year ago marked the end of the long conflict with Japan and the beginning of a new era for Korea. During the past year the imprint of Japanese imperialism has been erased from Korean life. In addition, a foundation has been laid for the establishment of a democratic self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations. It is my sincere hope that the 15 August celebration will be participated in jointly and with full cooperation by all political and social organizations in Korea as an indication to the world that the people of Korea stand ready to overlook minor differences and work for the good of the nation as a whole.

This day of all should not be marred by untoward incidents fomented by irresponsible persons but should stand as a clearly defined signpost indicating the real cooperation among political groups that will the more quickly enable Korea to take its proper place among the nations of the world.

GEN. WECKERLING: General Hodge appointed me, Col. Coolidge, and Major Weems as representatives of the American side of the Joint Committee.

Gen. Hodge's idea was to have American troops such as participated in the Fourth of July celebration, stage a parade similar to that parade to be followed by the Korean section, to consist of such elements as the Korean Committee here decides.

He also wanted to arrange athletic contests in the afternoon between the Korean teams on one side and U.S. on the other--largely baseball and track events.

That would constitute the joing celebration that would be made that day. Other than that, he felt that the Koreans, you Koreans, could get together and arrange your own program.

Two of the representatives of the general public arrangements committee here are unable to decide as yet, before reporting to their superiors. Therefore, what we have said here is the general program of the day. Does anybody have any questions or suggestions?

AN, CHAI HONG: (Interpreted by Dr. Underwood) Mr. An says, as nearly as I can understand, that the two suggestions that have been made are very good, but while everybody is happy about liberation, still there is in the minds of Koreans that they have not yet achieved independence as yet, and it is their hope that there might be a place sometime during the day where they can express their own national spirit at whatever time it might be. They would like to have some time when they could have greater expression of their own national spirit, rather than as there would be in the joint meeting.

GEN. WECKERLING: Yes, well as I said before, other than the joint affairs we think it is up to the Koreans to arrange their part of the program for themselves.

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AN, CHAI HONG: (Interpreted by Dr. Underwood) He says that there might be points in that which should have been discussed with the ~~American authorities. As far as such a meeting~~ would be concerned, he would be happy to discuss with them such things. Such a meeting would be desirable.

GEN. WECKERLING: That is a meeting he wants--purely Korean--he wants no U.S. participation at all?

AN, CHAI HONG: (Interpreted by Dr. Underwood) It is his idea that the meeting would be carried on under the auspices of Koreans, but that they might want to ask such persons as Gen. Hodge or Gen. Lerch to participate in such a meeting. His idea is that it be carried on by Koreans.

GEN. WECKERLING: Mr. Kim, could you comment on that informally, without committing yourself or your party officially?

KIM, KWANG SOO: (Interpreted by Major Weems) (See correction following) We of the National Front have the greatest desire to cooperate with American forces, and are glad to appear jointly with them in any kind of public celebration on the fifteenth of August, but if it comes to a matter of a purely Korean celebration we do not feel our people who are on the Left can meet with many of the people who are attached to the Right. First, those who were persecuting our people, throwing them in jail, and perpetrating other forms of persecution under the Japanese regime; and, second, those who opposed the fundamental principles of democracy and seem to treat people in an autocratic manner at present. Although the fifteenth of August marks the first anniversary of the day which theoretically means freedom and liberty for the Korean people, we still find that there are innumerable basic problems that have not been solved, and we find all around us these people who were close collaborationists with the Japanese in positions of authority. We cannot participate in joyful celebration with these people as such. We, therefore, feel no joint mass meeting would be practicable nor could we support such a plan.

MAJOR WEEMS: (Correction of above speech) Mr. Kim did not use the terms "Right" or "Left"--I merely inferred this.

CHO PYUNG UK, Representative of Military Government (no interpreter--sketchy): The purpose of this meeting to be held August 15 is to arouse the Korean people to be grateful to our Allies and also we want to be grateful for our liberation, although the liberation has been realized not as..... ....so that we can build up quickly the true free and independent nation, forgetting and forgiving all of those minor differences. This kind of committee should not be conducted as a court trial where we are claiming prisoners as children of God. It is far from that. I know we have got to be humble because... No organization has the right to condemn any of our people as pro-Japanese traitors. It can't be done. It has to be proved legally. If any people in Korea today try to set up a trial court, my wishes will have them forgetting who are the traitors ....There may be some pro-Japanese in Korea now....The purpose of this meeting--

GEN. WECKERLING: Gentlemen, let's keep this discussion on the basis of the joint arrangements for this parade. I think we are getting a little out of line.

MAJOR WEEMS: There are two things I would like to say. One is that this discussion now in regard to the advisability or inadvisability of a joint meeting as the discussion is going outside the scope of the program which Gen. Weckerling has just outlined. The General and Gen. Hodge have just said we are

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interested in having a parade and an afternoon of athletic contests. There has been general agreement in all our preliminary agreements with members of the National Front as well as other persons present here on the general idea of those events, with some participation from Military Government and the Americans. The question of whether we have joint meeting or not is one for this committee to decide. It is not something that has been recommended. I think the whole question of whether we should have a joint assembly of all elements is not anything Gen. Weckerling or the American Command is trying to force on anybody. The question of meetings in the evening during the evening hours after the parade and afternoon exercises, after athletic events have been held, will be a question for the decision of the regular police authorities. The decisions are being cleared through my office as a matter of convenience. Those conferences will be held on these allegations (or applications) tomorrow at the convenience of the people, and those questions will be decided individually. If there is any desire to have a meeting, it could be done, but there is no reason for anyone here to try to force the idea of a joint meeting.

WON, SEH HUNG: (Interpreted by Dr. Underwood) He came here by invitation and he and all the rest have heard Gen. Hodge's message but there may be differences in the way of interpreting our thinking about the fifteenth of August. On the other hand, there are two things that stand out--that the surrender of the Japanese in Korea and the end of the conflict...and the other is the beginning of liberation of Korea. From these two points of view it seems all Koreans want to be able to take part in the celebration. Gen. Hodge has pointed out this is the first anniversary of liberation. We are in preparation for independence which all Koreans look forward to, and this is the idea which can be celebrated. We can think of it as preparation for independence. He regrets very much that the celebration could not be participated in by Soviet Forces, as the 38th Parallel is not abolished. It is necessary to get along without the Soviets, desirable though it would be to have the Soviets here to celebrate with us too. He realizes liberation is not yet complete. We are liberated from the oppression of Japan but are still under the domination of different foreign countries, and in regard to the remarks Mr. An Chai Hong in regard to the celebration for Korean spirit, he is in accord. Some of the people here today are here as members of the group and others are not. He wonders if we are all on the same plane in regard to discussion of the plans and if those who say they are not qualified to be members should have freedom of speech that the others have. He had hoped the celebration would be a united celebration and not like the first of March. There are different ideas and plans and people who discuss the program today should be people who belong to the group and who are grateful toward the allies, happy about the end of the War, and who appreciate the preparation for independence--who have similar feeling. Other people should not be able to take part in the discussion. We must have, everyone should be able to take part in the program outlined on the basis of gratitude for ending of War and gratitude to our Allies.

MAJOR WEEMS: There is the committee of arrangements of 33. This committee, which is Rightist, has stepped aside and said that since the joint committee is being organized its various members would make themselves available to serve under this committee rather than have their own program. It was hoped

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that similar attitude of tolerance would be shown by the two representatives of the National Front.

GEN. WECKERLING: This has been a very preliminary meeting. I want to thank you all for coming here to attend this meeting. I think we are all agreed on the desirability of the joint celebration as expressed in Gen. Hodge's letter of greeting to this meeting--that this day marks the end of the conflict with the Japanese and the beginning of a new era for the Koreans.

At the next meeting at some time that is convenient to everybody here, I would like to have from the various representatives a statement as to whether we are in agreement on the points that I have brought out. That is, do we agree to participate in joint Korean-U.S. celebration on the 15th of August in a program which I have outlined?--that is, a parade of United States soldiers such as participated on the fourth of July, and a section of Korean units and groups, plus the athletic contests that Gen. Hodge has proposed for the afternoon? That is a question that I would like to put before the Committee.

WON, SEH HUNG: There might be various definitions of pro-Japanese, that practically all Koreans might be accused of being...as this is a program suggestion by Allies and there are certain elements in which we can all rejoice and we can meet and carry on happily for joint celebration of this program. There are differences of opinion, of course, but the thing to do here is not to raise objections as to pro-Japanese inclinations, but that we might all get together and that everybody make a good report to their parties...

GENERAL WECKERLING: May I have an answer to the question I just asked?

DR. UNDERWOOD: Yes, they will all do that.

MR. KIM, KWANG SO: (Interpreted by Dr. Underwood) He gives many thanks. He feels much impressed with the desire for unity and as far as the program for celebration is concerned, he doesn't see much difficulty. But on the other hand, there are certain difficulties. There are people who hoped Military Government would remove pro-Japanese and in any joint celebration there will be difficulties, and there are certain individuals probably who would feel that even participation in such a meeting where individuals are whom they suspect would be having part would be very difficult. He is not in a position to speak officially for the parties he represents.

GEN. WECKERLING: I would like to again emphasize Gen. Hodge's suggestions for the 15th of August celebration. He proposed that we have a joint celebration in which the U.S. forces would cooperate with the Koreans in the features which I mentioned, that is, the parade and athletic and baseball events. Outside of that he believes the Koreans should get together on a joint program. I feel sure that if you will get together in any kind of a unified meeting, and I sincerely hope you do, that Gen. Hodge will be present if you ask him, and also any other American officers you want to be present. He will certainly come and will be overjoyed if you will have this joint mass meeting. And I would like

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to leave the meeting on that note. We have agreed on fundamental propositions and we can come back at the next meeting and have some further discussion on what I have just said.

We offer this rrom or some other room in the Palace as a meeting place if you so desire. Anyone of us from the American delegation will be present if they so want us to be present.

I am told there is some question as to separate meetings. Any separate meetings are not part of this discussion at all. They would be under whatever laws that govern and would be a separate matter altogether.

Then shall we adjourn? Would you like to fix a date for the next meeting?

DR. UNDERWOOD: Yes, they think it would be a good idea to fix a time and hour of the next meeting.

MR. WON, SEH HUNG: One difficulty about trying to fix an hour is that there was some meeting scheduled for yesterday and was delayed. This afternoon we came at two and certain parties are not present. Therefore, in order to avoid our vainly waiting and if these gentlemen could find out from various parties when and if they are coming, then we could fix a date when all would be present and there would be no further delay.

GEN. WECKERLING: Is that agreeable to you, Mr. Kim, that you will notify us of the exact date?

Anytime will be all right for the American side. We will be here anytime, any day you agree upon.

MAJ. WEEMS: They will come and see and get in touch with me sometime tomorrow before two o'clock. I asked them if they would be able to have all various representatives here at two o'clock and they are not sure about that.

YU: We will sent word tomorrow before two as to whether he can or cannot come. Under the circumstances, why not set the meeting for Thursday and let them get word in regard to Thursday in before two O'clock?

GEN. WECKERLING: Under the circumstances, then, we had better wait until we get an answer from Mr. Kim. I would like to close the meeting with a few words from Mr. Oh, Seh Chang, Co-chairman.

MAJ. WEEMS: He says he hasn't anything particularly to say as yet.

GEN. WECKERLING: Well, we will adjourn the meeting...

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INFORMAL DISCUSSION BETWEEN BRIG. GEN. JOHN WECKERLING AND MR. KIM, KWANG SOO OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL FRONT
(Also in attendance: Lt. Col. Joseph B. Coolidge and Maj. Clarence N. Weems, Jr., who also served as interpreter)

TUK SOO PALACE, Seoul, Korea
1 August 1946.

KIM, Kwang Soo, who was one of the two National Front officials attending the informal meeting of 30th July, came to General Weckerling's office at 2 p.m. on 1st August to convey the reactions of the National Front to the suggestions made at that earlier meeting. Discussion on 1st August between General Weckerling and Mr. KIM is presented here in condensed form.

MR. KIM: From the beginning of American occupation of Southern Korea I have been interested in bringing all Korean groups together in support of a sound Korean government. Shortly after he became Military Governor last fall, I was asked to visit General Arnold at his office. The general asked me to give him my suggestions regarding disposition which should be made of Japanese residing in Korea and also those Koreans who have been branded as collaborators. My answer was that, while the great majority of Japanese should be returned to Japan, as soon as possible, a substantial number of industrial technicians and medical men should be retained in Korea because of our own lack of specialists. I also suggested that a careful distinction should be made between those Koreans who had been forced to give lip service to the Japanese program in the interest of their personal safety, on the one hand, and, on the other, those who had prostituted their characters and patriotism for personal gain. When, therefore, I say to you that the National Front cannot appear in the same public gathering with collaborators to celebrate peace and liberation day, August 15, I speak as one who has made careful distinctions in regard to the basic character and purposes of the people concerned. The National Front objects to any hypocritical demonstration of harmony with men who are now trying to play the role of outspoken patriots, but who no less than a year ago were menial servants

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of Japanese imperialism. I speak especially of Mr. LEE, Chang Hyung who caused hundreds of Koreans to be killed while he was serving Japanese interests and who is now serving as the Director of Public Information for the Rightist "Korean Association for the Hastening of Independence". The members of that association and similar Rightist bodies are carrying on acts of terror against our Leftist people throughout the provinces. I believe, therefore, that the General can well understand our refusal to appear in the joint celebration with the leaders who are sponsoring such activities. At the same time I want to emphasize our desire to cooperate with the American Command in connection with the August 15th celebration.

GENERAL HODGE: I realize that the problem of collaboration with the enemy is a serious one, not only in Korea but in many other countries. It would appear, however, that the guilt of any Korean is a matter to be decided at some future time through orderly process of a free Korean government, and this is not a matter which should enter into decisions made with respect to our celebration of peace and liberation day. The significence of this day has two principal phases. For Koreans it signifies particularly their release from slavery to the Japanese. For Koreans, Americans and all other peace loving people it symbolizes the termination of four years of war against the three great Fascistic powers. Just as republicans and democrats in the United States join whole-heartedly in celebration of the 4th of July, General Hodge has felt that all Koreans can join successfully in celebration of peace and liberation day. He hopes that they can lay aside differences in political programs and also the question of possible collaboration, and celebrate this happy day together.

MR. KIM: I am personally in favor of the whole movement of unification. If you should ask Mr. AN, Chai Hong and Mr. WON, Seh Hung, you would find that they would confirm the fact that I have shown

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this interest throughtout the past year. As far as I am personally concerned, I should like to follow the plan of joint celebration suggested by you. The severe treatment which our people are receiving at the hands of members of other political groups, among which are found many real former collaborators, makes it extremely difficult for the leaders of the National Front to propose to their people that they should enter into a joint celebration on this important day with the people who support these undemocratic and narrow-minded leaders.

GENERAL WECKERLING: What kind of celebration does the National Front propose?

MR. KIM: We suggest that there should be two parts to the celebration. During the morning hours there should be a comparatively small gathering of representatives from all political and social groups, both Right and Left, at the Capital Building or some other suitable location. At this meeting it would be desirable if the American Commanding General or the Military Governor could be present. At this time the representative of each participating organization would express his party's congratulations upon the victory of the United Nations and the freeing of Korea. The flags of all the major United Nations would be displayed at this meeting, and the whole gathering would emphasize the unity of purpose of all the United Nations, including Korea. The second part of the celebration would consist of parades and meetings held by various parties and other organizations, subject only to the normal police regulations. In this way we would have an expression of unanimity in the matter of peace and liberation without attempting to force together the entire membership of Korean groups which are separated by serious differences at this time. After such a joint celebration it would seem that the spirit of joint celebration would be compromised by allowing individual organizations to have further meetings according to their own plans.

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GENERAL WECKERLING: Are you prepared to go into the meeting which is to consider the whole celebration problem this afternoon and present these views which you have just described?

MR. KIM: I will be glad to be present at this meeting and present these views, but I will be doing so as an individual and not as an official representative of the National Front.

GENERAL WECKERLING: That arrangement is perfectly satisfactory. I might say, for your own information, that General Hodge has definitely taken the position that all celebrations on the 15th of August, other than the actual parading of American troops, should be planned by Koreans and that Americans should be guests rather than directors of these activities. He is equally firm, however, in his desire that such Korean planning should come from a genuinely representative committee and should not degenerate into separate demonstrations by rival organizations. It is not his desire that any separate meetings or parades should be held on this particular day.

MR. KIM: As I have already explained, it is very difficult for representatives of the National Front to take part in a joint planning committee such as you propose because of the basic differences between the parties represented. We would much prefer that, since the effort at unification is still in its preliminary stages, it would be much better not to place this added burden on AN, Chai Hong, WON, Seh Hung, myself and others, and that it would be desirable to disband this committee entirely. We would recommend that the Military Government issue invitations to all Korean units to participate along the lines mentioned above, and we feel that such invitations will be well received because of his position as head of the existing government of South Korea.

GENERAL WECKERLING: It is now getting rather late and it may not be necessary to have a meeting this afternoon. In preparation for a further discussion in the next day or two, would you be good enough to refer back to your people the results of our discussion

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this afternoon and see if some way can be found to work with a group of this kind so that the principal demonstrations of the day will be genuinely Korean in nature and will be the result of joint planning.

MR. KIM: I appreciate very much the sincerity of your attitude and I will present your views in the best possible light to the National Front people, and I will report our attitude back to Major Weems.

(Just as the informal conference between General Weckerling and Mr. KIM ended, both Mr. OH, Sey Chang, and Mr. WON, Seh Hung arrived at Tuk Soo Palace. Mr. WON had come in an effort to get something accomplished at this meeting, in spite of the fact that he was suffering from a fever and had been confined at home. Mr. AN, Chai Hong had already come at the appointed hour. When Mr. KIM, Kwang Soo found that WON, Seh Hung had come, he voluntarily expressed a desire to discuss the whole problem of joint planning of the celebration with Mr. WON. These two men spoke briefly with Major Weems, indicating that they would like to try to arrive at a genuine basis of agreement between the Rightist and Leftist elements, and that as soon as such an understanding could be reached they would jointly suggest a new meeting time for the whole planning group.)

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CONFERENCE BETWEEN GENERAL WECKERLING AND MR. AN, SHAI HONG

TUK SOO PALACE, Seoul, Korea
2 August 1946.

General Weckerling met Mr. AN, Shai Hong at 2;45, 2 August, with Dr. Underwood interpreting.

General Weckerling asked Mr. AN to give a frank expression of opinion as to the desirability of holding the Liberation Day celebration under the auspices of General Hodge, invitations to be sent to various political parties and to the general public to participate in the celebration. It was suggested that the celebration might consist of three parts:

1. A large mass meeting in front of the Capital, platform to be erected on which representatives of the parties, social organizations and distinguished Koreans, as well as American officials, should have seats, with speeches to be made by representatives of the different parties and other groups.
2. A parade in which U. S. troops, Constabulary, police, units of the M.G., and Korean organizations would participate.
3. Athletic events consisting of a double-header baseball game and track meet to be held in the afternoon.

General Weckerling emphasized the fact that the celebration would be held under the auspices of General Hodge and that General Hodge's only objective was to aid in the united and happy celebration of an event in which all nations rejoiced.

Mr. AN in reply stated that while some celebration to be directly under the auspices of a joint committee of Americans and Korean political organizations might have been better than this, it now appeared doubtful if such a plan was practical. He expressed himself, therefore, as being in full accord with the plan suggested by General Weckerling and in feeling that it was almost the only practical way at this late date to insure a satisfactory celebration. He went on, however, to state that though a united Korean celebration might be difficult, that it was the desire of many groups among the Koreans to hold a purely

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Korean celebration of the event where they might express not only their gratitude of liberation, but their hopes in regard to rapid progress towards independence. He hoped very much that it might be possible to grant permission for such celebrations. He stated that in his mind it would be perfectly possible and satisfactory to hold these Korean celebrations on the 16th, 17th, or even as late as the 18th, if it was felt that it was desirable to reserve the whole of the 15th for the American sponsored celebration.

General Weckerling promised to present Mr. AN's ideas to General Hodge and, after thanking Mr. AN for his presence and cooperation, the conference closed a few minutes after 3 o'clock.

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Conference on Liberation Celebration
(General Weckerling and Mr. Kim Kwan Su)
Toksu Palace 11:45 a.m. August 3, 1946

General Weckerling conveyed to Mr. Kim General Hodge's regret and disappointment that the plan for a united celebration of the first Anniversary of Liberation could not be carried out. He stated that the Americans had no desire to monopolize this celebration or make it especially an American celebration. General Hodge felt that it was a day in which all parties in liberated Korea and all people of the United Nations should share.

General Weckerling then outlined the following suggestion for the celebration of the day:

1. A large, open mass meeting to be held in front of the Capitol building, with leading citizens and representatives of the larger parties to be invited to sit on the platform, and representatives of both rightist and leftist groups to be among those to make speeches.

2. Athletic events, consisting of a double-header baseball game and track meet, to be held in the afternoon at the Seoul Municipal grounds.

The official celebration of the day would be confined to these two events, thus leaving the balance of the day open for celebrations to be held by various Korean groups, should they so desire.

Mr. Kim expressed his satisfaction with these arrangements, which followed to a certain extent suggestions which he had made some days previously. He re-emphasized the desirability of allowing different groups of Koreans to hold their own celebrations, and urged that they be allowed to parade, stating that he was sure that the parades would be orderly and that as far as the Democratic People's Front was concerned he could guarantee that there would be no disorder. He further asked for permission to use the Seoul Municipal grounds for the meeting place for such a parade.

General Weckerling asked Mr. Kim if in expressing his approval of the plans outlined Mr. Kim was speaking only for himself or for the People's Front. Mr. Kim replied that in this matter he could speak for the Front. He went on to say that one of the objectives of such a celebration would be to show the complete impartiality of General Hodge and of Military Government toward both Right and Left. He felt, therefore, that rather than allow either side to feel that they had been slighted in the number invited to speak, it would be best to have only one or two each from Right and Left

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and, in any case, to exercise great care that there be no discrimination.

General Weckerling assured Mr. Kim that General Hodge was aware of the need for care in the above matter. He further reminded Mr. Kim that the plans under discussion were as yet only suggestions, and that they must receive official approval before they could be announced or regarded as official. He promised to take up the question as to Korean celebrations, parades, and the use of the Seoul Grounds for such purposes. He stated that in a few days, perhaps on Monday, he would hope to meet Mr. Kim again to discuss definite details if the general plan was approved.

The conference closed at 12:10 p.m.

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CONFERENCE BETWEEN GENERAL WECKERLING AND MR. KIM, KWAN SOO.

Tuk Soo Palace, 5 August 1946.

General Weckerling outlined to Mr. KIM the latest plans for the celebration of Liberation Day, stating that they now envisaged:

(1) A parade in which units of American troops, Korean police, Korean constabulary, Coast Guard, Military Government, and any other organizations or groups who wished to participate would take part. This parade would start possibly from somewhere near the Seoul Railroad s tation, march to and past the Capitol Building where there would be a a reviewing stand and speakers' platform,

(2) After the passage of the parade, there would be a mass meeting with the people gathered both inside and outside of the Capital building grounds, public address facilities being installed so as to reach the crowd outside. At this meetingprobably two representatives of the Left and two of the Right would be invited to speak,

(3) In the afternoon there would be a double-header baseball game and a track meet between Americans and Koreans.

In addition to the above program, which would constitute the official celebration of the day, political parties and other groups would be allowed to meet and hold their own celebrations. However, it was not considered desirable that there should be any other parades than the official one.

Mr. KIM expressed some surprise at the parade feature as outlined in General Weckerling's description. He expressed himself as feeling that a better plan would be for the official celebration to be confined to the mass meeting and speeches and that thereafter on this day of liberation and freedom, Korean organizations be given full freedom to parade and meet as they might desire. Mr. KIM also strongly expressed the desire that they be allowed to use the Seoul Grounds, since in his opinion there was no other place in the city where such numbers as were to be expected on this day could be accommodated. Mr. KIM stated that

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on August 15th, 1945, although Japanese troops were still here and still armed, the entire city broke into a spontaneous and unrestrained celebration of liberation. He felt, therefore, that especially when we celebrate liberation it would be unfortunate to place any special restrictions upon the people. He stated that on such occasions as the 1st of March and other holidays, Koreans had been allowed to parade, and he said that he feared the prohibition of parades on this special day would have a very unfortunate effect on the thinking of the people. He went on to say that under the Japanese they had been accustomed to official parades which they were required to attend, and that he greatly feared that certain elements might even compare this official "American" parade to such Japanese affairs.

General Weckerling replied by restating the American position: First, Liberation Day and the end of the war are being celebrated all over the world. President Truman has declared a special holiday for Americans in Korea as well as Americans in other parts of the world who wish to celebrate the victorious conclusion of the war which cost America some 400,000 lives. Second, on the other hand, General Hodge had no desire to inflict a parade on anyone or enforce attendance at a parade. Americans themselves do not care a great deal for parades. However, it was General Hodge's opinion that, since many Koreans rejoiced in liberation as we rejoiced in the conclusion of the war, the program as outlined would give the greatest opportunity for a united celebration for all those who wish to attend, no one being in any way compelled to do so. It was General Hodge's feeling that separate parades by organizations and parties would tend if anything to mar the unity of the day. General Weckerling further stated that as the Seoul Grounds would have to be prepared for the athletic events of the afternoon and as Military Government had decided sometime ago that the use of these grounds would be confined hereafter to athletic events, he thought it improbable that permission could be secured for use for such a celebration. General Weckerling also pointed out that if the Leftist

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groups decided to have a parade and meeting, we must plan on extending equal facilities and permission to the groups on the Right.

Mr. KIM replied by still further emphasizing the desirability of a free celebration by the Koreans on this day. He stated that he was motivated by the desire to see American-Korean relations improve and the fear that restrictions on this day would cause misunderstandings which would be extremely harmful to Korean-American relations. He urged General Weckerling to do everything in his power:

(1) to secure permission for the use of the Seoul Grounds, even if it meant the cancelling or the postponement of the proposed athletic events, and

(2) to equally do his best to secure permission for parades.

He stated that the various groups of the Left, young people, women and other organizations had been looking forward to their celebration of this day with great anticipation, and he feared that the restrictions suggested would bring great disappointment and resentment.

General Weckerling inquired as to what their plans would be, and Mr. KIM replied that they would expect to gather at the Seoul Grounds and have a parade which would come down the Chong-No Street, past the traffic light below the Capitol Building, out over the West Gate, here circling around to the South Gate where the parade would break up. If the official celebration were confined to the mass meeting in the morning they would like to gather for their parade as early as possible. If, on the other hand, the official celebration was to include the parade as outlined by General Weckerling, it would probably be impossible to gather there for their own parade earlier than 12 o'clock or 1 o'clock.

General Weckerling stated that the decision in these matters was not in his hands, and that he would have to consult further before he could give Mr. KIM a positive answer on these points. It was arranged that Mr. KIM should call at the Palace on Tuesday at 11 a.m. to hear the decision and to further discuss the question.

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The following is the short summary of the conversation between General Weckerling and Mr. An, Chai Hong, representative of the rightist groups, held at Dok Soo Palace beginning at 1630, August 5, 1946.

GENERAL WECKERLING:

I had invited you, Mr. An, to discuss plans for the parade and mass meeting of the August 15th celebration. What is your reaction to the following tentative program? The platform of the celebration will be built in front of the Capitol. The parade will start about at 9 o'clock with the U.S. Army in front followed by the constabulary, police, Coast Guard and groups from various organizations. Everybody is welcome to participate in the parade. This will be followed by a review of the parade from the platform and after the last units have cleared, the congratulatory speeches by the honor guests on the platform will begin. It is proposed that the political parties be represented by two from each general group or a total of four in all. You are perfectly welcome to have your own celebration if you do not want to have one large joint celebration. You will recall that you made a special request along this line at the last meeting.

MR. AN:

There is absolutely no objection on our party to the celebration outlined to us by General Hodge through you. In the past, leftists have had only a very few followers when they had their celebration separately so I am of the opinion that they may not be in position to stage a celebration alone. We want to have a joint Korean celebration of the day with all political groups participating and to that end are consulting with the leftists. If, however, the leftists do not want to hold a joint celebration, then we will like to have the first chance of having the celebration by ourselves after the general celebration will be finished. We will want to have the afternoon of August 15th, but if it isn't convenient, we will be satisfied with the 16th.

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The following is the short summary of the conversation between General Weckerling and Mr. An, Chai Hong, representative of the rightist groups, held at Duk Soo Palace beginning at 1630, August 5, 1946.

GENERAL WECKERLING:

I had invited you, Mr. An, to discuss plans for the parade and mass meeting of the August 15th celebration. What is your reaction to the following tentative program? The platform of the celebration will be built in front of the Capitol. The parade will start about at 9 o'clock with the U.S. Army in front followed by the constabulary, police, Coast Guard and groups from various organizations. Everybody is welcome to participate in the parade. This will be followed by a review of the parade from the platform and after the last units have cleared, the congratulatory speeches by the honor guests on the platform will begin. It is proposed that the political parties be represented by two from each general group or a total of four in all. You are perfectly welcome to have your own celebration if you do not want to have one large joint celebration. You will recall that you made a special request along this line at the last meeting.

MR. AN:

There is absolutely no objection on our party to the celebration outlined to us by General Hodge through you. In the past, leftists have had only a very few followers when they had their celebration separately so I am of the opinion that they may not be in position to stage a celebration alone. We want to have a joint Korean celebration of the day with all political groups participating and to that end are consulting with the leftists. If, however, the leftists do not want to hold a joint celebration, then we will like to have the first chance of having the celebration by ourselves after the general celebration will be finished. We will want to have the afternoon of August 15th, but if it isn't convenient, we will be satisfied with the 16th.

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CONFERENCE BETWEEN GENERAL WECKERLING AND MR. KIM, KWAN SOO

1130 Hours, 6 August 1946.

General Weckerling stated to Mr. KIM the present ideas for the celebration of Liberation Day, these plans having been formulated to meet the expressed desire of the Koreans for an opportunity to have their own celebrations of the day in addition to the official celebration sponsored by the American forces.

General Weckerling stated that it was the present thought to allow one group to use the Seoul Grounds (The Football Field) for a meeting and for the starting point of a parade at approximately 8 o'clock, the Military Government parade and mass meeting to be scheduled for 1300 hours, and another group of Koreans to be allowed to have similar use of the same grounds at 1500 hours. The General explained that in order to make room for these various celebrations and for the possibility of three different parades, careful timing and routing would be necessary to solve the traffic problem involved. Mr. KIM expressed satisfaction with the general idea and stated that the leftists would prefer the morning rather than the afternoon hour for their meeting and parade.

General Weckerling asked as to the time estimated for the meeting and parade as planned and for their probable route. After some discussion as to possible routes and the probable time involved, it was tentatively agreed that the leftist party should endeavor to begin their meeting at 8 a.m. and that their parade should proceed from the Seoul Grounds to the East Gate, thence down the main street to the Great Bell where they would turn left and follow the South Gate street to the Seoul Station where the parade would break up. Their line of parade would in this way not touch the line of march of the official parade until the two streets converged at the South Gate. Mr. KIM guaranteed that their parade would be completely over by 1300 hours.

General Weckerling inquired if any of the units of their parade would expect to attend the M.G. meeting in a body. Mr. KIM replied that there would be no such attendance by whole units, though he

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expected that a large number of the people participating in their parade would also attend the M.G. mass meeting in front of the Capitol Grounds.

General Weckerling made it plain that these plans as yet were tentative, but assured Mr. KIM that he would communicate with him as soon as the plans were definitely confirmed. General Weckerling again pointed out to Mr. KIM the unfortunate results which would ensue from any conflict between the two parades and urged upon him that the time schedule should be strictly adhered to. This Mr. KIM promised to do, and the conference closed at 12 o'clock.

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CONFERENCE BETWEEN GENERAL WECKERLING AND MR. AN, CHAI HONG

1300 HOURS, 6 August 1946.

General Weckerling outlined to Mr. AN the plans for the celebration of Liberation Day in their latest phase, and asked Mr. AN to state briefly and in general the wishes and plans of the rightist groups for their share in the celebration of the day.

Mr. AN expressed general satisfaction with the plans as outlined and stated that the rightist groups would like to have the use of the Seoul Grounds from 1300 until sundown. He asked that the adjacent baseball field be not given to any other organization for celebration as he felt that two different organizations meeting in such close quarters might cause unfortunate incidents. General Weckerling assured him that the baseball grounds would be used that afternoon only for the double-header baseball game, and Mr. AN saw no objection to its use in this way.

General Weckerling inquired as to whether there would be any parade or parades, either to the grounds before 1300 or after the gathering at that hour. Mr. AN replied that in the main the people attending the meeting would make their way to the grounds individually, though it was possible that certain schools, groups of factory workers, etc., might go there in a body. He stated that his own feeling was against any parade in such hot weather, and that he thought it probable that they would confine themselves to a meeting on the grounds.

He further stated that inasmuch as after the lapse of a year independence had not been achieved, the Korean parties had not become unified and living conditions had become if anything more difficult, expression would be given to these feelings at their meetings, and he hoped that it would be understood that these were not in the form of carping criticism but speakers would be selected with care who would express merely the sincere hopes and wishes of the Korean people.

General Weckerling stated that he felt that with this understanding with Mr. AN, the plans might almost be considered as definite,

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but that they were still actually in a tentative form and that he would communicate with Mr. AN as soon as these plans were officially approved. He further explained that while he thought it probable that Mr. AN's request for the use of the grounds could be granted, it might be necessary to make this permission from 1400 until sundown rather than from 1300.

Mr. AN expressed his gratification and thanks for the plans arranged, and the conference closed at approximately 4 o'clock.

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CONFERENCE BETWEEN GENERAL WECKERLING AND MR. KIM KWANG SOO, AT 1200 HOURS 7 AUGUST 1946.

General Weckerling:

The general arrangements for the August 15th celebration have been decided tentatively very much along the line about which we talked yesterday. Mr. Kim, we feel that the program as arranged is not truly representative of the spirit of the day we are trying to celebrate. The parades and mass meetings planned by the political groups are totally partisan in character and nothing has been arranged for their participation in a joint celebration. What is needed to round out this celebration is participation by all groups in honor of the liberation of Korea and the victory over the Axis. The opportunity to express this feeling lies in the parade which will be staged by military units, police, Coast Guard, constabulary and civilian organizations and groups generally along the wide street leading to the Capitol. Your organization should, as Koreans, in order to demonstrate your joy over being liberated, send a representative group to take part in the parade. Banners and placards in the spirit of the day may be carried. We intend to invite other political groups, civic organizations, schools, industries, labor, etc. to take a similar part in the parade. This is entirely voluntary. This is an invitation for you to join likewise. You should celebrate as Koreans the liberation of Korea; as Americans we rejoice in victory over the Germans and Japanese which I am sure you also share.

Mr. Kim, Kwang Soo: (as interpreted by Mr. Herbert Kim)

After a considerable delay to check replies and translators, the following is believed to represent a fair summary of Mr. Kim's statements: In my opinion, there will be no difficulty in arranging a picked group of 500 or more to join

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the military parade. I agree to follow in everything according to the proposed schedule but a more detailed plan about the parade will be worked out with Col. Wilson of the City of Seoul Military Administration. We will have our group gathered near the stadium at 8 o'clock A.M. By 10 A.M. we will have the last of our parade leave that place of assembly and move toward the railway station where our picked group of 500 or more will join the military parade. By 12 o'clock or at least 1 o'clock the parade may be over and all units dispensed.

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Initial

INTERVIEW BETWEEN GENERAL WECKERLING AND MESSRS. AN CHI HONG AND WON SEI HOON REGARDING CELEBRATION OF LIBERATION ON 15 AUG. AT 0945 HOURS 8 AUG.

- -

General Weckerling once again went over the final plans for the celebration of liberation day outlining them as follows: The Leftist groups are to have the use of the Seoul grounds for a meeting and parade which will start from these grounds at about 9 a.m., proceed to the center of the city where it will turn left down South Gate street and disperse outside the South Gate. U.S. Forces and M.G. will hold a parade starting in the neighborhood of the South Gate about 11:00 or 11:30 a.m., proceeding to the Capitol where the reviewing stand will be erected. After the parade at approximately 1:00 p.m., a mass meeting will be held as previously outlined. The Rightist groups are to use the Seoul grounds from 2:00 p.m. on.

General Weckerling pointed out that the celebration held by the Leftist and Rightist groups would naturally be of a more or less political nature and urged on Mr. An the desirability of having a group to represent his party or parties which would take its place in the united celebration and parade to be held under the auspices of the U.S. Military Forces.

General Weckerling pointed out that Mr. An should now proceed as soon as possible to take the necessary steps through Lt. Col. Wilson and the Mayor's office to secure the formal permits for his gathering.

Mr. An stated that he had not previously been aware of the fact that the Leftist groups were planning a parade and further stated that if they were going to have a parade, he felt that the Rightists would also desire to have a parade.

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General Weckerling said that this would be of course permitted and Mr. An stated that the Rightists' parade would proceed from the Seoul grounds to the center of the city, turn right up to the street which passes in front of the Capitol Building, follow this to the Capitol and there turn left and proceed to the South Gate station.

General Weckerling stated that Mr. An and Mr. Won and other members of the Rightist groups would be informed through Col. Wilson of the exact time and place where their units would join the parade. He again urged on Mr. An the desirability of having a share in this united parade and Mr. An stated that they would certainly so participate and that he would proceed at once to make the necessary contacts with Lt. Col. Wilson's office.

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RECORD OF A MEETING HELD 0900, 7 January 1947, between Mr. KIM, San Duk and Certain Members of the Joint Commission (General Brown, General Weckerling, Colonel Lincoln and Lt. Althaus).

Mr. Kim represented the National Unification

1. On being questioned as to his view of the cause of the disturbances in South Korea last October, Mr. Kim stated that there were three causes:

(1) The general dissatisfaction of the people against the public administration as a whole.
(2) The people's resentment against the police because of their harshness and brutality and the bad habits they had retained from their experience under the Japanese.
(3) The agitation of the "political Brokers" who stirred up the people to violent action.

Mr. Kim stated that it was natural for the resentment of the pblic about the administration to focus against police because the police were the only public officials with which they came into intimate and frequent contact, and the police were brutal and harsh in their relations to the public.

Mr. Kim stated that conditions should be improved by taking care of the livlihood of the people and making sure their rations were furnished on time as well as clothing and fuel. Second, policemen of high rank who served under the Japanese should be eliminated. Third, all the "political brokers" should be checked from their propaganda activities. Mr. Kim stated that by "political brokers" he meant the extreme leftists who employed such acts as terrorism. These people are an obstacle to Korean progress and cannot be depended upon to make good their statements. The "political brokers" are not numerous, but they are very active underground schemers. At one time they claimed ten million members, but since then there has been internal division among the leftists and there is no way to determine their exact numbers now.

2. In answer to a question, Mr. Kim stated that he was not affiliated with any political party; however, that various members of his organization were affiliated with various parties. Mr. Kim did not believe that parties should be organized until after the government is established. He did not think that there were at present many full-fledged political parties in South Korea but there are many organizations which do work of a political nature, such as his own.

Mr. Kim continued that there are two general divisions in the political parties - rightists and leftists. However, the people

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are against any political party since anywhere in the world the people are more intelligent than the politicians.

3. In regard to some questions on the situation in the leftist parties, Mr. Kim stated that Paik, Hyeun Young because of his methods exerted superior power in dealing with the people. However, figures show that his party is weaker than the Democratic Party because all of the left has not joined Paik; some of it being in the Socialist Labor Party; the union between the two parties is not complete. The South Korean Labor Party is a little more numerous. Of the old People's Party many are now standing aloof but will eventually join the South Korean Labor Party. Mr. Kim said that only God knows why Lyuh, Woon Hyung did not join the South Korean Labor Party. There is a possibility of uniting the two parties, but Lyuh is a very uncertain factor. If they unite, Paik will have strong opposition within the party for a time. Mr. Kim refused to say who would eventually gain control. Mr. Kim added that nearly all of the leftists were communists.

In answer to a question, Mr. Kim stated that most of the other communists (outside his own party) were opposed to Paik, Hyeun Young because his schemes do not fit into Korean life. He is not a true communist. Korea will be behind other nations even without a group like Paik who continually tear down and keep us losing ground by the methods he employs rather than trying to keep improving.

4. Mr. Kim said that the future government of Korea should be a democracy and not communist. It should rest upon the strength of the laboring people. Mr. Kim stated that as agreed by the Four Powers it should eventually become an independent self-supporting power, and the agreement of the powers should be followed by Korea in gaining its independence. The first step should be a unification of North and South Korea.

There should be universal sufferage for men and women over 18. The people can quickly learn how to read and write their names and the names of parties and candidates, and this is all that would be necessary for a democratic government.

In answer to a question, Mr. Kim stated that fundamentally young people and members of the groups should judge for themselves how they would vote, but actually the leaders or head man would exert considerable influence.

Ballots should be secret.

There should be a Legislature with one House. A member should be elected from each gun in North and South Korea and in

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cities like Seoul election should be based on population. There are about 280 guns in Korea.

Mr. Kim stated there should be a president of Korea who would be nominated by the Legislature and elected by the people.

5. Mr. Kim declined to comment on the present method of tax collection.

L. J. LINCOLN,
Colonel, CE.

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7 January 1947.

RECORD OF MEETING HELD 1400, 7 January 1947, between Mr. YI, Yun Yung and Certain Members of the Joint Commission (General Brown, General Weckerling, Colonel Lincoln, and Lt. Althaus.)

Mr. Yi represents the Chosun Democratic Party as Vice-Chairman.

1. To general questions asked concerning his view as to the causes of the disturbances in South Korea last October, Mr. Yi stated there were three or four general causes.

(1) Dissatisfaction with the police.
(2) Food shortages and rice collection program,
(3) Political agitators and pro-Japs within the myuns and guns.
    (a) Supplemental cause - The strikes and strife caused by these undesirable "leftist" elements.

Mr. Yi stated that back of these three or four causes lies the "prime" cause or "prime mover" - that of the Communistic elements which make use of the above conditions. They take advantage of the general situation, through their control of many newspapers, by exaggerating the facts and placing all blame upon M.G. Therefore, there are actually only two causes:

(1) General situations within South Korea,
(2) Communist plan of activities.

The only way to eliminate further distrubances, according to Mr. Yi, is to seek out and remove the <u>basic</u> causes.

To the following specific questions asked, Mr. Yi gave the following answers:

1. What is the size of the Communist Party in South Korea?

<u>a</u>. Their numbers are insignificant and nothing to be afraid of, but their activities are what are dangerous. They propagandize and play upon the ignorant farmers.

2. Do Communists dominate South Korea Labor Party?

<u>a</u>. No.

3. Do Communists dominate Socialist Labor Party?

<u>a</u>. That party is in a state of turmoil so no information is available.

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4. How strong is the People's Party?

a. Almost insignificant; Socialist Labor Party is much stronger.

5. Which are in the majority in South Korea - the rightists or leftists?

a. Rightists are decidely so. Percentagely speaking, two to eight in favor of the rights.

Mr. Yi would not commit himself or did not know whether the eventual Korean government should be patterned after the Soviet democracy or the U.S. democracy. He said a general election would decide the form.

As an added thought, Mr. Yi said the U.S. has long been a strong power, but Russia has now emerged as a strong power also, and Korea can never forget that fact. Unless the U.S. and Russia can come to terms, Korea will never have independence. He stated he did not agree with those who advocate the removal of U.S. and Russian troops. If Russia should move down from the North those who uphold the U.S. type of government will be purged.

6. Do you advocate universal suffrage?

a. No. Mr. Yi said if he had more time he would be glad to clarify his answer.

7. How should Legislators be elected?

a. They should be elected from those elected to the provinces, which in turn should be elected from those elected to the myuns, and so on down to the guns.

8. Should there be a president?

a. Yes. The all-elected Legislature should elect the president.

9. How should the judges be elected?

a. By the electorate group (legislators?) and the lower judicial authorities in myuns, guns, etc., be appointed by legislators.

K. G. ALTHAUS,
1st Lt., ADC.

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RECORD OF MEETING HELD 0900, 8 January 1947, between Mrs. HWANG, Kee Sung, and certain Members of the Joint Commission (General Brown, General Weckerling, Colonel Lincoln and Lt. Althaus.)

Mrs. Hwang represents the Patriotic Women's Association, as Vice-President. (also affiliated with National Unification Headquarters.)

1. Asked to give her conclusions as to the causes of the disturbances last summer, Mrs. Hwang said she was not well enough informed to go into any great deatail but, generally, the causes could be attributed to the two opposing forces within Korea. Of these two forces, Mrs. Hwang said, one or the other must be suppressed, and this cannot be accomplished by the Koreans. (Identifying one of the forces as Pak Hyun Young and the Russian-supported Communists, she seemed to imply that the other force was that of the United States and the Rightist groups.)

Mrs. Hwang said that she sent women investigators out into the provinces shortly after the riots in order to determine the causes. These investigators reported that Communist elements aroused the illiterate farmers into action. She cited the case at Taegu where the ignorant farmers had been told by the Communists that KIM Il Sung was actually in Taegu supervising the riot, and that the Russians were on their way down from the North.

2. In order to gain as much information as possible in the limited time allowed, Mrs. Hwang was asked the following direct questions to which she gave the following answers:

1. How large are the Communist elements in South Korea?

a) Their numbers are inconsequential because only a very few playing upon the simple-minded farmers can disrupt an entire community.

2. Can the Communists win a universal election in South Korea?

a) To this question, Mrs. Hwang referred to an experimental election held at Chin Jin(?) to determine who controlled the most votes, Mr. Lyuh or Mr. Rhee. In spite of active and extensive political stumping on the part of Mr. Rhee, and apparently none on the part of Mr. Lyuh, Mr. Rhee only garnered 1000 votes to Mr. Lyuh's 900. This slight difference causes Mrs. Hwang to doubt the outcome of a universal election.

3. Are all leftists Communists?

a) No. True Communists are not the same as the terroristic leftists. My husband was a genuine Communist, believing in freedom and equality.

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4. How strong is the Social Labor Party?

a) It used to be strong until word from the North requested the staff leaders be killed. Consequently, their numbers began to break away and go over to the South Korea Labor Party.

5. Are there any leftist women in your party?

a) No.

6. Are there any leftist Women's organizations?

a) Yes. The Women's Mobilization Organization, whose headquarters are in Seoul. The president is a Mrs. Yu Young Jin, and they number only a few hundred.

7. What do you think of the present police force?

a) The police were trained under the Japanese for 30 or more years, so we must expect them to act as they do. When conditions become stable we can eliminate the corrupt members of the force. I take for granted they must act as they do. Although I have heard reports against them, they have never bothered me.

8. What form of government is best for Korea?

a) Korea will never survive the Communists. (Mrs. Hwang did not make herself clear on this point because she went on to add the following:) Eventually, Korea will have a democracy but not until the people are instructed how to support that form of government. Until that time, the intelligent people must govern.

9. How do you feel about universal suffrage?

a) It should come eventually, but it is not workable at the present time. The people aren't educated enough to know how to vote and are apt to fall into the hands of the Communists.

K. G. ALTHAUS
1st Lt., ADC

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RECORD OF MEETING HELD 1400, 9 January 1947, between General LEE, Bum Suk, his personal secretary - Mr. Kim, Hyun Kyun, and certain members of the Joint Commission (General Brown, General Weckerling, Colonel Lincoln and Lt. Althaus).

General LEE is Chief of the Korean National Youth Organization.

As with previous political leaders conferred with, General Brown first questioned General LEE concerning his views as to the causes of last summer's disturbances in South Korea. General LEE replied that he did not concern himself locally, that his activities cover all of Korea. Because he deals with Korea as a whole, he has come to the conclusion that the 38th parallel is, itself, a source of friction.

Another cause commonly referred to, said General LEE, is the antipathy towards the police. However, he prefers to take a tolerating attitude towards the police situation because he says we must expect the people to rebel against those who have been trained under the Japanese for 30 or so years. This antipathy against the police is encouraged by "Red elements" and until we reach a clear-cut definition of "pro-Japs", we must tolerate such action by the people. These Red elements make the most of a situation, so we should also consider the good job done by the police when defining pro-Japanese.

General LEE listed Communist agitators or "leftists" as the prime cause; considering the food situation, living conditions, etc., as supplementary causes.

In trying to obtain a general concensus of opinion, General Brown asked of General LEE certain specific questions which he has asked at previous conferences:

1. What are the proportions of leftists in South Korea?

a) General LEE stated he had no figures available since he deals with Korea as a whole.

2. Are all leftists Communists?

a) In his work with youth groups he comes to the conclusion that all leftists are not communists. A leftist today may become a rightist tomorrow.

When asked how a strong government in Korea could be obtained, General LEE replied he did not know. That the players should know better than the spectators. The whole question should be left up to the Russians and the United States. If the Joint Commission cannot come to terms, Korea's case should be referred to

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the Three Foreign Ministers. The U.S. should then convince the Russians to withdraw her troops from Korea at the time of U.S. troop withdrawal. When questioned as to <u>how</u> to convince the Russians, General LEE advocated the United States use of force. If the United States would threaten the U.S.S.R. with war, Russia would immediately withdraw from North Korea. (At this point, General LEE digressed from the questions involved and spoke at some length about Korea's great desire for independence and the dangers of delay. He discussed the Korean people's faith in the U.S., coupled with their concern over the slowness of the realization of independence. He saw no reason why Korea should be the only nation requiring Trusteeship.)

3. General Brown asked General LEE, "What type of government do you think best for Korea?"

a) Korea's government must be based on the same democratic principles that are sweeping over the entire world. But, he cautioned, it must be a Korean democracy and not a Russian or American democracy transplanted in Korea. Korea's government should go through the three stages which the present government of China has just completed. These steps are:

(1) Military administration.
(2) Political discipline,
(3) Constitutional administration.

A strong central government is necessary in the beginning - democratic in form, not communistic.

4. Should there be a legislature?

a) Yes, it could be possible.

5. How should this legislature be elected?

a) By the people. They will unselfishly stand behind their national patriots. (General LEE was vague about universal suffrage, but seemed to think it may come in due course.)

6. Should there be a President?

a) That matter is one for the people to decide.

When asked about a separate Korean defense force for South Korea, General LEE said he did not think one was necessary as long as U.S. forces were here. However, he understands the Russians have recruited and trained 35,000 Koreans and are aiming at a goal of 1,000,000. Consequently, he does not favor U.S. withdrawal from Korea unilaterally.

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"Old Soldiers Never Die", and General LEE spent the latter part of the meeting explaining his views as to what would take place in the Orient in event of war between Russia and the United States.

K. G. ALTHAUS,
1st Lt., ADC.

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RECORD OF MEETING HELD 0900, 10 January 1947, between Mr. KIM, Kwan Shik and certain members of the Joint Commission (General Brown, General Weckerling, Colonel Lincoln and Lt. Althaus).

Mr. KIM represents the National Christian Council.

Mr. KIM was asked to add his views to those already expressed at the Joint Korean-American Conference concerning the disturbances in South Korea last October.

Mr. KIM said that he went down to Taegu last November in order to investigate the riots. He made the trip for the Coalition Committee and submitted a report on the state of conditions to Dr. KIM, Kiusic. Complete information was difficult to obtain but he said there were four conditions in evidence which seemed to contribute to the general unrest of the people. These conditions were:

(1) The delay for independence,
(2) Economic situation in South Korea,
(3) Dissatisfaction with the police,
(4) Communistic elements.

When questioned about the Communistic elements, Mr. KIM said he had heard persistent rumors to the effect that the Russians in North Korea were training an undetermined number of Koreans for the purpose of infiltrating into South Korea and arousing the uneducated farmers. He heard they were being trained at two main camps - one located near Pyongyang, the other near Hung Nam. Mr. KIM stated that these people manage to obtain positions in such vital organizations as the police force, press, etc., and are difficult to segregate.

General Brown asked if the farmers in South Korea are generally sympathetic towards the Communists. Mr. KIM expressed the opinion that the farmers are too ignorant to know what they want; consequently, they are easy victims for Communistic propaganda.

Mr. KIM was also questioned about the following:

1. Strength of Socialist Labor Party?

a) They have lost much strength in the past and are now one of the least prominent parties.

2. Strength of People's Party?

a) The People's Party is still struggling for unification. Their members still have conflicting ideas - that is, many retain ideas of both right and left wing groups.

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Meeting with Mr. KIM, Kwan Shik

10 Jan. 1947

3. What about the individual plans for Korean Independence as advocated by Mr. RHEE or Dr. KIMM?

a) The only way for unification of North and South Korea is through the Foreign Ministers, based on recommendations submitted to them by those stationed here.

Syngman RHEE's power, even among the right, is now divided. He lost his golden opportunity after his return to Korea the last time.

Dr. KIMM's plan has some merit because he has heard Dr. KIMM is a very close friend of KIM, Doo Bong. KIM, Doo Bong is a Nationalist, and recently he was reported as being more powerful among the Koreans than KIM, Il Sung. Asked if KIM, Il Sung were a Nationalist, Mr. KIM replied that he did not know.

4. Do you approve the principle of Universal Suffrage?

a) It is too early for Universal Suffrage, but it must come eventually. It is difficult to practice because Korea has for centuries been an aristocracy; therefore, the people are not educated in democratic ways.

Asked about recent elections, Mr. KIM said that they were not perfect, but a step in the right direction.

5. What type of government is best for Korea?

a) There is no place for Communism in Korea. Communism is a form of government that is not agreeable to Korean ethics or to the type of government Korea has had in the past. The future government must be a democratic type. Even in North Korea, Communism is being actively opposed. There are many reports of disturbances in the North, especially in relation to their rice collection program. Many instances of burning of rice warehouses have been reported.

Mr. KIM's final words dealt with reports he has heard concerning the appalling state of conditions in Russian-occupied Korea.

K. G. ALTHAUS,
1st Lt., ADC.

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By NARS, Date

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RECORD OF MEETING HELD 0900, 11 January 1947, between Mr. OH, CHUNG BANG and certain members of the Joint Commission (General Weckerling, Colonel Lincoln, Lt. Althaus).

Mr. OH, Chung Bang is Chief of the Chosun Youth Movement.

General Weckerling, acting in the absence of General Brown, asked Mr. OH if he would supply the members of the Commission present with whatever information he had concerning the causes of the riots last October.

After spending the first few minutes discussing several of the points he mentioned in a radio broadcast the previous night, Mr. OH began by presenting his views on the police situation as one of the causes of the disturbances.

Mr. OH said that he appreciated the overall good conduct and success of the present police force, and it is unfortunate that a few agitators have caused so much resentment against the police. When asked why there was so much resentment, Mr. OH replied that it was indirectly a criticism of Military Government. The police carry out the orders of M.G., so any action against them is indirectly an action against the government. Reports from the North bear out similar conditions exist there. Mr. OH said Koreans despise any form of oppression or forced submission to orders; yet the U.S. Forces have vested in the police the same authority abused by the Japanese. The people believe the police carry out the orders of Military Government the same as they did under the Japanese and since the police inherited the same powers they had under the Japanese, there has been no change for the better.

In the North the Korean people have to accept oppression because the police have committed themselves to the Communist Party, forcing the people to live under the iron heel of the Russians. In the South the police have not been trained in democratic party principles, know nothing of politics, and are greatly embarrassed when Communist agitators ridicule them in the face of the people, because they cannot answer political questions put to them. Mr. OH suggests the Southern police be trained in democracy as the Northern police are in Communism. He also suggests a secret service organization or spy system within the police force for purposes of checking on all members to insure their loyalty. This group should come directly under the authority of Military Government and be apart from all other organizations. They could determine for the people any discrepancies existing within the police force.

Mr. OH was asked by Colonel Lincoln the following questions:

1. Are there many Communists in South Korea?

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Meeting with Mr. OH, Chung Bang 11 Jan. 1947

a) Less than one percent of the population.

2. Do they exert much influence upon the people?

a) Alone, they would exert little influence, but they are backed by money from the North, allowing them to engage in extensive activities.

3. Do most of the people know who the Communists are in their community?

a) Military Government will never find out who the real Communists are because they keep themselves underground. However, Mr. OH said that an organization such as his own youth organization could easily locate and weed out such people. In fact, that is exactly what they are now doing.

4. Are all terrorist activities due to Communistic agitation?

a) Yes.

5. What type of government would be best for an independent Korea?

a) Democratic type - unquestionably.

6. Should there be a president?

a) One is an impossibility. Through Universal suffrage the people of various groups will demand their particular candidate be elected until there may be as many as five or more undecided upon. Thus, we may have as many as five presidents. (Mr. OH did strongly defend Universal Suffrage.)

7. How should legislators be elected?

a) If honestly, the problem would be solved. But money, indirectly or directly used, still elects those to office.

8. How can this be corrected?

a) Military Government must first learn to understand the Korean people, their customs, traditions, etc., so that the right man is placed in the right job. Suggests a political council composed of the most prominent men in their fields (scientists, doctors, religionists, educators, politicians, etc.) be set up to advise the M.G. as to whom is qualified to sit.

Throughout the entire meeting Mr. OH seemed desirous of obtaining Military Government support of his Youth Organization as a means of counteracting similar Communist-dominated organizations

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Meeting with Mr. OH, Chung Bang 11 Jan. 1947

in the North. He believes the Russians are in the North to stay because they have set up schools and camps for the purpose of indoctrinating the Koreans in the principles and ideals of Communism. He believes these people will be used to create disturbances in the South, possibly in May, June or July. Mr. OH said the only people who will be able to combat this infiltration from the North will be the Youth of the South - his type of organization. Mr. OH claims he can mobilize 10,000 young men overnight in event of critical conditions. No other Korean leader can guarantee a force of that size. He would like for Military Government to sympathize with his movement.

In closing, Mr. OH wanted to leave word with General Brown that Korea, today, needs a "Lincoln". He suggested General Brown be the "Lincoln" of Korea until such time as a native "Lincoln" can be produced.

K. G. ALTHAUS,
1st Lt., ADC.

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DRAFT
25 January 1947.

24 January 1947.

SUBJECT: Interview with Mr. CHOI, Sung Whan, a Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party - 24 January 1947.

Mr. Choi stated that he was formerly a member of the old Communist Party under PARK, Heun Young, but when that party had political difficulties he went with the dissident Communists and is now a member of the Socialist Labor Party. Mr. Choi stated that the political chaos which exists all over southern Korea also affects the proposed amalgamation of the People's Party, the New People's Party and the "31 Party" group into the single Socialist Labor Party.

He stated that the reorganization is going along very well, but when asked specifically about some of the important indications of the progress of the reorganization his replies indicated that success was not very great. Mr. Choi stated that LYUH, Woon Hyung is president of the party in a "retiring status". He said because of the disturbed political situation, Mr. Lyuh is not being urged to come out and assume the party leadership at present but Mr. Choi believes that he will do so at the proper time. Mr. Choi stated that KANG, Jin resigned as co-"chairman" a short time ago but that PAK, Nam Hun was still vice president of the organization.

Briefly summarizing the political tenets of the Socialist Labor Party as given by Mr. Choi, the party opposes the Legislature, the Coalition Committee, Military Government in some respects and the extreme Rightists. He thought that the Legislature was an unnecessary adjunct to Military Government. His opinion of the Coalition Committee was that it was selfishly engrossed in the accomplishment of its own political interests rather than the interests of the people. He said that the opposition of the party to Military Government only extended to such vital issues which affected the people as a whole - such as land reform, the presence of pro-Japanese in government and the failure of Military Government to release

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political prisoners, but that in general the Socialist Labor Party was not belligerent and militantly opposed to Military Government, although he decried what he said was the lack of a program in Military Government to include the participation of Communists in government.

He said the party would cooperate with Military Government "in the interests of Korea."

The party supports the Moscow Decision fully and completely. Mr. Choi advocated that steps be taken in southern Korea to punish war criminals and pro-Japanese, such as has been done in Japan.

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Interview between: General Brown, General Weckerling, Colonel Lincoln and Mr. An, Jae Hong on 24 January 1947.

1. Mr. An was requested to comment on the present situation with respect to the Legislature and with respect to the Coalition Committee. His comments were as follows: There are two reasons why opposition groups oppose the Coalition Committee. The first is because of the question of disposition of land. Some want to give the land to the farmers free of charge, some want to sell it on a 10 or 25 year installment plan and some want to sell it outright. The question is technical and involved and is not capable of quick settlement. The second reason for opposition to the Coalition Committee is the fear of the Japanese collaborators or profiteers.

2. Mr. An added that the primary opposition to the Coalition Committee comes from two groups--~~the~~ landholders and the rich or wealthy. These groups put forth strong efforts in opposition to coalition. At first they were very anxious because they knew the people were suspicious that their ranks contained many pro-Japanese and profiteers. These groups are also opposed to the Moscow Decision, especially trusteeship, which is being upheld by the Coalition Committee under the leadership of Doctor Kimm. These two groups tell the people that the Committee and Doctor Kimm support the Moscow Decision contrary to the wishes of the people. By these statements the rich and the landholders make themselves popular.

3. Mr. An believes that there should be a Coalition Committee but it should not contain people like Mr. Lyuh, Woon Hyun or Mr. ~~Chi Hun~~ Ho, Hun. We should open up a new course of action by using the seven principles of coalition as a basis.

4. Mr. An continued that until the contemplated demonstrations, the Democratic Party was hated by the public because the people believed it was abusing its power and privileged position

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in Military Government. The people, therefore, were gradually withdrawing their support and in order to save its face, the party had to resort to a strong measure like demonstrations. General Hodge's statement on trusteeship furnished a situation which the party took advantage. The public thinks that whoever stands against trusteeship is a patriot.

5. Mr. An continued that the Korean Democratic Party has been doing everything possible to destroy the seven principles of coalition and dragging down the reputation of Doctor Kimm. The party is also trying to bring down General Hodge.

6. Mr. An stated that there are only 20 members representing the Democratic Party in the Legislature, yet 44 men followed the party lead in voting for the resolution on trusteeship. The reason is that the Korean people detest trusteeship. These members believed they were doing the patriotic thing and that trusteeship would make the Korean people slaves. We cannot conclude, however, that all of these who voted for the resolution will continue to stick together. In the future they will become divided on the principles they support.

7. Some now think that the Legislature will be abolished and that it can do no good for the country. The Socialized Labor Party thinks this and even some of the members of the Assembly itself. Mr. An stated that he thinks differently. It would be most unwise for General Hodge to dissolve the Legislature. On the other hand it should be reinforced. Dissolving the Legislature would only add to the people's misunderstanding that Korea is being put in the place of a servant. The public would think that any such enaction is out and out for trusteeship and that General Hodge would be forcing his power to suppress the expression of the will of the people and to force trusteeship upon them. At the same

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time, Mr. An added, it would make the Democratic Party appear as the patriotic group. The people would then call Dr. Kimm and Mr. An as pro-American in the same sense as pro-Japanese and they would be in no position to work for the country. The Coalition Committee would then be useless. If the dissolution of the Assembly is contemplated, it should be postponed until this misunderstanding of the people will not arise. Mr. An is going to see Doctor Kimm Sunday on this question.

8. Mr. An stated that he would like to make known a difference in psychology. The Western people have a pragmatic way of thinking and think of practical angles. The Oriental on the other hand thinks in a more subjective way. The Western ways should not be imposed upon the Oriental. The Westerners should be more patient with us and let us work out thinks in our own way.

9. General Weckerling inquired as to whether Mr. An had heard any attempt to challenge Doctor Kimm's leadership in the Legislature. To this question Mr. An replied that the Korean Democratic Party has always been opposed to the Coalition Committee, however, until the trusteeship matter came up it was not timely to do much about it. Now the Democratic Party have taken definite action to weaken the Committee in the public eye.

10. General Brown stated he would like to discuss certain principles with Mr. An. The principles were stated as follows: One: The Legislature must continue. To discontinue because of a defeat on one issue would raise a doubt as to the ability of the Korean people to have representative government. Many differences of opinion will be raised in this body. The issue of trusteeship was, for political reasons, incorrectly presented, but it is just an incident and should not be allowed to destroy the Legislature. Second: The Coalition Committee should be

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continued and strengthened. General Brown added that the Committee had one fault and that this fault changed the Committee from a real corporation of political parties and makes it, in effect, a party itself. The Committee should adopt principles which can be accepted by all parties so we can get their cooperation in a program for Korea. The only principle which now raises the question is that of the land program. All parties could agree that there should be a land program. of some kind. Therefore, if the Coalition Committee could write a principle that there should be a solution to the land program arrived at by the Legislature, then it seems all parties could agree to it. The members of the Coalition Committee could then work in the Legislature or within their party for whatever solution they desired. While a political party or an individual can advocate free land distribution or some other solution to the land distribution problem, the Coalition Committee cannot do so without its backing a political party rather than a coalition of parties.

General Brown stated that he had recommended to General Hodge that he discuss this matter with the members of the Coalition Committee and General Hodge had agreed. If the Coalition Committee would adopt the principle with regard to the land distribution problem as advocated by General Brown, the government could then support the committee. It would not be supported by a political party but rather principles on which all parties were agreed. Great benefit to the political development in Korea would result.

Mr. An stated that he fully agreed to all the points that General Brown had made. He was, himself, in favor of a free land distribution right now, with perhaps some compensation to be obtained in 15 or 20 years. The Democratic Party, however, is opposed to free distribution in the die-hard way.

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General Brown stated that he did not know which plan he would favor because in Russia, after the land was given free distribution, according to reports, much of it came back under the large landholders control. If a man pays for something he thinks more of it than if it is given to him. Furthermore, the government would lose revenue which could be used for meeting expenses. General Brown stated that he raised these points to show that it was a question on which there could logically be honest difference of opinion.

Mr. An stated that in his opinion the Coalition Committee would continue to work with a changed land principle as recommended by General Brown. Mr. An, in closing, stated that he desired again to emphasize two points: First, the Legislature must, of necessity, continue in session. Second, the Coalition Committee must also continue in existence.

Orig. sent to Gen. Hodge
Copy sent to Gen. Leach.

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Record of a Conference Between: Colonel Lincoln, Lieutenant Althaus of the Joint Commission and Mr. Ko, Chul Woo, Secretary General of the Social Labor Party, 27 January 1947.

1. Mr. Ko discussed four points as follows:

a. Japanese collaborators.

b. General Hodge's attitude toward the Communists.

c. Freedom of expression and press in South Korea.

d. Shipment of supplies into Korea from the United States.

2. With regard to Japanese collaborators, Mr. Ko stated that a first essential step toward better government was the elimination of these collaborators. Mr. Ko added that the present Korean Legislature was completely dominated by this group of people and even the American members of Military Government were under their influence. It was Mr. Ko's view that the Americans would not be criticized for having made initial use of these collaborators immediately after taking charge in Korea, however, instead of eliminating them from the government, they have continually strengthened their positions. These collaborationists have formed a close-knit group in support of their own interests, and it will be impossible for any good to come out of the government until they are eliminated. When it was explained to Mr. Ko that the American policy was for the Koreans themselves to define "Jap-collaboration" and to recommend the necessary steps to eliminate the collaborators from responsible positions, Mr. Ko reiterated that it was impossible for this to be done unless the American Command took some arbitrary action to first eliminate them from their positions of influence in the present set up. Mr. Ko stated that if Military Government was unable to do this the problem should be turned over to the leaders of the various political parties in Korea. In reply to a question, Mr. Ko stated that his party had made no attempt to define a Jap-collaborator, but that it had names of such people listed. He said it would be useless to attempt a definition and that it should be worked out by all the representatives of all the Korean people. Mr. Ko added that these collaborators had gravitated into a group under the leadership of Mr. Syngman Rhee and Kim Koo and had solidified their position by use of wealth and influence obtained from the profits of their collaboration.

3. With regard to the attitude of General Hodge toward the Communists, Mr. Ko stated that at present both the Military Government and General Hodge are doubtful of the loyalty of the Communists in Korea. Mr. Ko stated that this doubt was not

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justified; that the Communists were loyal to Korea and were friendly toward America. He added that the extreme Leftists were the group who were causing acts of violence and other difficulties. These Leftists are not patriotic, that they are loyal to Russia rather than to Korea and that they do nothing but harm. Mr. Ko explained that General Hodge and Military Government confused his group with the extrere Leftists. He claimed to have no expreme Leftists in his party and seemed very violently opposed to their activities.

4. Mr. Ko, therefore, placed his party in a middle position between the extreme Rightists who were dominated by Japanese collaborators and the extreme Leftists who were dominated by Russia.

5. With respect to freedom of expression and assembly, Mr. Ko stated that he understood the American principle on this that it had to be exercised within the limits of the law. He stated that the difficulties arose because the extreme Leftists constantly attempted to distort these freedoms beyond the limit of the law and the police and Military Government in suppressing them also suppressed many legitimate activities which were carried out by his own party. He stated that he blamed the extreme Leftists for this, and he did not appear to blame the Military Government.

6. With regard to importing materials into Korea, Mr. Ko stated that only those items essential to Korea should be imported. He stated that the people of Korea were being made to misunderstand the reasons for these importations and were being led to believe that it was being done in order to saddle Korea with American economy, whereas it was actually only a humanitarian action. Mr. Ko stated that since the whole thing was misunderstood, the importations should be reduced to a minimum.

7. In answer to a series of questions, Mr. Ko made the following miscellaneous comments:

a. The strength of his party is approximately 320,000. At the present time it is limping along and not growing stronger because of the effects of last years riots. The organization of the party, however, covers all South Korea. Mr. Ko reiterated that it contained no extreme Leftists and it was not favorable to Russia in the sense of being loyal to it.

b. Mr. Ko stated that his party believed in the achievement of Korea's independence through the Moscow decision, as being the only practicable method.

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c. Mr. Ko divided Communists into three classes:

(1) His party which is composed of those with Communistic ideas but which is not a strictly true Communist group in practice.

(2) Those who pretend to follow the purely Communistic principles. These are very few in number and of no importance.

(3) The extrere Leftist group which is Russian dominated and led by Pak, Houn Yung and organized into the South Korea Labor Party. Mr. Ko stated that the close followers of Pak did not number over 200, ~~however~~, the entire party organization was not very large although he didn't know the exact figures.

d. Elections. Under the present pro-Jap regime in Military Government an election would be meaningless. The police and other members of the government would so dominate the election that the results would be the same people coming back into power although they represent only a small group of Korean people.

8. The impression created by Mr. Ko was that he was violently opposed to the extreme Leftists and also to the extreme Rightists, both of whom he regarded as being minority groups exercising an influence entirely out of proportion to their real importance. The extreme Rightists power came from being in the Military Government and the extreme Leftists from Russian domination. Mr. Ko regarded his party as being in the center and as representing the patriotic people of Korea. He had spent about a month in North Korea under the Russian regime and did not favor Russia or its policies in North Korea. Mr. Ko concluded the interview by his statement that those policies of Military Government which were beneficial to the Korean people would be strongly supported by his party and that those which were harmful to the Korean people would be strongly opposed.

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COPY

4 February 1947.

SUBJECT: Interview of Mr. CHO, Bong Am by General A. E. Brown, at 1000 hours, 4 February 1947.

Mr. CHO, Bong Am, former Communist from Inch'on, discussed with General Brown a proposed plan for unification of the middle groups between the extremist factions. Although his plan has reached no concrete stage, he felt that the present time is opportune for a collaboration of all middle groups. Within a week he expects to talk with certain selected representatives of the many lesser groups and nameless organizations concerning such a unification plan.

Mr. CHO believes the people of Korea have lost faith in the extreme elements and are now determined to unite on middle ground. He said as long as the extreme left maintains an anti-American attitude and the extreme right an anti-Soviet attitude, Korea's independence can never be realized. Therefore, a center group organized for the purpose of international cooperation would be able to work with the major powers to bring about a definite decision on Korea.

Regardless of the fact no party platform or basis for collaboration has been worked out, Mr. CHO claims his "movement" will be crystallized within a week.

K. G. ALTHAUS,
1st Lt., ADC.

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

COPY

Confidential

SUBJECT: Interview of Mr. KIM, Do Yun by General A. E. Brown, 1430, 6 February 1947.

Mr. KIM, Do Yun came in to convey to General Brown the thoughts expressed at a meeting he attended with CHANG, Duk Soo and KIM, Sung Soo. It had been rumored that the Korean Democratic Party was opposed to the policies of General Hodge and they were in disagreement with him and Military Government. Mr. KIM said this is an unfounded rumor because CHUNG, Duk Soo and KIM, Sung Soo regard General Hodge very highly and support his policy in Korea. The Democratic Party did differ on two points (Trusteeship and Legislative Assembly), but these were minor points and they hope these differences in no way reflect on their high regard for General Hodge. Mr. KIM said his mission for the afternoon was to inform General Brown that the Korean Democratic Party is not antagonistic toward the United States military authorities as has been reported by ill-advised sources, but are unchanged in their support of General Hodge.

Mr. KIM further stated the Korean Democratic Party did not realize that it had done something detrimental to Korea's future when it began its anti-trusteeship campaign. He said the leaders believed they could carry out their work according to their political program as they conceived it, without advice or assistance (particularly Generals Hodge and Brown) and if this were an oversight, it was purely unintentional. The anti-trusteeship issue, as raised, can be considered rather rash and abrupt, but that is one of the basic policies of the Korean Democratic Party. Mr. KIM implied the anti-trusteeship issue was a political move and not one designed to cause a break between the party and General Hodge. He said we all make mistakes--some Koreans even think General Hodge was mistaken--but he hopes the entire matter can be smoothed over.

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From his own personal viewpoint, Mr. KIM said he saw no hope for reconvening of the Joint Commission. He said his opinion was shared by many of the Democratic Party members due to the attitude Russia has taken. He advocates discarding the Joint Commission idea and devising a new program for the realization of their independence.

K. G. ALTHAUS
1st Lieutenant A.D.C.

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

HEADQUARTERS XXIV CORPS
Office of the Commanding General
APO 235

14 February 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL BROWN

SUBJECT: Visit of Dr. H. K. Lee, Dept. of Agriculture, with General A. E. Brown 2000 hours 13 Feb 47

1. Dr. H. K. Lee, Dept. of Agriculture USAMGIK, visited with General Brown for the main purpose of expressing his concern over Mr. Ahn Choi Hong's supposedly unlimited powers over the departmental heads. Dr. Lee understood it to be Mr. Ahn's policy as Civil Administrator to replace the heads of departments with previous political intimates - the first step to be the appointment of a deputy Civil Administrator. The man selected to fill this post by Mr. Ahn is a youngster from Manchuria whom Mr. Ahn had been associated with in earlier days.

Dr. Lee said if Mr. Ahn intends to use his position in the above manner, he would like to resign as head of the Dept. of Agriculture and possibly serve Korea as a member of the Legislature.

2. In the course of conversation, Dr. Lee further stated that Chang, Duk Soo had admitted to him the folly of pursuing the Anti-Trusteeship issue but that he was committed to party principles.

3. Dr. Lee also mentioned a news release attributed to Dr. Syngman Rhee to the effect that General Hodge is doing all in his power to suppress the Anti-Trusteeship movement. Dr. Lee said that this line of reasoning is all wrong and can bring about no good for Korea. He, himself, believes in the American policy and hopes other Korean Rightists will soon be able to fully understand the American point of view.

/s/ Kenneth G. Althaus
KENNETH G. ALTHAUS
1st Lt. ADC

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NND 760090
By _____ NARS, Date _____

18 February 1947.

SUBJECT: Interview with Mr. CHO, Bong Am at Duk Soo Palace on 17 February 1947.

Mr. CHO, Bong Am, former Communist of Inch'on, called on Major General A. E. Brown on 4 February and told him of a proposed plan for unification of groups which he described as "middle between the extremist factions." He intimated that he was prominent in the leadership in this movement. He stated that the plan had reached no concrete stages yet, but professed to believe that something definite would result within a week.

Mr. CHO stated that the people of Korea lost faith in the extreme elements and were determined to unite in a group of centrist political thought.

Mr. CHO told General Weckerling on 17 February that further progress has been made in the organization of this center group. It has taken the title of the Democratic Independence Front (Min Ju Dok Lib Chun Sun), and a preliminary committee with YI, Kuk No as temporary chairman, was organized on Saturday, 15 February, attended by 150 members from all parties except the extreme right and left. Mr. CHO stated that he had messages of "support" from Dr. KIMM, Kiusic and LYUH, Woon Hyung. The group principles are now being prepared and will be presented to the central committee when it is organized in the near future.

2/IV/47
G-2 Note 2

JOHN WECKERLING,
Brigadier General, USA.

return to G-2 ADC

Distribution: CG, XXIV Corps,
General Lerch, M.G.

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American Delegation
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea.

6 ~~January~~ Feb. 1947.

Memorandum to: Commanding General, XXIV Corps.

SUBJECT: Interview - Mr. Chang, Duk Soo and Kim, Sung Soo with General Brown - 4 February 1947.

1. General Brown explained to Mr. Chang, Duk Soo and Mr. Kim, Sung Soo in some detail the basis for General Hodge's statement that the American policy as regards freedom of expression by the Koreans and the implementation of the Moscow Agreement had not changed. He read them certain extracts from the recent exchange of letters with the Russians and informed them specifically as to what the reply to the three points proposed by the Russians meant.

2. Mr. Chang, Duk Soo seemed to be convinced that his party had committed an error and that the statement of General Hodge that the American policy had not changed was in fact correct. Mr. Kim, Sung Soo did not seem to be completely convinced, although towards the end of the interview he appeared to be somewhat mollified and in a better frame of mind than he was at the beginning of the interview.

3. Mr. Kim, Sung Soo informed General Brown that he had stated to him prior to January 18th that there would be no disorders on January 18th and he wanted to remind General Brown that he had kept his word. He stated that both he and Kim, Koo had personally contacted and talked with youth organizations with a view to preventing disturbances. He assured General Brown that there would be no further disturbances of rightist groups over the trusteeship issue. He stated that there probably would be meetings of protest, but that they would be orderly, and he reiterated the fact that there would be no unlawful acts committed.

4. On February 6th Mr. Kim, Do Yun, a representative of the Democratic Party, visited General Brown and informed that he had been sent by Mr. Kim, Sung Soo and Mr. Chang, Duk Soo to inform General Brown that the Korean Democratic Party had committed an error in their recent actions and that they were loyal to General Hodge and to the Military Government effort. A more detailed report of this interview appears on the enclosed.

Encl:
copy interview Mr. Do Yun.
" " do, Brig Gen.

ALBERT E. BROWN,
Major General, U.S.A.,
Chief Commissioner.

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files

MINUTES OF INTERVIEW--CHOI, YACK HAN
(REPRESENTING "HYUN DAI ILBO") AND
COLONEL L. J. LINCOLN, 15 MARCH 1947
AT 1000 HOURS

Mr. Choi: I want to ask a few questions, first with regard to the possibility of the Joint Commission reconvening in view of the correspondence that took place sometime ago between General Hodge and General Chistiakov.

Col. Lincoln: I am not authorized to give an interview or to answer any questions other those that have already been answered in press releases. All the information I have on that question has already been put out in the various press releases from this headquarters. You can read the news about what is going on around the world, and the United States policy has all been defined in great detail by General Brown and General Hodge's press releases. Your guess as to what will happen is just as good as mine.

Mr. Choi: I am not only a newspaperman but also vice-chairman of a committee that is opposed to trusteeship. For that reason, I want to tell my group what trusteeship implies or means since it does not have accurate knowledge on the subject. I, myself, want to know what trusteeship really means. The correspondence between General Hodge and General Chistiakov seems to the Korean people to imply the idea that political parties and organizations in Korea were denied the right to express themselves freely--that is, freedom of speech was more or less prohibited at the time the Joint Commission was being held, and just because of that the Conference broke up. Is it true that the only reason why the Conference broke up was because the two powers were divided on the question of freedom of expression?

My next question is this. In North Korea, the so-called democratic organizations have been training young men as an armed force with ammunition and equipment left behind by the Japanese Army. In the event that the American troops withdraw from the South, with such a force, they could come down and extend their power by occupying South Korea. That is a territorial ambition. Would the Joint Commission, in case it reconvenes, allow such groups simply because they

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are political parties in name to sit in the Joint Commission? In other words, would such organizations be qualified to sit in the Joint Commission?

Another question--So far a group that unconditionally supports the Three Ministers Conference and the Moscow Decision, particularly in relation to Korea, is an out and out Red--Communist. They try to influence the people with that idea. The Moscow Decision is the absolute condition for the reconvening of the Joint Commission. Is that really the American attitude? That is a somewhat hazy question in my mind. If that should be the real attitude of the American government, then it would simply duplicate in this part of the world the pattern of the international life, that is, what is now going on in Poland and Czeckoslavakia. Korea would be a second Poland or second Czeckoslavakia under Soviet influence.

Col. Lincoln: Is your question, does the United States support the agreement of the Foreign Ministers?

Mr. Choi: Yes, that is exactly what I mean. Now the American Delegation of the Joint Commission seems to favor the Moscow Decision. That implies in a way the will of the American government. Therefore, I am bound to believe that if the Joint Commission should carry on discussions upon that condition, the final result would be just what I have mentioned--Korea would become a second Poland or Czeckoslavakia. From what Russia has done up to now both in Europe and in Asia, particularly in the North by taking all the absolutely necessary equipment for production and necessary items such as rice, and also in Hungary and in Rumania, we cannot believe that the Soviets are generally inclined to help Korea. The Moscow Decision was more or less engineered by the Soviets. Yet we are urged to comply with the Moscow Decision for the solution of Korea. Why is it we are so urged? Is the Russian government really willing to help Korea? Is Russia really altruistic? Will the United Nations and particularly the United States withdraw their assistance after the realization of independence. Trusteeship implies helping or assisting Korea for a period of up to five years. Would the United Nations or the United States help Korea only during a

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period of trusteeship or would they extend their help beyond that period? For reference, I wish to make a parallel comparison. In the former days under the Japanese, the Korean people had to conform to their demands or else they would be punished. At that time, the Japanese government used all who cooperated with them and supported their policy. Now, should the Joint Commission allow those who unconditionally support the Moscow Decision and leave out all those opposed to it, would that not be just like Japanese policy in former days? I am questioning the sincerity of that decision or such a policy advocated by the U. S. - Soviet Joint Commission. That idea is shared by a good many Korean people. Is the United States not misled by the Soviets?

Col. Lincoln: I think I understand the questions that are of concern to you. If I could give a correct and accurate answer to them, I would really be a very wise man. There is certainly no one in the whole world who could do that. However, I will try to give the best answers I can and make such references as I can to statements of General Hodge and General Brown which may help to clarify the points. From all of the questions that you have asked, I get two general impressions, one that you mistrust Russia's motives in regard to Korea, and second that you mistrust to some extent and in a different way the ability of the United States or the determination of the United States to carry out the policies that it has expressed and its intentions in Korea. Of course, I cannot speak for Soviet Russia. There are disagreements all around the world, as you know, between the United States and Russia as to how the peace will be made. There are disagreements in the United Nations. Everywhere where these disagreements occur, we are and we will in the future carry out conferences to come to agreement, not only with Russia but with the other great powers as to final peace treaties and other settlements necessary to finishing the war and creating the peace. That is true in many places besides Korea. Specifically, as regards Korea, the United States joined with other great powers, first at Cairo and then at Potsdam in declaring that the Korean nation should have its indepen-

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dence, that this was just a statement to that general effect. The first agreement as to how that independence would be gained and through what specific steps, was the Moscow Decision about which you have been asking me so many questions. This Moscow Decision is not only an agreement between the United States and Russia but also Britain and China are included, and they also have pledged themselves to the independence of Korea. Now we have the four great powers in the world who have agreed to this so-called Moscow Decision which prescribes a method by which Korea shall attain its independence. It is only natural that there should be some disagreements as to how this should be implemented since the different powers have different policies and look at things in a different light. However, the Moscow Decision prescribes that the Joint Commission will consult with the representatives of the Korean people--that is the Korean political parties and social groups, and through this consultation the will of the Korean people as to the form of government they desire will be determined. Therefore, the Moscow Decision takes full cognizance of the right of the Korean people to express their own views as to what their own government will be.

Mr. Choi: That is my understanding, and I am fully cognizant of that procedure, but the contents of the correspondence on 24 December between the two generals seems to show that the privilege of expressing their opinions as to what form the Korean government should take was prohibited. That is contradictory because on one hand, that has been the understanding of the people concerning the Joint Commission's procedure, and on the other hand, the letter seems to withdraw that right from the people.

Col. Lincoln: That is a faulty interpretation of the letter. Both General Hodge and General Brown have stated ~~that~~ in their press releases--that the United States permits freedom of expression and has never agreed to anything that would prohibit its exercise in the carrying out of the Moscow Agreement or in anything with reference to the government of South Korea.

Mr. Choi: The translation of the correspondence may not be accurate; this misunderstanding on the part of the people exists, however.

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Col. Lincoln: You should look not too much at the words but at the intent behind the words and should have faith in the United States abiding by its principles and promises and not be suspicious that this or that word may have a particular meaning and that the United States and General Hodge have completely changed their policy. Look at the intent behind the statement and don't be suspicious that every little change in wording has a complete and big significance and a change in policy. With regard to your desire for a definition of trusteeship, General Hodge's statements and General Brown's five press releases contain as good a definition of that that can be given until the Joint Commission starts discussing the matter with the provisional government of Korea after it has been established, and until that time no further definition can be given. With regard to the question on the forces in North Korea, I am a little uncertain as to what you had in mind, but you ask if that organization would be allowed to sit with the Joint Commission should it reconvene. Of course, no military force or police force would be eligible under the Moscow Decision which says that political parties and social groups only will be permitted. With reference to your fourth question that the United States supports the Moscow Decision, there is nothing in that decision which predetermines the type of government that Korea should have or what political factions, if any, will dominate. It is the United States view that the intent of the Moscow Decision is that the Korean people will speak through their political parties and social groups as to what type of government they want and who shall be in that government, what Koreans, and that the nature of that government is therefore not predetermined by the Moscow Decision.

Mr. Choi: I am doubtful as to whether or not limitations to a free expression would be extended to the people after the establishment of the Provisional Korean Interim Government. Heretofore, that limitation has been strictly applied in the case of the U. S. - Soviet Joint Commission insisted upon by the Soviets. Would it not be natural that the people should distrust such a possibility of

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having freedom of expression after the interim government has been established? Would the two joint powers extend that limitation of expression after the interim government has been established?

Col. Lincoln: The United States has never agreed to limiting freedom of expression anywhere where it has exerted influence the way it does in Korea. From the fact that you ask that question, you doubt the ability of the United States to carry out its stated intentions. With all the money, resources and men the United States is spending in Korea, I don't think your doubt is justified. We are pouring a tremendous amount into Korea and that should be taken as a proof that the United States intends to carry out its policy which it has stated. With regard to the last question as to whether the United Nations or the United States would withdraw assistance from Korea after it had been granted independence, of course, I cannot answer that. Under the Moscow Decision, the great powers agreed that some measure of assistance would be necessary up to five years. Therefore, to a certain extent they pledged themselves to give some initial assistance, but after that date, they are not committed to any and may or may not give it. Finally, I would like to again emphasize that the important thing you should do is to consider what the United States has said its policy is through the statements of General Hodge and General Brown and through the statements that come out of Washington that you probably read in the press. When you read them, you should consider how much money and wealth the United States is spending in Korea right now and the fact that right now Congress is considering appropriating more money to continue this. Take that as a proof of good faith and of the determination of the United States to carry out the policies and its promises which it has stated. In the United States we say "Money talks", and that money should be talking in Korea. I am very sorry that I cannot answer more of your questions copletely and specifically, but I am sure you realize that world conditions will not permit that. I have here General Brown's five press releases on the Moscow Agreement. They are in

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English. Perhaps you can use them in trying to find a clear answer to some of the questions you have asked.

Mr. Choi: I insist that Korea as an independent state should have a right to choose which nation should help Korea. The Korean people dislike the idea of being helped by these three or four powers by an agreement engineered by those powers with the exclusion of any right on the part of the Korean people. Korean people should have the right to designate which nation should help her--the United States with the exclusion of all other powers or Russia with the exclusion of the United States, Great Britain and China. From the day of independence, from the beginning of the Korean Interim Government, we are not concerned with the way in which we should be helped but are concerned with the right of choice as an independent state. When the government is established, then that government should have the right of choice.

Col. Lincoln: Paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision says the Provisional Korean Government will in conjunction with the Joint Commission work out those measures for aid and assistance, and presumably a part of that scheme will include who is going to furnish the aid. Although it is far in the future, we have to have a provisional government over all Korea before we begin to discuss that sort of thing.

Mr. Choi: My opinion in regard to the present situation and particularly with regard to trusteeship is that if the four powers or the United Nations try to impose trusteeship on the Korean people simply because a disorderly situation exists, the Korean people will not be inclined to accept it. It is not our fault that a disorderly situation exists nor is it our responsibility to maintain a peaceful state in the Orient. It is the responsibility of all the powers. I cannot understand why the two powers divide a small country into two parts, thus creating distrubances, disorders, etc. We are not directly responsible for the conditions in Korea now. The powers are responsible for it. It is a disgraceful situation as far as the Korean people themselves are concerned.

Col. Lincoln: I think the Japanese are responsible for the conditions in Korea. Korea was divided as a military measure because it seemed

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the only way to take the Japanese surrender and get the Japanese out of here. Since it is divided, the only way we can get a united independent state is through international agreement through the United States, Russia, China, and Great Britain. Such an agreement already exists and that is the Moscow Decision. We have to carry it out and when it is fully carried out, Korea will again be united into one country and will be independent. I appreciate your coming in and the real interest shown in this problem, and I hope that my discussion with you has helped to clear some of your questions.

Mr. Choi: I appreciate the long interview.

copy sent
G-2, XXIV Corps.

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files

25 March 1947.

MEMORANDUM.

SUBJECT: Interview with Mr. IM, Si Jai - Representative of Korean Rehabilitation Youth Assembly.

Mr. IM, Si Jai, representative of Korean Rehabilitation Youth Assembly, called at the Joint Commission on 24 March. The following is a summary of interview.

1. Mr. IM began by saying that he had noticed a recent press release in which CHANG, Taik Sang, Head of Division "M" of the Korean National Police, was quoted as saying that "members of the South Korea Labor Party and of the Democratic Front would be severely restricted." Mr. IM stated he was glad to know of this change of attitude on the part of Military Government but that he still had some doubt about Military Government's attitude toward utilization of youth movements.

2. General Weckerling stated that he knew nothing of the issuance of a press release by CHANG, Taik Sang as described by Mr. IM. He further stated that he knew of no change in the general policy of Military Government in the impartial, just punishment of all offenders against law and order.

3. Mr. IM went on to say that in March of 1946 he had reported to Mr. CHANG, Taik Sang that certain disorders would occur in a southern province, but that his prophesy had been ignored by CHANG. According to Mr. IM, the disorders occurred and he and many members of his organization were greatly puzzled that their warning had been disregarded. He stated that the members of his organization (and by inference he included all other youth organizations) were available to the government in the control of disorders of this kind. He pretended to be somewhat bewildered that the services of the youth organizations had not been accepted.

4. Mr. IM gave another example of what he regarded as the usefullness of youth organizations. He stated that on 22 March he had warned CHANG, Taik Sang of the impending general strike. He said that his warning had again been ignored by the police. Mr.

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SUBJ: Interview with Mr. IM, Si Jai.

IM wanted to know the present policy of Military Government toward the use of youth movements.

5. Mr. IM was informed that in general all countries of the world were grateful for the assistance of all patriotic citizens in the maintenance of law and order, but that the use of organized unlawful groups for this purpose was another matter. He was informed that matters of this kind were the responsibility of Military Government.

J.W.

JOHN WECKERLING,
Brigadier General, U.S.A.

copy sent:
Gen. Lerch
Gen Helmick
G-2:

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By NARS, Date

American Delegation
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea.

6 May 1947.

Memorandum for Record.

SUBJECT: Visit of KIM, Sung Soo and CHANG, Duk Soo.

1. KIM, Sung Soo and CHANG, Duk Soo called at the Joint Commission today at my request.

2. Mr. KIM expressed the greatest satisfaction with the policy of the United States recently enunciated by President Truman in the proposal to provide funds to Turkey and Greece to prevent the spread of communism. He said, "Now I can sleep nights." He said at one time he thought that the American policy was "weak" as he understood that the United States was prepared to agree with the Russians to exclude all Korean political parties who had opposed the Moscow Agreement in any way.

3. Mr. KIM said that when General Marshall wrote Foreign Minister Molotov the letter dated April 11th requesting reconvening of the Joint Commission, he (Mr. KIM) immediately wrote General Hodge and expressed his support of General Hodge and his policies in Korea. He said that he feels the same way now, and he was particularly pleased with the Marshall letter, the text of which was received via United Press on 4 May. This strongly re-emphasized the American position concerning freedom of expression.

4. Mr. KIM went on to say that he would not particularly care at what point the Joint Commission resumed its negotiations or whether it started its discussions anew. He stated that he would have no objection to signing Communique No. 5 provided he was guaranteed the right to express his opposition to trusteeship. He reiterated that he and his party were prepared to cooperate fully with the Commission on the basis of the United States policy enunciated in the recent Marshall-Molotov letters.

5. He said that the idea of a Korean consultative group was being discussed among Korean political leaders, but that he foresaw great difficulties in its realization. He said that the principal obstacles would be insistence by certain groups for greater representation in the Korean Government than could be reasonably expected according to their proportional strength. He said, however, that the matter is still alive and it is being very carefully considered.

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SUBJ: Visit of KIM, Sung Soo and CHANG, Duk Soo. 6 May '47

6. He spoke of the need of a general election in South Korea to "clear the atmosphere." He said that the KIM, Kiusic bloc completely dominated the Interim Assembly and that they would not easily legislate themselves out of office. He agreed that some progress was being made toward a general election, but thought that the KIM, Kiusic bloc would delay as much as possible before passing a general election law.

JOHN WECKERLING,
Brigadier General, U.S.A.,
Acting Chief Commissioner.

DISTRIBUTION:
Maj. General Brown,
Lt. Col. Edwards,
Dr. Bunce,
Mr. Langdon,
Mr. Sargent.

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American Delegation
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea.

23 June 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD.

SUBJECT: Conference with Representatives of Rightist Youth Groups.

1. The Rightist Youth Groups staged a demonstration in front of the east entrance gate to Duk Soo Palace about 1200 on June 23rd. Their attempt was to break into the Palace grounds apparently to consult with the Joint Commission. The line of civilian police had difficulty for a short time in holding the crowd back. The police were gradually reinforced, and were able to restrain the crowd which failed to gain entrance to the Palace grounds. About 1245 the crowd, led by a banner, proceeded to the Soviet Consulate Building which, I am informed, they were prevented from entering by the civilian police. No American soldiers participated. No one was injured.

2. The same crowd returned to Duk Soo Palace approximately 1320. They seated themselves in front of the east gate in the street and were harangued by two speakers. The civilian police, unassisted by several soldiers who were in the vicinity, maintained order.

3. About 1430 Chief CHANG, Taik Sang came to General Brown's office and informed him that three of the leaders of this crowd desired to confer with General Brown. The three leaders of the Rightist Youth Groups, Commissioner CHOUGH, Pyung Ock, Chief CHANG, Taik Sang, a Korean interpreter and General Brown met the three youth leaders in the Duk Soo Palace. The conference lasted about 45 minutes. The chief spokesman, a young man of about 23 years of age, appeared extremely excited, sweating profusely and speaking in a loud and domineering manner. He presented four demands; namely: that trusteeship be defined at once, that assurance be given that there would be a general election, that an independent government to be established by KIM, Koo be recognized as the government of Korea, that they were supporting the policies of RHEE, Syngman and KIM, Koo and they would not employ force and they would not hinder the work of the Joint Commission. Two of the three youth leaders spoke. They stated that they represented the leadership of Dr. Syngman RHEE and Mr. KIM, Koo; that they had a hundred thousand followers. When informed that over 500 political parties and social organizations, representing 65 million Koreans, had registered to

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SUBJ: Conference with Representatives of Rightist Youth Groups. 23 June 1947.

cooperate with the Joint Commission and that the 100,000 which they said they represented would be a very small minority opinion, they claimed that Dr. Syngman RHEE was leading thirty million Koreans in a unified move against trusteeship; that they would continue demonstrations against trusteeship; that they would die if trusteeship were forced upon them; that they would murder various individuals if trusteeship were forced on them; and that their demonstrations would be peaceful and they would not interfere with the Joint Commission in its work.

4. General Brown informed them that trusteeship could not be defined at this time; that the Joint Commission, working with the Provisional Government, would work out the aid and assistance to be rendered to Korea, which in fact would then be a definition of trusteeship as it would be applied to Korea; that it would be several months before this definition could be arrived at and that they would have this period of grace in which to live before committing suicide; that if they intended to demonstrate until trusteeship was defined they would have a long period of demonstration; that it was his opinion that they could best serve their country and also most likely attain their objective by working with the Joint Commission and informing it as to their views.

5. The final result was that the chief spokesman stated that he would order the demonstrators to disperse. He then asked General Brown to transmit their petition to General Shtikov. General Brown suggested that they transmit it themselves. They stated that they had attempted to do so but were stopped at the Russian Consulate Grounds by the police; that they of course could have broken into the Russian Consulate Grounds but as their move was peaceful they did not attempt to do so. This ended the conference.

ALBERT E. BROWN,
Major General, U. S. Army,
Chief Commissioner.

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PETITION PRESENTED BY THREE RIGHTIST YOUTH LEADERS IN CONFERENCE WITH GENERAL BROWN, CHIEF CHANG, TAIK SANG AND COMMISSIONER CHOUGH, PYUNG OCK, ON 23 June 1947.

Compatriots! Gather together for the anti-trusteeship demonstration.

Our government (must be evolved) by our own hands (ourselves).

Government under trusteeship is not an independent one.

Anti-trusteeship demonstration is our way out (living way).

The Soviet Union says trusteeship is (a form of) annexation.

Trusteeship is (means) slavery.

Trusteeship is (means) mandatory such as used to be under the Japanese Administration.

Government under trusteeship is a puppet one.

The principle of trusteeship is the principle of betraying (selling out) of fatherland.

Rise up 30,000,000 fellow-country men!

Compatriots of blood in vein, unite together for the completion of anti-trusteeship.

Let us oppose trusteeship to the last moment and to the last man.

RESOLUTIONS

1. We oppose trusteeship to death (to the last).
2. We act on (principle of) non-violence and non-resistance.
3. We do not mean to hinder (the task of) the US - USSR Joint Commission.
4. The Joint Commission should discuss (consult) (the problem of) the establishment of a united self-government in accordance with the principle of general election.
5. We support absolutely the road (policies) taken by Dr. RHEE, Syngman and Mr. KIM, Koo.

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(Translation)

PETITION TO THE US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION

June 23, 1947

We respectfully appeal to the Joint Commission Delegations and through them to the irrespective Governments for suspension of the trusteeship and for non-interference in the exercise of our inalienable rights to set up our own independent government. If the government thus established and run by ourselves should fail to improve our conditions within five years, then the Joint Commission may resume their discussions to see what they can do for us.

If for any reason of their own they desire to maintain their forces of occupation for the time being, we will not cause them any inconvenience. They in turn must agree to strictly respect our sovereign rights as a nation in accordance with the declared objectives of the Joint Commission and also given by Washington and published by General Hodge which are in effect "to establish an independent sovereign Korea, free from all foreign domination and eligible for membership in the United Nations and to insure that the government so established shall be a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people."

We find it necessary to hold demonstrations in peaceful orderly manner free from violence and resistance to express once again at this time our determination not to accept the trusteeship or any other plan contrary to the above quoted objectives. We deem it necessary for the following aims:

(1) To prove the solidarity and sincerity of our people in presenting this petition to the Joint Commission by spontaneous nation-wide demonstrations.
(2) To correct a false impression created to the effect that the Korean people have decided to accept the trusteeship. The truth is that all the individuals who are willing to sign the Communique 5 have declared publicly their intention to oppose the trusteeship at the Conference table. This should not be construed as an indication of their intention to support it.
(3) To express our belief that any coalition government which the Joint Commission may succeed in setting up will not succeed, on account of the ideological conflict which tends to disrupt it from within. The result may create an unfavorable impression regarding the ability of the Korean people for unity and cooperation among themselves.
(4) To request the United States and the Soviet Union to take into consideration the good will and friendship of the 30 million Koreans as a safeguard of peace in the Far East and of a peaceful relationship among our neighbors.

(Signed)
KIM KU, Chairman
Anti-Trusteeship Organization

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[redacted]

Roll 4

Target 3

Miscellaneous Materials
- Organization
- Reorganization
- The Constitution of the U.S.S.R.
- Consultation
- Policy for Korea
- Documents

[redacted]

U.S. - USSR Joint Commission
Organization (See Index)

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JOINT KOREA COMMISSION
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OUTLINE FOR BRIEFING OF PRESS ON JOINT COMMISSION WORK - 1947

1. Agreement of Marshall-Molotov to reopen Commission. (Refer to 3 points quoted in Joint Decision 12 - Communique 11)

2. Organization and membership of Commission.

   A. Soviet.

   B. American.

      (Chart of organization of U.S. Delegation)

3. Work of the Joint Commission.

   A. Adoption of last year's agreements (with minor changes) except for one on consultation.

   B. Agreements in A covered.

      (1) Internal organization and procedure.

      (2) Definition of Joint Commission's initial task - carry out para. 2 of the Moscow Decision, i.e. formation of a Provisional Government.

      (3) Assignment of tasks to subcommissions (refer to chart showing organization of American Delegation and state task of each subcommission).

4. Steps in work of Joint Commission.

   A. Consultation - written and oral.

   B. Compilation and analysis of results of A.

   C. Determination of the type, organization and composition of the Provisional Government. Drafting charter and platform of the Provisional Government.

   D. Method of obtaining personnel.

   E. Report to the Powers.

5. Outstanding problems in Joint Commission's work.

   A. Reconciliation of divergent viewpoints expressed in consultation.

   B. Selection of Korean personnel representative of the various parties who will constitute consultative body.

   C. Agreement on type and platform of Provisional Government.

   D. Agreement on method of procurement of personnel for Provisional Government.

   E. Integration of the existing governments into the Provisional Korean Government. (Show chart of governments in North and in South Korea.)

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F. Agreement as to general policies for integration of the economy.

6. Progress of work.

A. Joint Decision No. 12 (Communique 11)
(Chart of main points)

B. Consultation

(1) Written

(Chart showing political complexion of parties registered)

(Sheet showing substances of answers - right, center and left)

(2) Oral

(Refer to U.S. Delegation's press release)

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SUBJECT: Moscow Conference (U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and U.K.)

"Section III - (Korea)
of the Moscow Agreement of
27 December 1945

"1. With a view to the re-establishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a Provisional Korean Democratic Government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.

"2. In order to assist the formation of a Provisional Korean Government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures there shall be established a Joint Commission consisting of representatives of the United States Command in Southern Korea and the Soviet Command in Northern Korea. In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean Democratic Parties and social organizations. The recommendation worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom and the United States prior to final decision by the two governments represented on the Joint Commission.

"3. It shall be the task of the Joint Commission with the praticipation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and of the Korean Democratic organizations to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea. The proposals of the Joint Commission shall be submitted following consultation with Provisional Korean Government for the joint consideration of the governments of the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and China for the working out of an agreement concerning a four power trusteeship of Korea, period of up to five years.

"4. For the consideration of urgent problems affecting both Southern and Northern Korea and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the United States Command in Southern Korea and the Soviet Command in Northern Korea, a conference of the representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea shall be convened within a period of two weeks."

Reproduced 17 Feb 1947
by U.S. - Soviet Joint Commission

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US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea

12 June 1947

JOINT COMMUNIQUE #11

During the week ending 7 June 1947 the Joint Commission devoted its attention to the question of consultation with Korean democratic parties and social organizations in northern and southern Korea. The decision reached by the Joint Commission regarding the method of consultation and those with whom consultation will be held is contained in a document entitled "The Method of Consultation with Korean Democratic Parties and Social Organizations in Northern and Southern Korea." There is also an agreed questionnaire on the "structure and principles of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government"; and a questionnaire on the "political platform of the future Provisional Korean Democratic Government".

The document on consultation sets forth in detail the conditions for consultation, method of conducting consultation and the procedure and schedule to be followed by the parties and organizations in submitting applications and answers to the questionnaires.

The questionnaires are for the purpose of determining the views of the Korean people on the Charter and on the Political Platform of the Provisional Government.

The decisions provide that all parties and organizations should submit their views regarding the provisional government and its platform through their central organs only, so that one single set of answers is filed for each party and organization.

The results of fifteen days work by the Joint Commission form a milestone on the road towards the inauguration of a Korean Provisional Government. The decisions reached will assure consultation

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with all Korean parties and social organizations who comply with the conditions for consultation.

The objective of the consultation is to determine the views and desires of the Korean people on the charter and platform of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government. The action is as required by the Moscow Decision.

There is attached the document on method of consultation and the two questionnaires as agreed upon by the Joint Commission.

Representatives of the democratic political parties and social organizations can obtain copies of the questionnaires and of the instructions for consultation at the Duk Soo Palace in Seoul and at Do San-Ri 16 in Pyongyang. Application for consultation must be submitted in duplicate by 23 June and answers to the questionnaires will be submitted in duplicate by July 1. Both will be submitted to the Joint Commission at Seoul or Pyongyang.

General Brown of the American Delegation and General Shtikov of the Soviet Delegation have expressed their appreciation for the hard work of the Subcommissions thus far.

Chairman of the Joint Commission for the next week will be Colonel General Shtikov.

ALBERT E. BROWN
Major General, U.S. Army
Chief of U.S. Delegation

T. F. SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

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THE ORDER OF CONSULTATION WITH KOREAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN KOREA

1. In consulting with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, the Joint Commission shall be guided by the conditions stated in the letter of Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. V. M. Molotov, of 7 May 1947, and accepted by the Secretary of State of the U.S.A. George Marshall in his letter of 13 May 1947. The appropriate quotation from the letter of Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov is given below:

"The Soviet Commander in his letter of Nov. 26, 1946, advanced the following proposals as a basis for the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission:

'1. The Joint Commission must consult those democratic parties and organizations which uphold fully the Moscow Decision on Korea.

'2. Parties or social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission must not nominate for consultation those representatives who have compromised themselves by active opposition to the Moscow Decision.

'3. Parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission must not and will not actively oppose nor will they incite others to actively oppose the Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. If such be the case, such parties and social organizations by mutual agreement of both delegations will be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission.'

"The American Commander in his letter of Dec. 24, 1946, agreed to accept these proposals of the Soviet Commander with the following changes as the basis for the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission:

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'Proposal Number 1 to be interpreted as follows:

'Signing the declaration in Communique Number 5 will be accepted as declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation.

'Proposal Number 2. I consider it the right of a declarant party or organization to appoint the representative which it believes will best present to the Joint Commission its views on the implementation of the Moscow Decision.

'However, should such representative for good reason be believed to be antagonistic to the implementation of the Moscow Decision or to either of the Allied Powers, the Joint Commission may, after mutual agreement, require the declarant party to name a substitute spokesman.

'Proposal Number 3. It is suggested that it be rewarded as follows: Individuals, parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission should not after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision.

'Those individuals, parties and social organizations which after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 do foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision shall be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission.

'The decision excluding such individuals, parties and social organizations shall be by agreement of the Joint Commission.'

"With a view to expediting the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission and the creation of a provisional Korean

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democratic government, I am prepared to accept the amendments set forth above proposed by the American Commander."

2. The Joint Commission will consult with Korean democratic parties and social organizations which are truly democratic in their aims and methods and which will subscribe to the following declaration:

"We _____ declare that we will uphold the aims of the Moscow Decision on Korea as stated in paragraph 1 of this decision, namely:

> 'The reestablishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles, and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea.'

Further, we will abide by the decisions of the Joint Commission in its fulfillment of paragraph 2 of the Moscow Decision in the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government;

Further, we will cooperate with the Joint Commission in working out by it with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government, of proposals concerning the measures foreseen by paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision.

Signed _____

Representing the _____ Party or Organization."

3. Democratic parties and social organizations of northern and southern Korea are hereby invited to submit their applications for participation in consultation with the Joint Commission. Every party and organization must submit only one application through its central zonal organ.

The application should be accompanied by a text of the declaration given in paragraph 2 above, duly signed and sealed with the seal of its central organ and also signed by the designated representative. The application shall contain the following information:

a. The full name of the party or organization, the address of its central office, the date of establishment, the number, membership, and location of branches, and total membership.

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b. The full name of a designated representative given in Chinese characters and, where possible, in English and Russian transliteration, the place and date of birth, position held in the party or organization and home address.

Applications for participation in consultation shall be submitted to the Joint Commission at Duk Soo Palace, Seoul, or Dos Sanri 18, Pyongyang, Korea, by 23 June, 1947.

4. Democratic parties and social organizations of Northern and Southern Korea which have signed the declaration contained in paragraph 2 may submit to the Joint Commission in written form their considerations regarding the structure and principles of organization of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also the political platform for this Government, in accordance with a questionnaire approved by the Commission. This questionnaire shall be published in the press and printed copies will be available at the Joint Commission headquarters, Duk Soo Palace, Seoul, and Dos Sanri 18, Pyongyang.

The aforementioned considerations shall be submitted to the Joint Commission at the above addresses by 1 July 1947.

5. Subcommission No. 1, upon receiving the applications for consultation, shall compile a list of all democratic parties and social organizations and their designated representatives of North and South Korea which have signed the declaration in paragraph 2.

6. Following the approval by the Joint Commission of the list of democratic parties and social organizations and their representatives mentioned in paragraph 5, the Joint Commission shall convene in Seoul on 25 June 1947 a joint meeting to which it shall invite the above mentioned representatives of parties and social organizations in South Korea. A similar meeting of representatives of

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parties and social organizations in North Korea shall take place in Pyongyang on 30 June 1947. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation shall preside over the meeting in Seoul, and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation shall preside at the meeting in Pyongyang. At such meetings the Chief of the Delegation in whose zone the assembly is being held will present a statement elaborated by the Joint Commission.

7. Representatives of parties and social organizations of both Northern and Southern Korea which are included in the list referred to in paragraph 5 above will be invited to individual oral consultation regarding the structure and principles of organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also regarding the political platform for this Government. For this purpose the Joint Commission will appoint the necessary number of subcommittees and shall notify each representative of the time and place he is to appear for consultation.

Oral consultation shall commence on 5 July 1947 and take place in Seoul and Pyongyang.

8. The Joint Commission will present the considerations and proposals received from the Korean democratic parties and social organizations of North as well as South Korea for study and elaboration of coordinated proposals to the corresponding subcommissions which will create, for this purpose, the necessary number of subcommittees. Advisors, experts and technical personnel for the work in the Joint subcommissions and subcommittees will be appointed by the heads of the corresponding delegations.

9. For the purpose of consultation and aiding the Joint Commission in elaboration of recommendations regarding the structure and principles of organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and of the local organs of authority (Provisional Charter), and also the political platform for this government, representatives of

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parties and social organizations shall be invited from among parties and organizations included in the list mentioned in paragraph 5.

The number of such representatives of various parties and organizations shall be determined by the Joint Commission in accordance with their membership and, as far as possible, taking into account their influence.

The Joint Commission shall convene joint meetings with such representatives and may also call upon them to take part in the elaboration of recommendations by subcommissions and subcommittees. The time and the agenda of the joint sessions of the Joint Commission with such representatives will be approved by the Chief Commissioners.

10. Democratic parties and social organizations of both northern and southern Korea shall have equal rights and opportunities in consultation with the Joint Commission.

11. The coordinated proposals elaborated by the subcommissions shall be submitted for consideration to the Joint Commission which shall examine such proposals and shall grant its provisional approval. Following this the Joint Commission shall appoint a drafting commission to which it shall give the necessary instructions regarding the compilation of the final text of the recommendations concerning the structure and principles of organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also the political platform for this government. The texts of recommendations elaborated by the drafting commission shall be approved by the Joint Commission.

12. Following the approval of the texts of recommendations submitted by the drafting commission, the Joint Commission shall proceed with elaboration of recommendations regarding the personnel of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government.

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U.S. - SOVIET JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea

JOINT COMMISSION DECISION NO. 5.

The Joint Commission established 20 March 1946 at Seoul, Korea, in accordance with Section III (Korea) of the Decision of the Communique of the Moscow Conference of the Three Ministers of Foreign Affairs, agreed upon the following points:

Questionnaire to be submitted to democratic parties and social organizations of North and South Korea regarding the Provisional Charter for the Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

Request your point of view concerning the structure and principles of the organization of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) to be given to the Joint Commission (...date...). It is desired that your reply state your views on the following subjects in sufficient detail that these replies can be used in compiling the Provisional Charter:

1. Rights of the people. (Bill of Rights. For example, freedom of speech, press, universal suffrage, religion, assembly; inviolability of personal freedom; equality of sexes, and others)

2. The general type or character of provisional government to be established.

3. The organ or organs of authority of the central government to perform the executive and legislative functions.

   (a) Is it necessary to give the Provisional Korean Government the right to make laws before the creation of a legislative organ founded upon general elections?

   (b) Composition and structure of the organ or organs to perform these functions (For example: Organization, designation and function of the ministries; designation of the chief executive or body to perform the chief executive functions; organization, designation and functions of any organ to perform the legislative functions).

   (c) Powers and duties of the various ministers and officials.

   (d) Election or appointment and replacement of ministers and other principal members of the organ or organs to perform the legislative and executive functions (For example: Terms of office, succession to office; removal from office).

   (e) Method of discharging executive and legislative functions.

4. Local organs of authority, their formation, structure, powers and duties.

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(a) Method of selection of local authorities. (Should the local authorities of provinces, counties, cities, townships, towns and villages be elected? If elected, then on what principles should the elections be conducted? If appointed, then by whom?)

(b) Composition and structure of the local organs of authority of provinces, counties, cities, townships, towns and villages, to include the designation, duties, and rights of local authorities.

(c) Jurisdiction, powers and duties of the local organs of authority (provinces, counties, cities, townships, towns and villages.)

5. Judicial Organs.

(a) Composition (For example: Type, size, and number of courts, establishment of any other judicial organizations.)

(b) Powers and duties of courts and other judicial bodies.

(c) Selection and replacement of judicial personnel.

(For example: Election or appointment of members, term of office, removal from office.)

6. Method of changing and amending Provisional Charter.

Subjects not listed above which appear appropriate for inclusion in the Provisional Charter may be included in your reply.

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U.S. - SOVIET JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea

JOINT COMMISSION DECISION NO. 6.

LIST OF QUESTIONS FOR THE KOREAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS REGARDING THE POLITICAL PLATFORM OF THE PROVISIONAL KOREAN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

A. Political Policies of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

1. Rights of citizens - What rights and duties of Korean citizens, male and female, must be proclaimed in the political platform of the Povisional Korean Democratic Government?

2. Elimination of Japanese Influence.

a. What measures should be undertaken for the elimination of the evil consequences of the prolonged Japanese domination in Korea.

b. What measures should be taken by the Korean Provisional Democratic Government to classify and punish those Koreans who collaborated with the Japanese to the detriment of Korea and Koreans?

3. How should excessive private concentration of economic or political power, and the activity of reactionary, anti-democratic elements and elements attempting to undermine the Provisional Korean Government, be prevented?

4. Law and Justice.

a. What policy should be followed in establishing a Korean code of law?

b. How shall the courts judiciary and legal procedures in the Korean language be established?

c. How is the democraticization of the judiciary to be exercised?

5. What should be the policy relative to minorities and non-citizens?

B. Economic Policies of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

1. What measures should be taken with respect to the development of agriculture, industry and transportation, in order to increase production and to raise the living standards of the Korean people?

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2. Agricultural Land Tenure.

a. What should be the policy with respect to the system of landlordism and tenancy prevailing under the Japanese?

b. What policies should be followed with respect to land tenure?

(1) Private ownership of land with the farmer having a completely free title.

(2) Private ownership of land but, in the case of land obtained from the government, the right to sell or mortage would be restricted by the State.

(3) Nationalization of land belonging to landlords and its transference to farmers for permanent and free use.

(4) Any other methods of solution of the question of land tenure you may suggest.

c. What special policies should be followed with respect to land formerly owned by the Japanese?

d. If land owned by Korean landlords is to be distributed to tenants, should these landlords be compensated for their land?

e. Should land distributed to tenant farmers be sold or distributed free?

f. What should be the policies with respect to irrigation facilities and their use?

3. Organization of Industry.

a. What should be the policy with respect to industrial production and distribution?

b. What kind of ownership (public, private or cooperative) should be adopted for each of the following:

Large industries (for example, steel and chemicals)
Medium industries (for example, textiles and shoes)
Small industries (for example, furniture and farm tools)
Banks
Wholesalers
Retailers
Mindral resources
Forests
Railroads
Shipping companies
Insurance
Fishing industries
Public utilities (for example, electric power, water, communications)
Household industries.

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4. Labor, Wages and Social Security.

a. What should be the policy with respect to minimum wages, maximum hours, and working conditions?

b. What should be the policy with respect to labor of children and women?

c. What should be the policy with respect to labor organizations?

d. What should be the policy with respect to social insurance?

e. What should be the policy with respect to increasing the efficiency of labor?

5. Trade and Prices.

a. Should a program of rationing the necessities of life be continued while commodities are scarce? If so, how should this program be administered.

b. What should be the policy with respect to the collection of essential foodstuffs.

c. What type of program of price stabilization and control, if any, should be undertaken.

d. What measures should be taken to cope with speculation and hoarding.

e. What should the policy be with respect to the foreign trade of Korea.

6. Finance.

a. What should be the policy with respect to:

(1) Income taxes
(2) Taxes on real property
(3) Sales taxes
(4) Taxes on imports and exports
(5) Receipts from government monopolies
(6) Inheritance taxes
(7) Any other taxes

b. What measures should be undertaken to establish a uniform and sound system of currency throughout Korea.

c. What should the policy be in respect to balancing the budget.

d. What measures should be taken to cope with excessively high interest charges (usury).

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C. Educational and Cultural Policies of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government.

1. Education - What educational program should be adopted and developed in Korea in the following fields?

   (a) Elimination of illiteracy among adults.
   (b) Compulsory lower school attendance.
   (c) Middle school.
   (d) Higher levels of education.

2. Training - What program should be established to train Korean specialists and techincians to fill all necessary positions in economic and governmental activities.

3. National Culture - What measures should be undertaken to promote the development of national culture, art, and also of science.

4. Public Health - How should health protection be organized.

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JOINT DECISION 12
(Communique 11)

THE ORDER OF CONSULTATION WITH KOREAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Marshall-Molotov Agreement.
2. Declaration (of Communique 5).
3. Instructions to organizations regarding applications.
4. Instructions to organizations regarding questionnaires.
5. Compilation of list of applicants by Subcommission No. 1.
6. Mass meetings in Seoul and P'yongyang with representatives.
7. Individual oral consultation by Subcommittees.
8. Analysis of results of written and oral consultation.
9. Formation of Korean consultative body from representatives of organizations in accordance with membership and influence.
10. Equal rights and opportunities North and South Korea.

11&12. Drafting of Charter and Platform.

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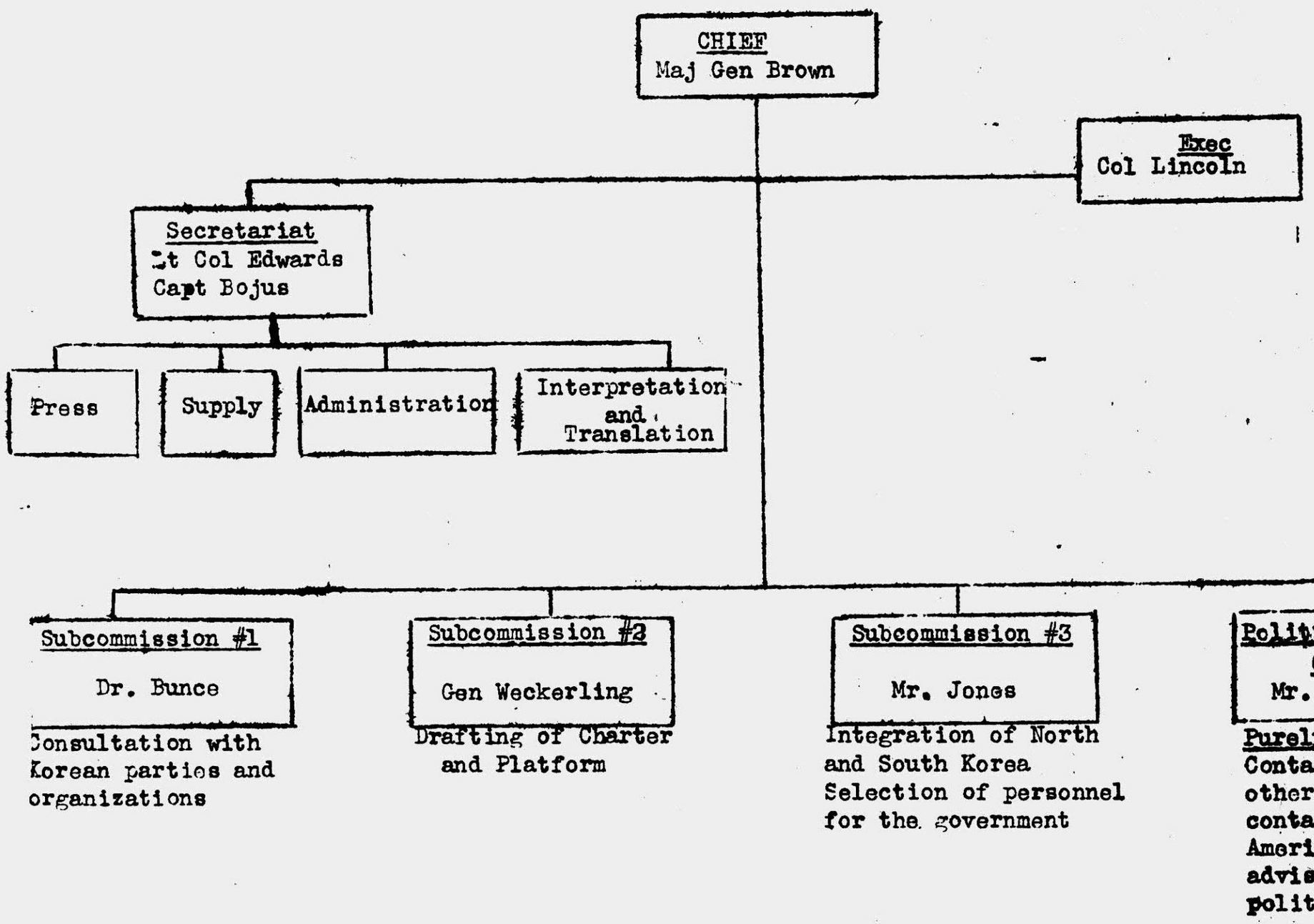
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN DELEGATION OF JOINT COMMISSION



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THE LIST OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION

Col. General T. F. Shtikov	- Chief Commissioner
Counselor 1st Class G. I. Tounkin	- Subcommission No. 1
Major General N. G. Lebedeff	- Subcommission No. 2
Counselor 2nd Class G. M. Balasanov	- Subcommission No. 3
Col. I. I. Korkulenko	- Commissioner
Col. I. T. Avramenko	- Secretary

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STEPS AND PROBLEMS IN JOINT COMMISSION'S TASK

STEPS:

1. Consultation
2. Analysis of consultation result
3. Drafting charter and platform
4. Method of obtaining personnel
5. Report to powers

PROBLEMS:

1. Reconciliation of divergent Korean viewpoints.
2. Formation of a representative consultative body
3. Agreement on charter and platform
4. Integration of government North and South Korea
5. Integration of economy of North and South Korea

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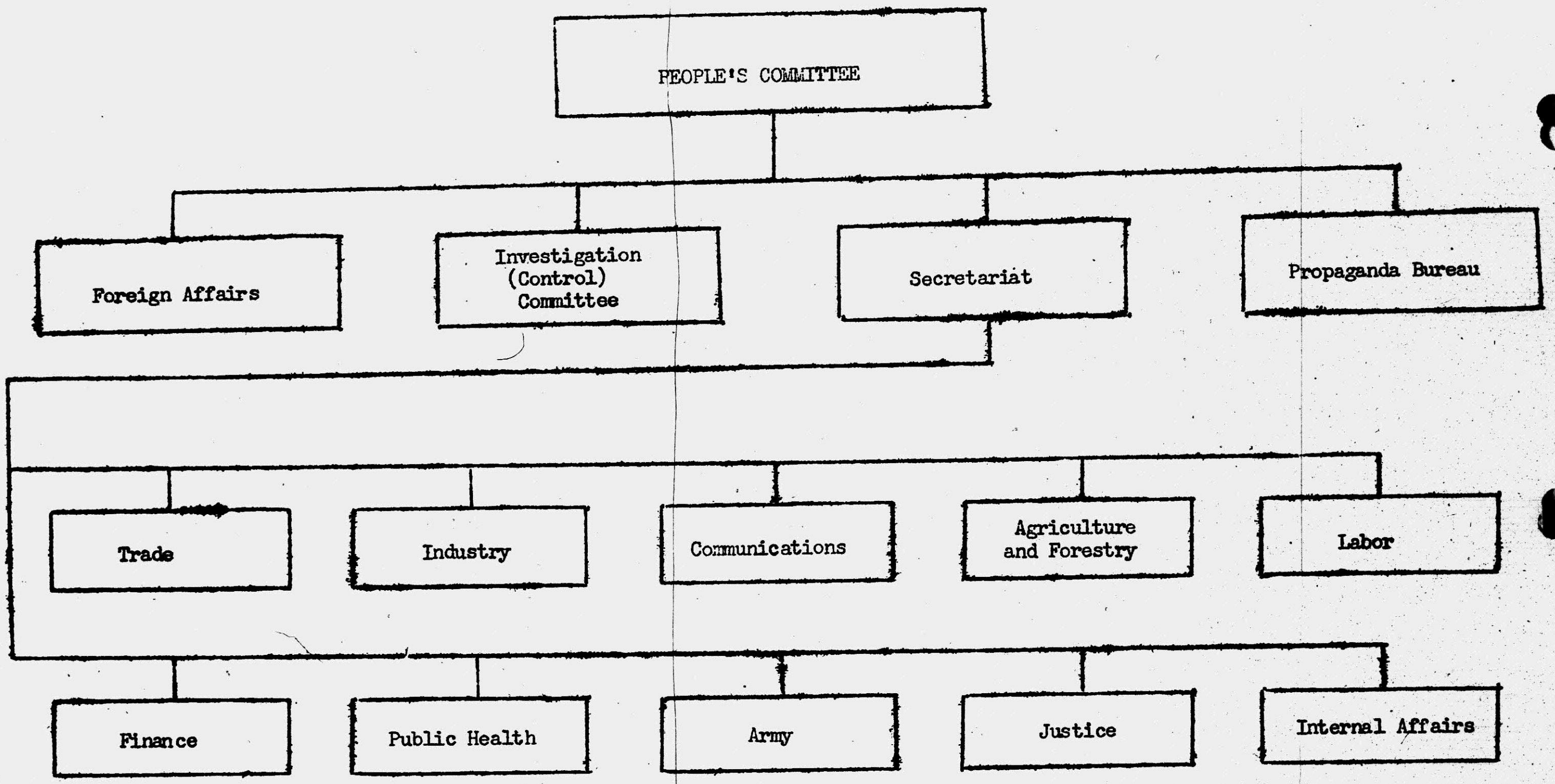
GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE NORTH KOREA



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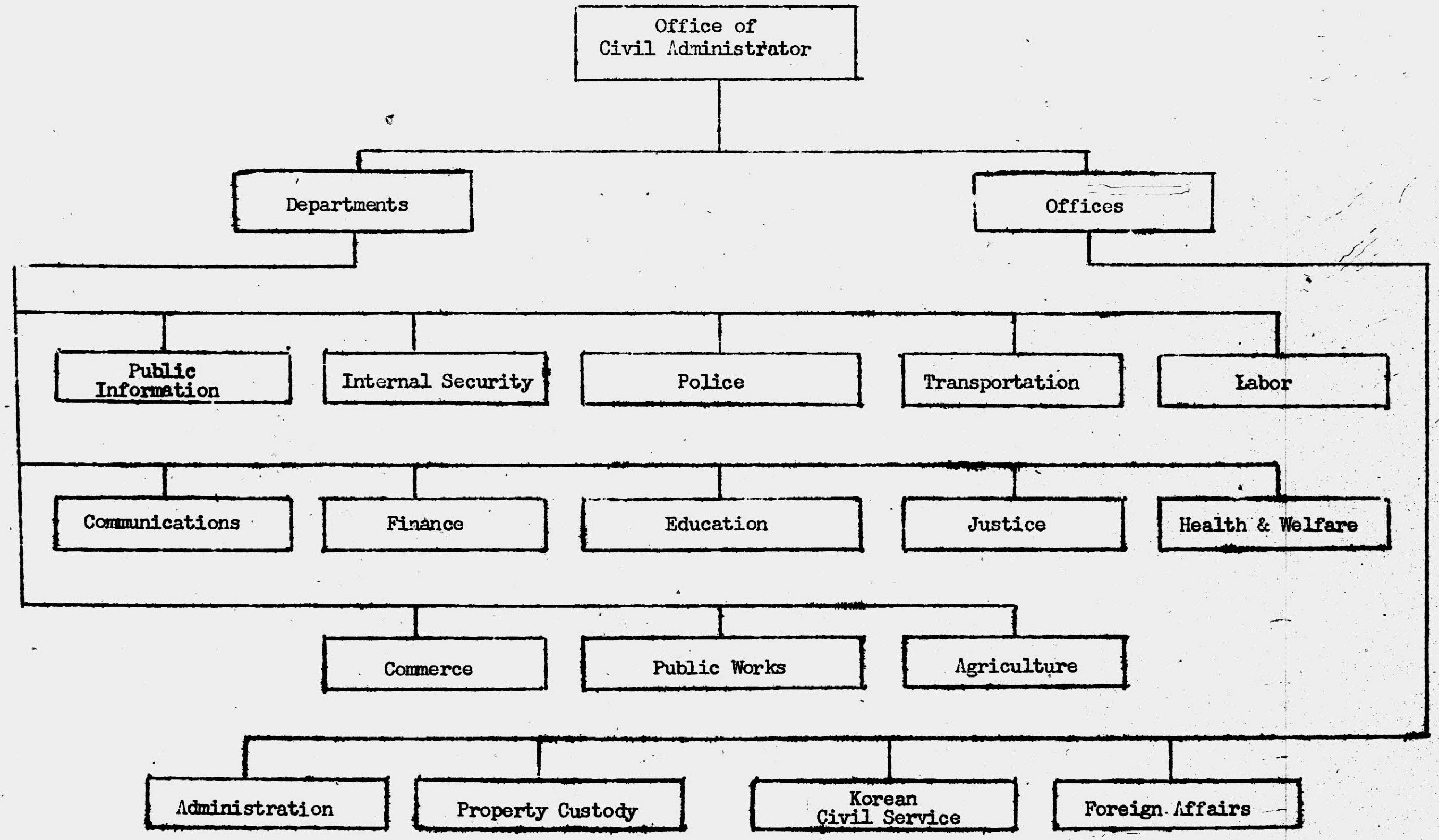
GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE SOUTH KOREA



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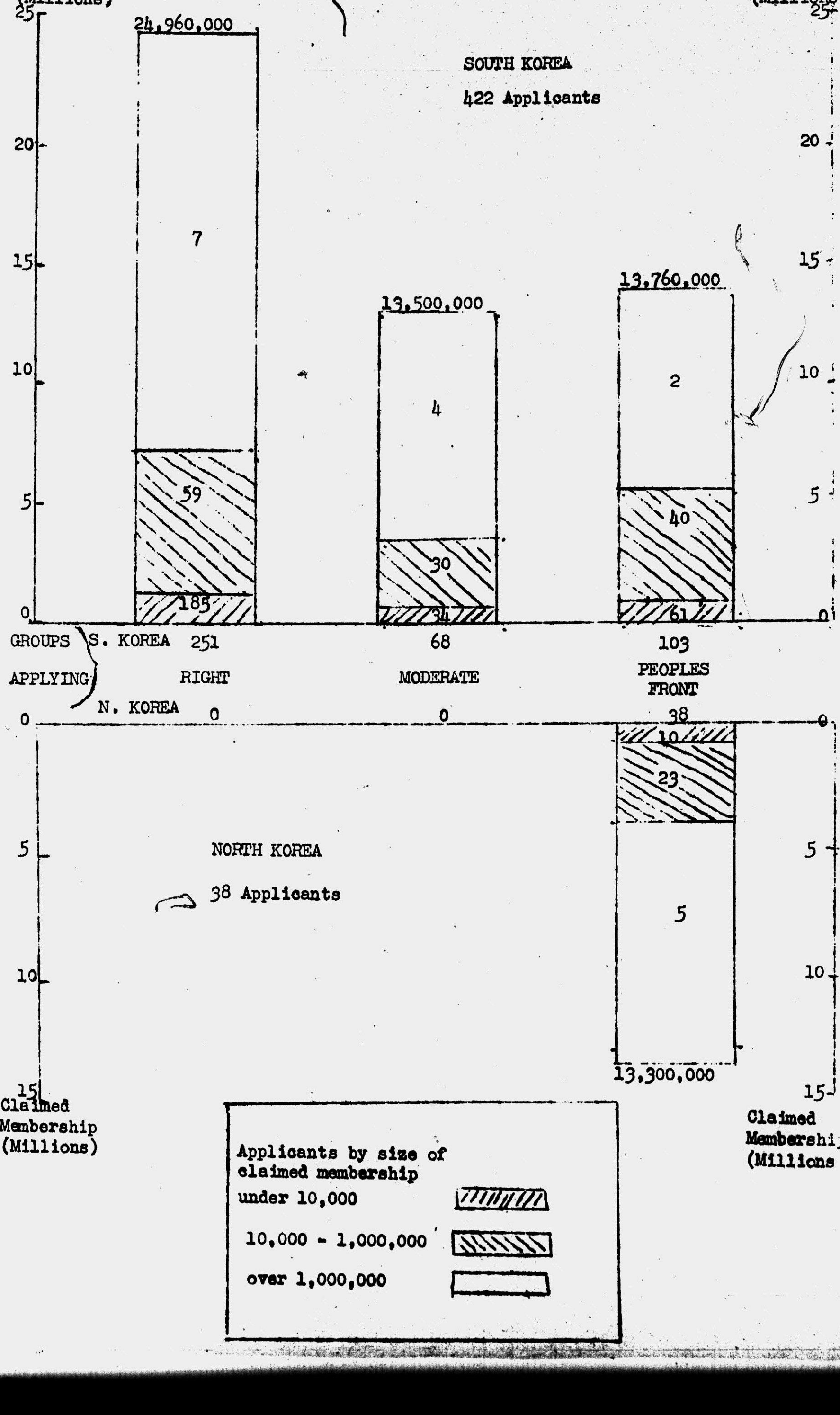
APPLICATIONS FOR CONSULTATION WITH JOINT COMMISSION



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POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF 460 GROUPS

APPLYING FOR CONSULTATION

IN ALL KOREA

TOTAL CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP ALL GROUPS - 65,520,000

141 Groups	68 Groups	251 Groups
PEOPLES FRONT	MODERATES	RIGHT
27,060,000 Members	13,500,000 Members	24,960,000 Members
42 %	20 %	38 %

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TENTATIVE PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF REPLIES OF MAJOR POLITICAL GROUPS TO JOINT COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRES 5 and 6 REGARDING CHARTER AND PLATFORM FOR KOREAN PROVISIONAL DEMOCRATIC GOVEERNMENT

(Based upon as yet incomplete translations of replies of Political Parties and Social Organizations.)

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People's Front	Moderate Groups	Right
(replies of North and South Korea Labor Parties, both essentially the same)	(as represented by coalition of moderate groups, under leadership of KIMM Kiu Sic)	(from replies of Hankook Democratic Party and 133 other righist groups)
ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT		
1. Centralized "Democratic People's Republic".	1. Centralized "Republic of Korea".	1. Centralized "Republic of Korea".
2. All-powerful Cabinet of 15 selected by Joint Commission on advice of Democratic Political Parties and Social Organizations.	2. Legislative Organ, selected by Korean Committee of Democratic Political Parties and Social Organizations with approval of Joint Commission. Representation 25% left, 50% neutral, 25% right.	2. President elected by universal secret ballot.
3. Present People's Committees retained in North Korea, and system extended to South Korea.	3. Legislature appoints Board of Presidents, Chief Executives.	3. President appoints Provisional Parliament and directly or indirectly all other officials of government.
STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT		
1. Cabinet of 15 has full executive and legislative power.	1. Legislature appoints President, two vice presidents, Prime Minister, and State Affairs Committee.	1. President appoints State Affairs Commission, headed by Secretary of State and including 16 ministers, each a director of department.
2. Eventually Cabinet will draft constitution and select People's Congress which, in turn, selects President.	2. 15 ministers nominated by Legislature, appointed by Prime Minister.	2. Theoretical separation of powers between executive, legislative, and judicial branches. However, presidential appointive power and his power to implement laws by ordinances makes him supreme
3. Cabinet appoints supreme court.	3. President appoints Chief Justice and Chief Prosecutor and other judicial officers upon nomination by Legislature.	3. President appoints judiciary.
		4. Provisional Parliament adopts election law, and thereupon Legislature is elected by universal secret ballot.

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American Delegation
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
APO 235

PRESS RELEASE BY MAJOR GENERAL ALBERT E. BROWN: 12 July 1947

In a hearty response to the Joint Commission's invitation to Koreans for consultation regarding formation of a Korean Provisional Government, 463 political parties and social organizations submitted applications. Of these applicants for consultation, 425 were from the American zone of occupation in southern Korea and 38 from Korea north of the 38th parallel.

Although Koreans both north and south of the 38th parallel were asked to submit applications under identical conditions, there is a sharp contrast between the lists of applicants from North and South Korea. All organizations in the North Korea list are members of the People's Front, and are affiliated with the North Korea People's Committee. The groups applying from southern Korea are almost entirely non-official and represent all shades of political opinion. More than two-thirds of the South Korean applicants are of right, middle-of-the-road, or moderate left political complexion. Less than twenty-five percent of the applicants are in the People's Front, both with regard to numbers of organizations and total membership.

Applicants from South Korea represent a broad cross-section of Korean society, including 39 political parties, 101 civil organizations, 54 cooperative, economic and business associations, 43 professional, scientific, and technical societies, 40 cultural groups, 35 labor unions, 34 young men's organizations, 31 religious groups, 19 relief and welfare agencies, 15 farmers' unions and agricultural organizations, and 14 women's organizations.

The North Korea list includes three political parties, 18 labor unions, five cultural groups, three religious organizations, two welfare groups, two civic organizations, and one each of

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the following organizations: farmers' union, consumers cooperative, women's, youth, and technical.

The single organization with the highest claimed membership applying was the Democratic People's Front of South Korea, with 6,217,819 members. The second highest was the Federation of Women's Associations in South Korea with 4,525,150 member. The group with the lowest membership was the Korean Patriots' Relief Association, with 22 members. The largest single political party registered in all Korea was the Hankook Democratic Party in South Korea, with a claimed membership of 865,706.

The largest religious groups to apply for consultation include the Central Headquarters of the Korea Buddhists, with 4,250,120 members and the Headquarters of the Chun Do Kyo, native religion, with 4,064,000 members. The largest individual women's organization to apply for consultation is the Women's Association of the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence, with a claimed membership of 3,281,724. The largest farmers organization applying is the North Korea Peasants Alliance, with a claimed membership of 2,572,714. The largest economic group is the North Korea Consumers Cooperative Alliance with claimed membership of 2,751,798. The largest youth group to apply is the Young Korea Party of South Korea, with 1,889,000 claimed membership.

Eighteen of the organizations applying for consultation have claimed memberships of more than one million. However, the bulk of those applying are relatively small, 291 having less than 10,000 members. There is considerable duplication of membership on the list; for example, membership is given for both individual political parties and coalitions of parties. There is additional duplication of membership because many

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individual Koreans are members of several of the various organizations applying for consultation. Claimed membership of all 463 organizations applying for consultation totals about 70,000,000, of whom about eighty per cent are from south of the 38th parallel, and twenty per cent from North Korea. Several fraudulent applications have been discovered; for example, one large youth organization registered under three different names.

The large number of applications stemmed in part from Soviet refusal to agree to any definition in Joint Decision No. 12 regarding political parties and social organizations, or to any limitation on applications with respect to membership or types of organizations. Social organizations applying include a wide variety of organizations, such as the North Korea Society of the People's Air Fleet, the Merchants Association for Dong Dae Moon Market, the Kyonggi Province Mid-Wives Association, and the Korean Young Men's Esperanto League.

Of the 463 organizations applying for consultation, 435 handed in answers to the Joint Commission questionnaires concerning the Provisional Charter and Political Platform of the Korean Provisional Government by the deadline of 5 July 1947. The Joint Commission is engaged in translation, tabulation and analysis of these answers.

This list of democratic parties and social organizations to be consulted by the Joint Commission will be published as soon as it has been agreed upon by the Joint Commission.

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July 15, 1947

PRESS RELEASE OF CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION OF THE JOINT COMMISSION

The US - Soviet Joint Commission held its 42nd meeting, 1330, 14 July 1947, Duk Soo Palace, Seoul, Korea. General Brown was Chairman.

The Joint Commission has continued the discussion of a disagreement which arose in the 37th meeting and extended through to the 42nd meeting, on the list of parties and organizations to be invited for initial consultation. The basic issues involved in this disagreement are as follows :

I. Soviet Delegation's General Position:

1. That parties and organizations falling within the following categories should not be included in the list for initial consultation, specifically:

a. Those not classified by them as social organizations,

b. District and other purely local organizations, and

c. Those which it contends do not intend to support fully the Moscow Decision, especially members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and similar organizations.

I. American Delegation's General Position:

1. That Soviet Delegation's proposals are contrary to:

a. Paragraph 1 of the three principles of the Foreign Ministers upon which agreement for reconvention of the Joint Commission was reached: "Signing the declaration in Communique No. 5 will be accepted as a declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation.

b. Paragraph 5, Joint Commission Decision published in Communique No. 11, mutually

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agreed to and signed by the Chief Commissioner of each Delegation:

"Subcommission No. 1, upon receiving the applications for consulation, shall compile a list pi all democratic parties and social organizations and their designated representatives of North and South Korea which have signe the declaration. . . ."

II. The Soviet Delegation's Specific Contentions are:

1. That industrial, mercantile and producers' organizations, such as Chambers of Commerce, Industrial Medical Institute, Buddhist Research Institute, Accountants' Society and societies organized for the study of politics and economics, are not in fact social organizations as the word "social" is used in the Moscow Decision.

II. The American Delegation's Specific Contentions are:

1. a. The Moscow Decision does not define the term "social organization."

b. The Soviet Delegation refused requests of the American Delegation to define the terms in the Joint Commission Decision.

c. The American Delegation served notice on the Soviet Delegation prior to final decisio that after joint approval of the Joint Commission Decision No. 12, the American Delegation would not agree to amendment or change in the decision as finally agreed upon. Therefore, the term "social organization" must be interpreted as defined in the dictionaries of the world.

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2. A party or organization local in character which has no central zonal office is not eligible for consultation.

3. The good faith of a party or organization which signs the declaration and applies for consultation, and thus agrees to uphold the Moscow Decision, is challenged by the Soviet Delegation if such party or organization continues membership in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or a similar organization. Such party or organization is acceptable for consultation only if it publicly withdraws from membership in the Anti-Trusteeship Committee or similar organization.

2. District and other purely local organizations are not barred by any provision of the Moscow Agreement, the Marshall - Molotov agreement, or Joint Commission Decision. In order to eliminate small organizations, the American Delegation several times offered to limit oral consultation to parties and organizations with membership in excess of 1,000 or any other reasonable figure proposed by the Soviet Delegation. This proposal, however, has not been accepted by the Soviet Delegation

3. a. Parties which are members of the Anti-Trusteeship Committee and similar organizations are clearly eligible for initial consultation under the Marshall - Molotov agreement if they have applied for consultation and signed the required declaration.

b. They remain eligible unless and until they are by mutual agreement excluded after indictment as provided by paragraph 3 of the agreement reached by the Foreign Ministers - namely "Individuals, parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

should not, after signing the declaration contained in communique No. 5, foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Those individuals, parties and social organizations, which, after signing the declaration contained in Communique No. 5, do foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision, shall be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission. The decision excluding such individuals, parties and social organizations shall be by agreement of the Joint Commission."

4. The fact that a party is eligible for consultation under the agreement of the Ministers, as published in Joint Commission Decision, does not mean that it must be admitted for consultation by the Joint Commission.

5. In order for a party to be placed on the list for consultation, it must be acceptable to both Delegations.

4. The arbitrary line of distinction drawn by the Soviet Delegation between "eligibility for consultation" and "admission for consultation", nullifies the agreements reached by the two Ministers (quoted in 1. a. above) and by the Joint Commission.

5. The first paragraph of the agreement accepted by Mr. Molotov and rewritten into Joint Commission Decisions specifically states that all parties and social organizations which sign the application

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for consultation are eligible and must be accepted for consultation. The contention by the Soviet Delegation is an attempt to establish a arbitrary veto power over consultation, which is implicit in the method of compiling the list proposed by the Soviet Delegation. There is no provision in any of the agreements reached which provides such veto power.

There are two basic issues involved in the differences outlined above:

The first issue is whether one delegation may unilaterally exercise veto power and exclude from consultation any party or social organization that it does not approve. The Soviet Delegation wishes to exercise such veto power. The American Delegation maintains that this is an arbitrary position and is contrary to the agreement of the Foreign Ministers. Furthermore, it is impractical in application because it could be used to exclude parties and social organizations to such a degree that consultation would not represent a fair sample of Korean opinion. The U.S. position is that exclusion from consultation can only be by mutual agreement of both delegations as specifically stated in the Marshall - Molotov letters. The U.S. Delegation has many times offered to review systematically the whole list of applicants and consider any and all objections by either delegation to various parties and organizations in order to make a decision as to which should be excluded through mutual agreement. The Soviet Delegation has repeatedly refused such proposals.

The second issue is in regard to membership of a party or organization in the so-called Anti-Trusteeship Committee or similar organization. The Soviet Delegation has not brought specific charges

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against any one party that it has actually fomented or instigated active opposition to the Joint Commission or the Moscow Decision after signing the declaration, but has arbitrarily accused all the member parties of bad faith and imply that they are guilty even before they have been indicted. The U.S. position is that no party or social organization can be assumed guilty of acting in bad faith until it has been indicted and proven guilty of actions which do in fact incite and foment active opposition to the Joint Commission, the Moscow Decision, or either of the Allies.

The American Delegation has consistently upheld and will continue to insist on complete implementation of the Marshall - Molotov agreements which guarantee wide-scale participation of Korean democratic parties and social organizations in consultation and freedom of expression of opinion by all Koreans.

The Joint Commission is continuing its meetings in an attempt to resolve these basic differences.

US - USSR Joint Commission
(Re-
Organization)

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By NARS, Date

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

Col Lincoln

American Delegation
U.S. - U.S.S.R. JOINT COMMISSION
APO 235

5 April 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: General Weckerling
Colonel Lincoln

SUBJECT: Reorganization Studies

1. I have studied both your proposals and those of General Brown.

2. It would appear that the creation of another more or less autonomous agency as proposed by General Brown, however expedient this may appear to be, would only serve to complicate further an already complex problem. I have in mind such mundane questions as the relationship such an agency would have with that of the Military Governor; the extent of its authority; its practical means of supervision of operations in other agencies.

3. To inject a technical thought into the problem, the continued existence of the several offices and agencies engaged in similar activities without coordination except at the very top, constitutes an organizational monstrosity. The designation of the Chief Commissioner as responsible for political policy etc, would in my opinion, only add another appendage to an already over-extended horizontal organization.

4. The wearing of more than one hat is an accepted military custom and there appears to be no good reason to exclude it here. Why, for example, cannot the Chief Commissioner also assume the additional duty of A/C of S, G-5 (or equivalent) of the theater staff? Why not then assign Dr. Bunce and Mr. Langdon additional duties as heads of sub-divisions of G-5? Would this not attain the desired end and in addition clothe these individuals with authority which is well defined and understood throughout the service?

5. It appears to me that more emphasis is due the following question: "What is our primary mission in Korea?" The answer to

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this question is rather obvious. It is certainly not a tactical one, although the presence of an armed security force is of prime necessity. Therefore, we may conclude that the broader problems of the establishment of a free and independent Korea should have ascendancy over purely military considerations. It would naturally follow that these more important responsibilities and functions should be recognized and unified in a new special division of the theatre staff.

6. It is recommended that:

   a. The Korean Theater be organized along the lines proposed in Inclosure "A".

   b. For purposes of conservation of personnel and control, individual members of the theatre staff be authorized to assume additional duties of a related nature in other units.

WILLIAM H. EDWARDS
Lt. Col., AGD
Secretary

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By
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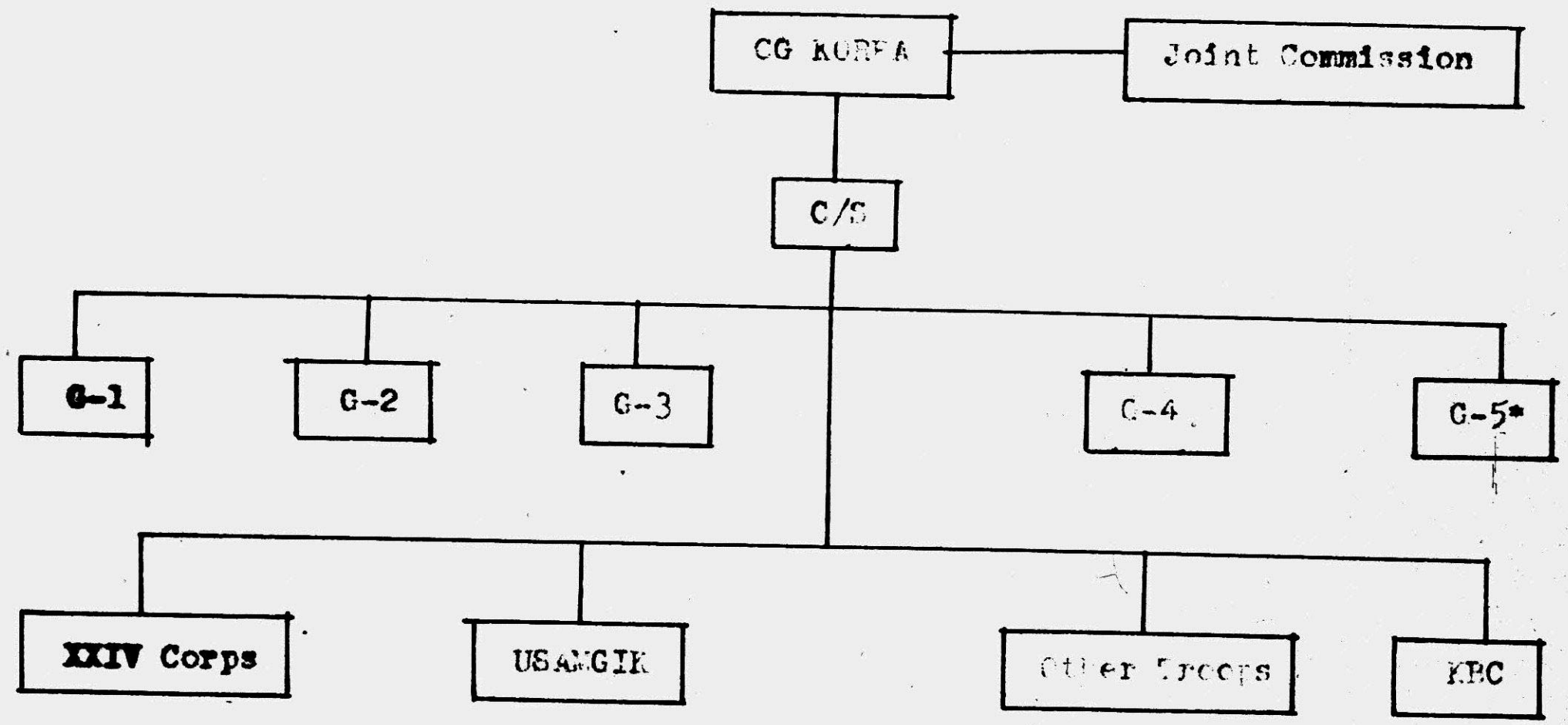

* Proposed new section to be designated "Civil Affairs Division".

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Reorganization Staff Headquarters, XXIV Corps, on Handling Political and Economic Matters.

3	10 Apr 1947	Jt. Comm.	C.G., USAFIK	

1. At present there is no staff agency formally charged with advising and assisting the Commanding General on important political and economic matters.

2. The Joint Commission is of the opinion that the best method of insuring coordination and maintenance of proper records in political and economic matters of overall theatre import is by reorganization of theatre staff.

3. The Joint Commission believes that a Theatre Staff organized as indicated in Enclosure No. 2 would provide the best coordinated means of assistance to the Commanding General. This plan envisages a separate, minimum tactical corps staff and a corps commander who has no additional duties.

4. The detail of a Deputy Commander, however, may be the solution to providing the Commanding General with essential assistance. In this case, the plan of General Brown (Enclosure No. 4) has considerable merit.

5. Recommendations:

a. It is recommended that the following plans be considered for adoption:

(1) Theatre Staff be reorganized as indicated in Enclosure No. 2, with a separate tactical corps commander and staff.

(2)The detail of a Deputy Commander to be made permanent and plan in Enclosure No. 4 be adopted.

(3) Creation of a Civil Affairs Section (G-5) as a General Staff Section of Hqs. XXIV Corps, with normal staff responsibility for political, economic and governmental matters of overall theatre importance.

(over)

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DRAFT

COPY

HEADQUARTERS XXIV CORPS
Office of the Commanding General
APO 235

MEMORANDUM

4 April 1947

SUBJECT: Reorganization Staff Headquarters XXIV Corps on Handling Political and Economic Matters.

TO : Commanding General, XXIV Corps.

I. THE PROBLEM PRESENTED

To create staff control and preservation of records which will assure proper organization, supervision and coordination in political and economic matters, and proper maintenance of records.

II. FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

1. The General Staff divisions, XXIV Corps, are now organized into the four normal divisions.
2. FM 101-5 par 4 states, "The organization of the staff is based upon the duties of the commander."
3. The Commanding General, XXIV Corps and USAFIK, is faced with the solution of many problems of political and economic import.
4. The Commanding General, XXIV Corps, has been furnished a political advisor (Mr. Langdon, State Department); an economic advisor (Dr. Bunce, State Department); a Joint Commission (for the implementation of the Moscow Agreement only) and a Military Governor, who is primarily a deputy for administration of government.
5. Political and economic records of great importance are now scattered in many offices of the command. There is at present no existing office of record for such files.

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6. The political load carried by the Commanding General personally is so excessive as to require time which should be available to him for supervision of military activities.

7. Each political and economic problem as it arises is taken in hand by one of the agencies or individuals mentioned in par 4 above. There is no staff coordination in handling such matters, and at times they are not properly coordinated with all interested agencies before submission to the Commanding General.

8. The Commanding General has utilized the Joint Commission to assist him in political matters. Should this Commission reconvene to consider the Moscow Agreement, all personnel would be required for this mission.

III. ACTION RECOMMENDED

1. The Chief Commissioner, Joint Commission, be charged with responsibility for handling policy concerning political and economic matters.

2. Mr. Langdon, the Political Advisor, and Dr. Bunce, the Economic Advisor, be subordinated to the Chief Commissioner, Joint Commission, for the purpose stated in #1 above.

3. The Chief Commissioner, Joint Commission, be directed to divide the Joint Commission into three sub-sections:

   a. Joint Commission (Moscow Decision);

   b. Political;

   c. Economic.

4. The Chief Commissioner, Joint Commission, prepare plan for perpetuating the political and economic sections during the period that the Joint Commission is reconvened.

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5. The Adjutant General be directed to establish at the Duk Soo Palace a political and economic record section of his office.
6. The political and economic record section of the Adjutant General's office established at the Duk Soo Palace become the office of record for all international, political and economic records.

ALBERT E. BROWN
Major General, U. S. Army
Commanding

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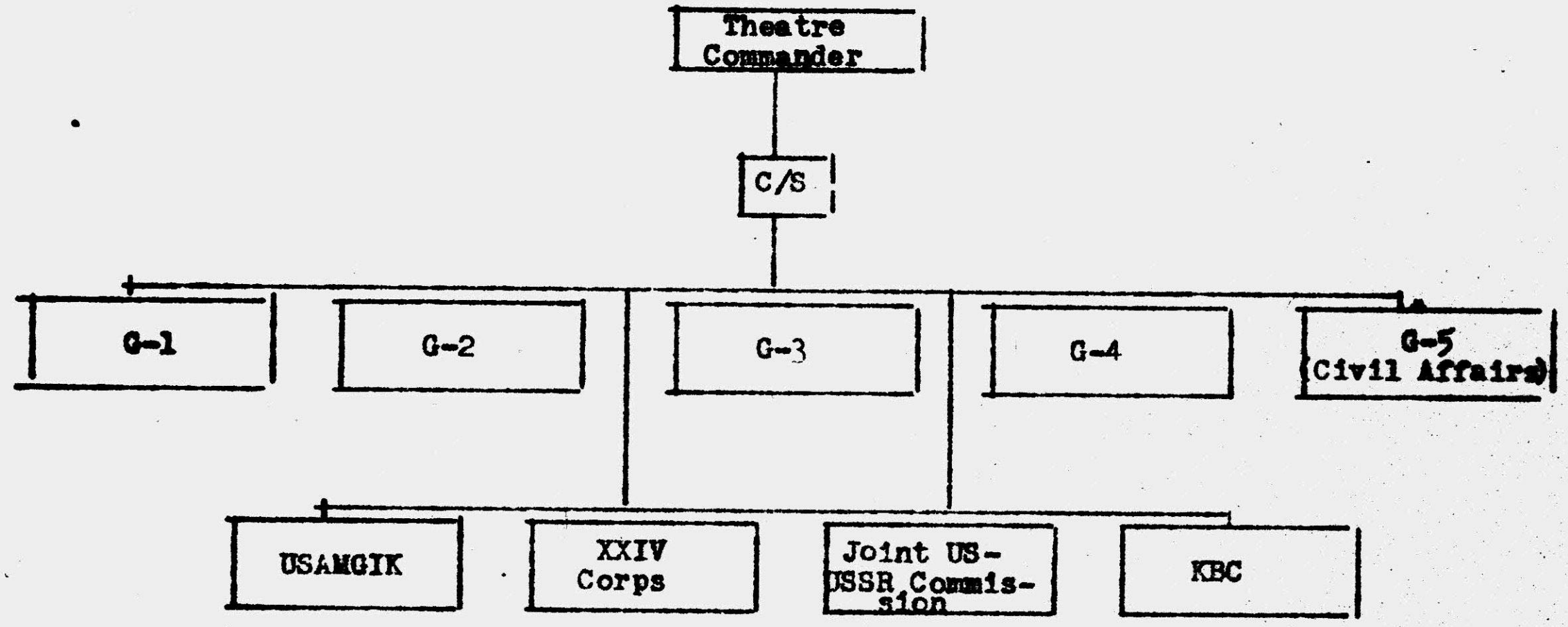

Inclosure 2

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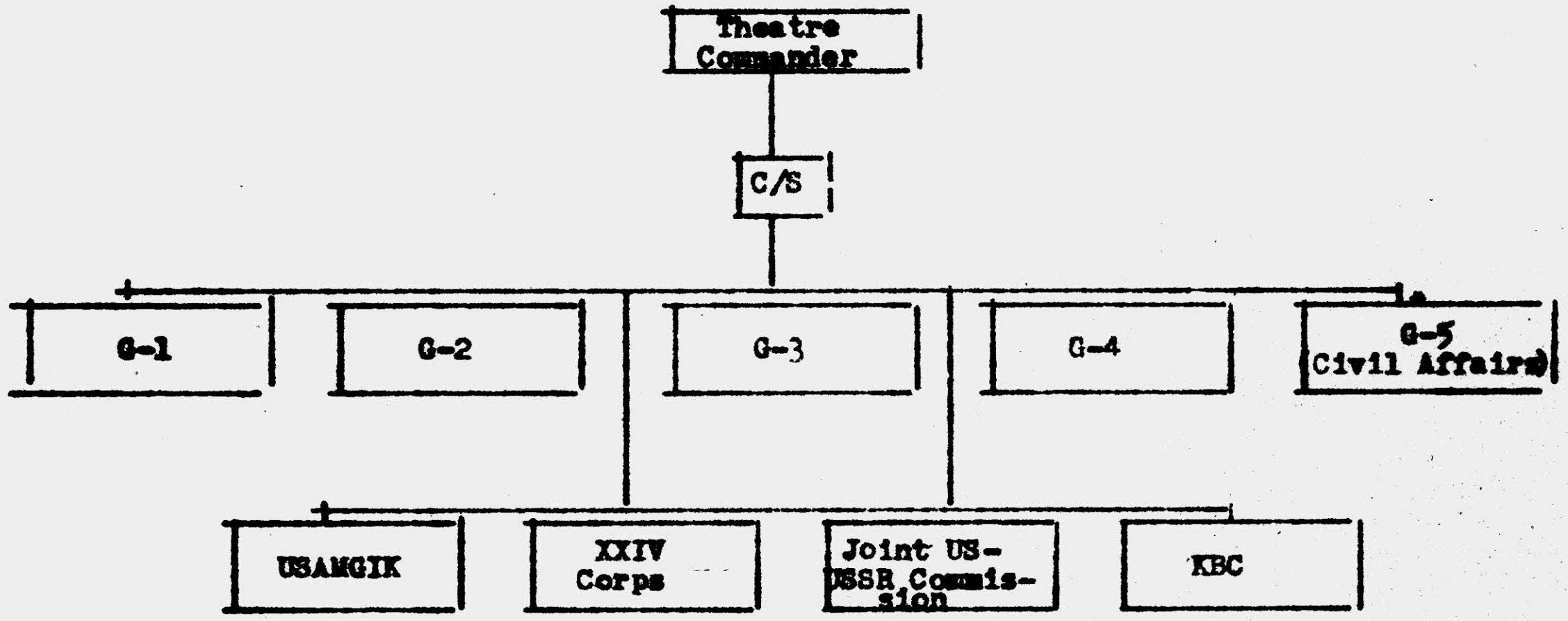

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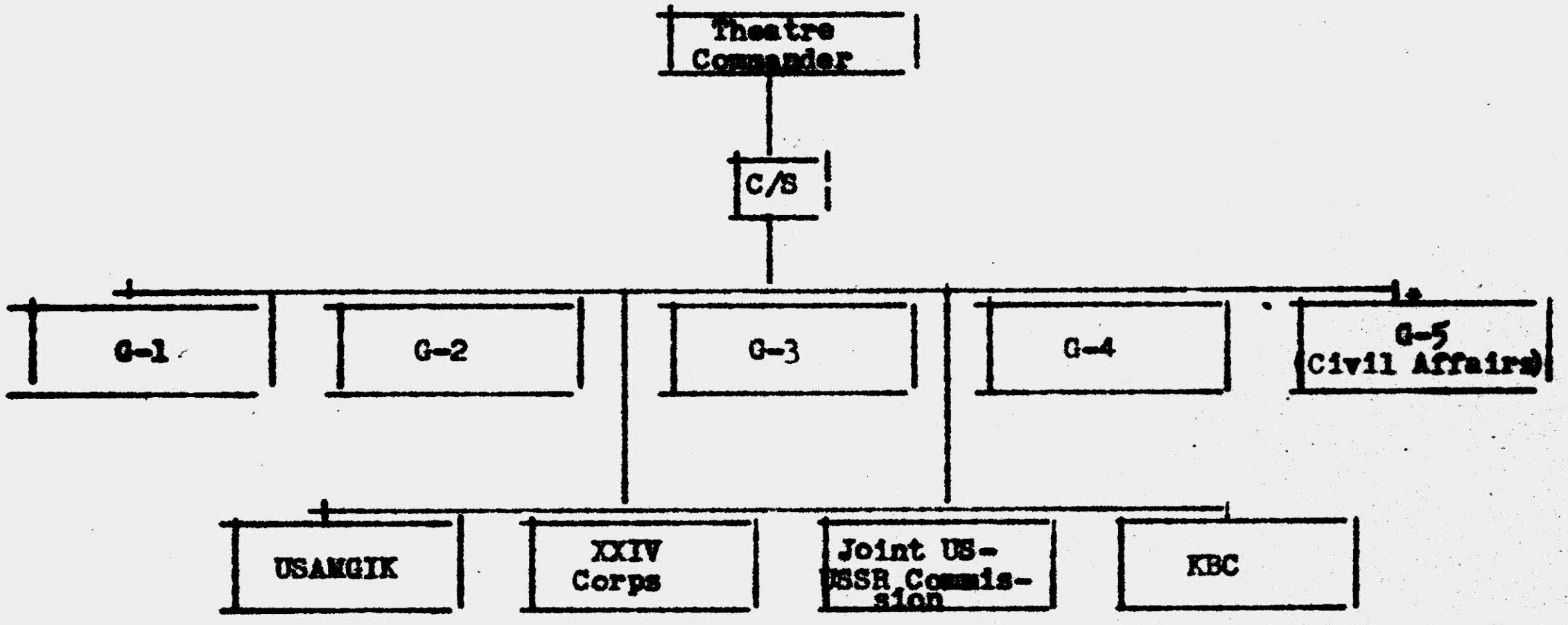

Inclosure 2

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Restricted

Col Lincoln

American Delegation
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea.

3 April 1947.

1. PROBLEM: To examine and recommend measures for insuring complete coordination and records on important developments and decisions, especially those with political implications.

2. ASSUMPTIONS:

a. That U. S. policy of "Koreanization" of Military Government is continued and accelerated.

b. That the U.S. - U.S.S.R. Joint Commission is re-opened within the near future.

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM AND DISCUSSION:

3. FM-101-5, paragraph 4, states, "The organization of the staff is based upon the duties of the Commander." (See Enclosure "1" for other pertinent extracts.)

a. The normal military situation divides the duties of the Commander into four principal functions (personnel, intelligence, operations and training, and supply and evacuation). The occupation of Korea has other important duties devolving upon the Commander pertaining to governmental, economic and political matters. There is no staff agency charged with these functions. The Commander is advised on matters pertaining to government and political matters by one or more of the following agencies, none of which is charged with clearly defined responsibilities on political matters. Each maintains files in varying degrees of completeness.

Military Government
Joint Commission
G-2
Political Adviser (Mr. Langdon)
Adviser (Dr. Bunce)
Adviser (Dr. M. M. Lee).

Restricted

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b. On important economic matters the Commander is advised by Military Government, G-4, Adviser (Dr. Bunce), and occasionally the Joint Commission.

4. In addition, other agencies such as G-4 and the Public Relations Office advise the Commander on matters which have indirect political implications. In some cases, the political, economic and governmental implications may not be recognized because of other primary interests and relative unfamiliarity with political matters.

5. HQ, XXIV Corps, is organized along the conventional lines of a corps staff with a few expedient modifications and additions in deference to the fact that this is a theater command as well as a tactical unit. Incomplete records may result from the fact that the assigned functions of the staff do not adequately encompass all responsibilities of the Commander.

6. As U. S. plans for the "Koreanization" of Military Government develop, U. S. personnel, except advisers, will withdraw from positions of direct authority. It, therefore, becomes increasingly advisable that the principal assistants of the Theater Commander be concentrated around him in staff and advisory capacities.

7. It is therefore apparent that the problem of insuring coordination and complete records on political, governmental and economic matters is first and primarily one of organization, or rather reorganization. Several degrees of reorganization are possible, varying from creation of small overall theater or GHQ staff to establishment of a specially created General Staff section.

8. Recommendation:

It is recommended that the following lines of action be taken to solve the problem in order of priority:

a. An overall theater staff to be organized. (For diagram, see Enclosure "2".)

b. An additional Deputy Chief of Staff, XXIV Corps, to be appointed to coordinate political, economic and governmental matters.

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g. That a Political, Economic and Government Section be created as a General Staff Section of HQ, XXIV Corps, which will have normal staff responsibilities and authority on political, economic and governmental matters of overall theater importance as defined in FM-101-5.*

* See Inclosure "1".

JOHN WECKERLING,
Brigadier General, U.S.A.

Enclosures:
"1"
"2"
"3"

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EXCERPTS FROM FM 101-5

Paragraph 2a
"The staff....assists the Commander in his exercise of command."

Paragraph 2
"b. The staff secures and furnishes such information as may be required by the commander, prepares the details of his plan, translates his decision and plan into orders, and causes such orders to be transmitted to the troops. It brings to the commander's attention matters which require his action or about which he should be informed, makes a continuous study of the situation, and prepares tentative plans for possible future contingencies for the consideration of the commander. Within the scope of its authority, it supervises the execution of plans and orders and takes such other action as is necessary to carry out the commander's intentions."

"c. The staff officer should have a thorough knowledge of the policies of his commander and should be acquainted with subordinate commanders and their units. A staff officer should be an active, well-informed assistant to the commander and a helpful adviser to subordinate commanders."

Paragraph 6a
"AUTHORITY--a. A staff officer as such has no authority to command. All policies, decisions, and plans whether originating with the commander or with the staff must be authorized by the commander before they are put into effect. When a staff officer by virtue of delegated authority issues an order in the name of the commander, responsibility remains with the commander even though he may not know of the order."

Paragraph 8a

"DUTIES--a. The ganeral statutory duties of the general staff with troops are to render professional aid and assistance to the general officers over them; to act as their agents in harmonizing the plans, duties , and operations of the various organizations and services under their jurisdiction; to prepare detailed instructions for the execution of the plans of the commanding general; and to supervise the execution of such instructions."

Paragraph 41
"STAFF RECORDS--a. A system of staff section records is essential in order to have information available for--
(1) Command decisions during operations.
(2) Higher headquarters
(3) Historical record (AR 345-105).
b. The refinement of the system of making and keeping unit or staff records will vary with the factors of available time, opportunity, and personnel."

Paragraph 42
"OFFICE OF RECORD--a. The office of record is that of the adjutant general or adjutant.
b. Staff sections temporarily retain copies of documents needed in their current work, returning them to the office of record when no longer needed."

ENCLOSURE "1"

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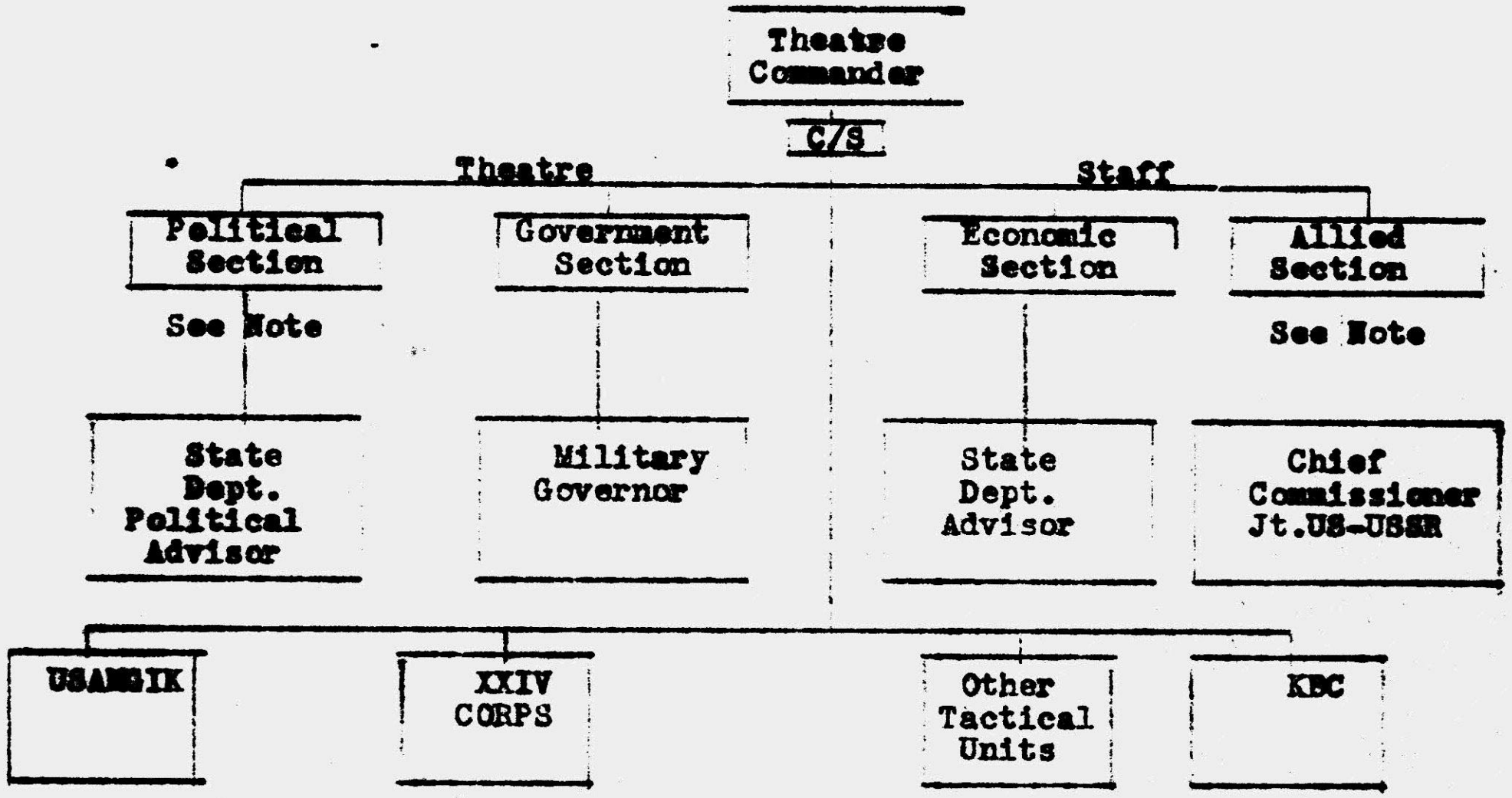

Note - If the reconvening of the Joint US-USSR Commission is not in prospect, the Allied and Political Sections may be combined.

Inclosure 2

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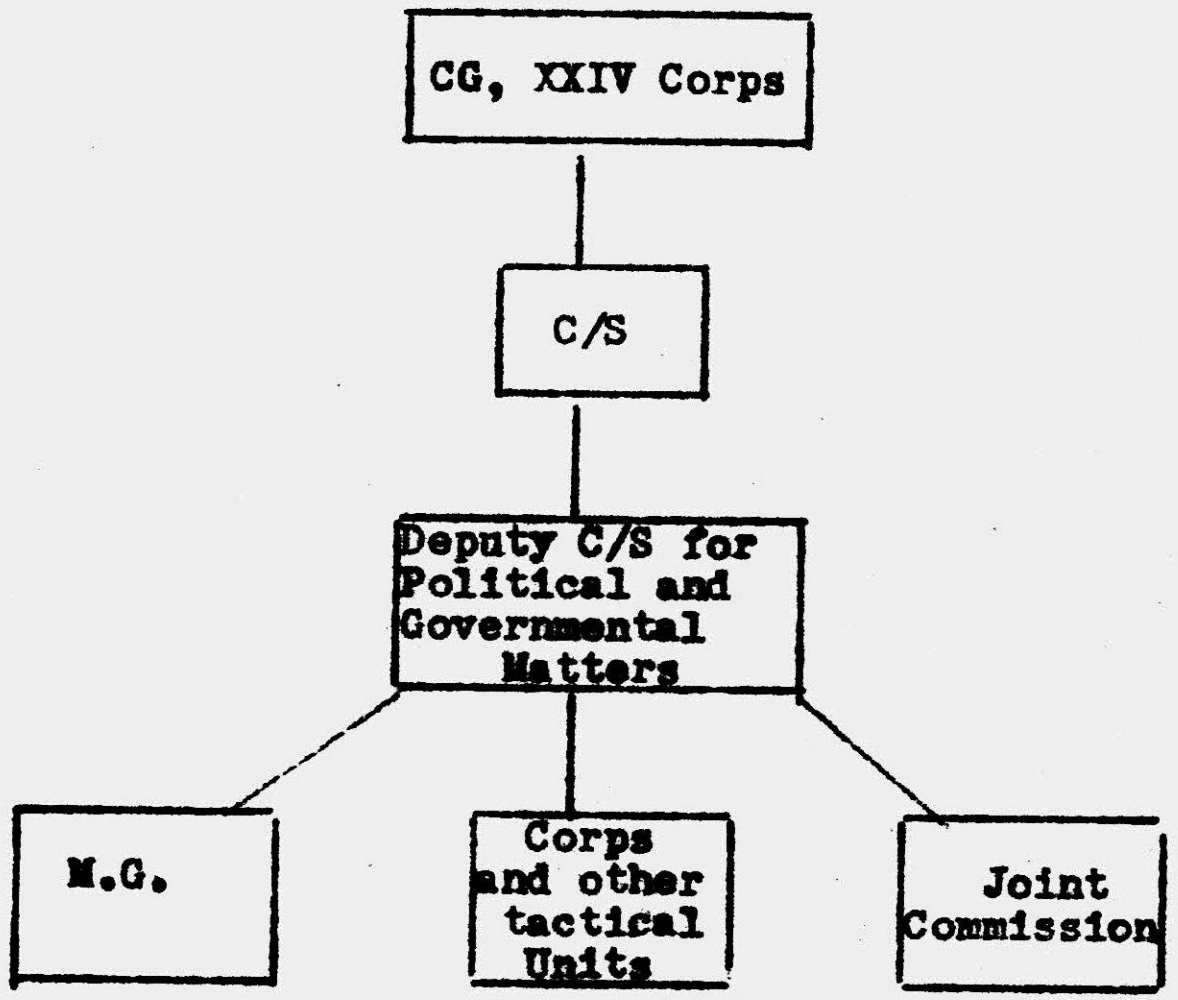

ENCLOSURE "3"

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TFURC 320.1
General Organizational Structure of the American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission.

1	28 Apr 1947	Jt. Comm.	C.G., USAFIK	1. Attached is a study prepared with the view to providing the American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission, with adequate advice and assistance. 2. Recommendations: Same as para. 11, Enclosure 1.

JOHN WECKERLING,
Brigadier General, U.S.A.,
Acting Chief Commissioner.

Enclosures:
I - General Organizational Structure,
II - Draft Directive.

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American Delegation
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea.

28 April 1947.

GENERAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION, US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION

THE PROBLEM

1. To recommend an effective organizational structure for the American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission, envisaging either early reopening or intensification of preparatory effort, or both.

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

2. The primary mission of the Joint Commission is the implementation of the Moscow Agreement.

3. This study has the following general objectives:

a. To utilize to the maximum extent possible the skills and experience of the entire command.

b. To effect coordination of effort among Hq. USAFIK, Military Government, and the American Delegation in matters of primary concern to the Joint Commission.

c. To provide flexibility of organization and to be capable of rapid augmentation.

d. To insure economy of personnel.

4. Headquarters XXIV Corps, Military Government and the Joint Commission have certain common responsibilities and activities, all of which bear upon the mission of the American Delegation.

DISCUSSION

5. The American Delegation has been relatively static since joint sessions were adjourned. The efficiency and organization has suffered to some extent because of lack of concentration on principal missions and the operation of personnel policies.

6. There is an immediate need for rejuvenation in order that development of plans may proceed looking to the eventual accomplishment of its primary mission. This may conceivably be on

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either a bilateral or a unilateral basis, and preparation should be made for either eventuality.

7. The organization proposed in this plan (Appendices A and B) envisages the maximum utilization of available talent within the command on an additional duty basis, minimizing the need for additional personnel.

8. The role of the Commissioners collectively is visualized as that of a directorate. Individually they may serve in other capacities such as members of subcommittees.

9. Composition of the three primary groups, together with an outline of their functions, is shown in Appendices "C", "D" and "E". The maximum use of ad hoc committees to perform specific studies is contemplated.

10. A suggested tentative panel for initial assignments to the Advisory Groups is included in proposed directive.

RECOMMENDATIONS

11. It is recommended that:

a. The proposed general organization as shown herein be approved as a guide.

b. That directive (Inclosure II) be signed by the Commanding General, USAFIK.

c. Information copies of this paper be distributed to commanders of major units and principal staff officers. (Joint Commission will have typed if approved.)

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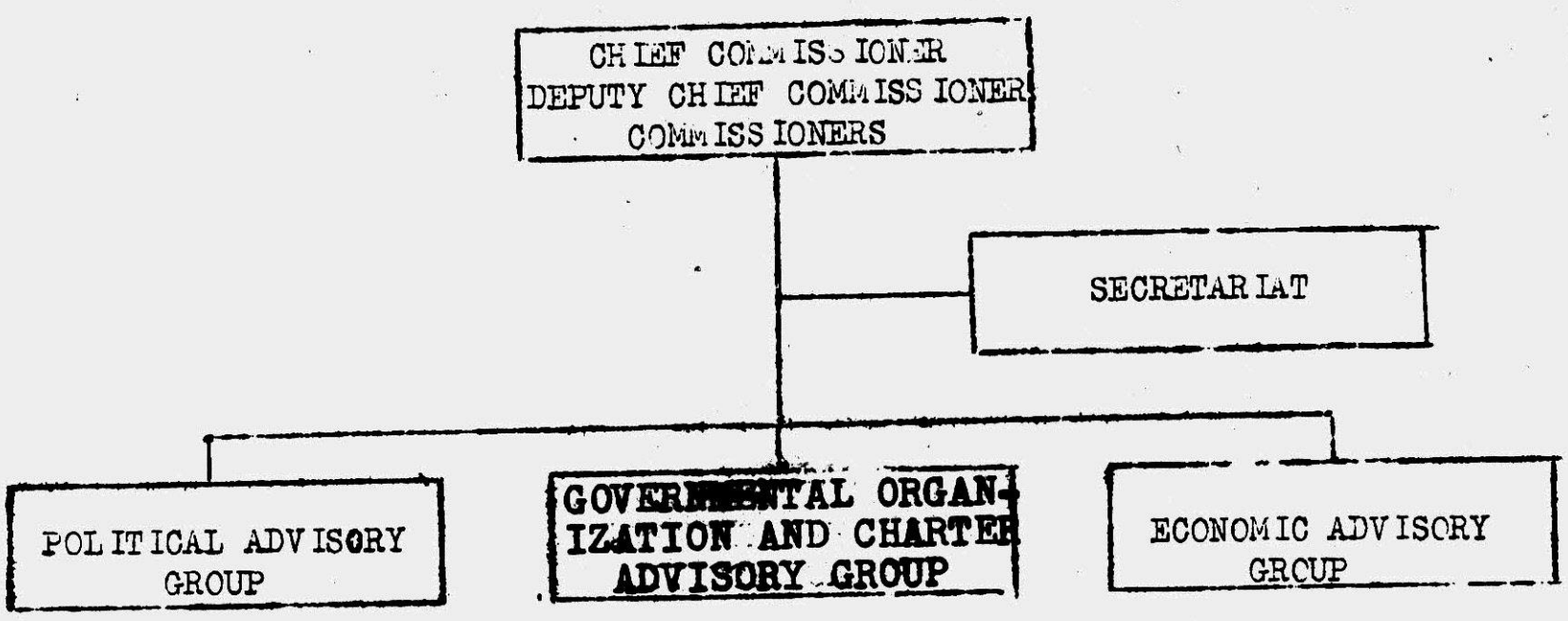
ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION



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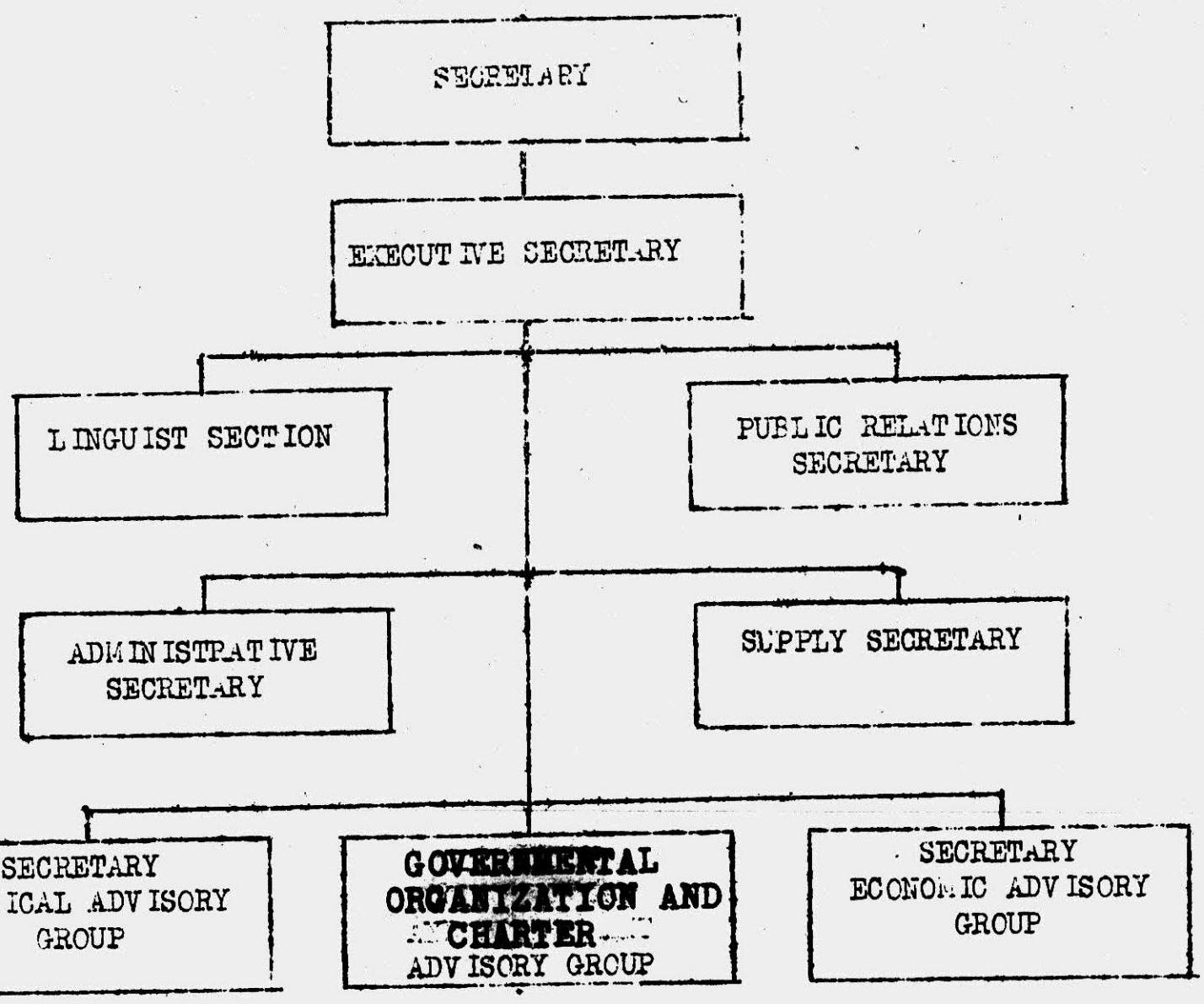
O R G A N I Z A T I O N O F S E C R E T A R I A T

AMERICAN DELEGATION, US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION

26 April 1947



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28 April 1947

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE POLITICAL ADVISORY GROUP

1. The Political Advisory Group is the agency of the American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission, responsible for essential preparatory planning and for advising the American Delegation on matters relating to the political aspects of the mission inherent in the Moscow Agreement.

2. The membership of the Group will consist of one qualified officer, preferably of field grade or above, or one qualified civilian of appropriate grade from each of the following:

a. Hq. USAFIK,

b. Hq. USAMGIK,

c. US - USSR Joint Commission.

3. Each member may designate a deputy to serve in his stead who will have plenary powers.

4. The Group shall establish its own rules of procedure.

5. The Group is authorized to appoint ad hoc committees composed of such personnel of the command as may be deemed necessary or desirable to effect its objectives.

6. The Group may consult with, or obtain information and assistance from, all agencies, military or civilian, in the command.

7. When the Group is unable to reach complete agreement, the matter will be referred to the Commissioners with a full statement of the circumstances.

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28 April 1947.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION AND CHARTER ADVISORY GROUP

1. The Governmental Organization and Charter Advisory Group is the agency of the American Delegation of the UK - USSR Joint Commission charged with responsibility for essential preparatory planning and for advising the American Delegation on matters relating to the governmental organization and charter aspects of the mission inherent in the Moscow Agreement. This Group is further charged with responsibility for all matters not within the cognizance of other Groups.

2. The membership of the Group will consist of one qualified officer, preferably of field grade or above, or one qualified civilian of appropriate grade, from each of the following:

a. Hq. USAFIK,

b. Hq. USAMGIK,

c. UK - USSR Joint Commission.

3. Each member may designate a deputy to serve in his stead who will have plenary powers.

4. The Group shall establish its own rules of procedure.

5. The Group is authorized to appoint ad hoc committees, composed of such personnel of the command as may be deemed necessary or desirable to effect its objectives.

6. The Group may consult with, or obtain information and assistance from all agencies, military or civilian, in the command.

7. When the Group is unable to reach complete agreement, the matter will be referred to the Commissioners with a full statement of the circumstances.

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28 April 1947.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ECONOMIC ADVISORY GROUP

1. The Economic Advisory Group is the agency of the American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission, charged with essential preparatory planning, and for advising the American Delegation with relation to the economic aspects of the mission inherent in the Moscow Agreement.

2. The membership of the Group shall consist of one qualified officer, preferably of field grade or above, or one qualified civilian of appropriate grade, from each of the following:

a. Hq. USAFIK,

b. Hq. USAMGIK,

c. US - USSR Joint Commission.

3. Each member may designate a deputy to serve in his stead who will have plenary powers.

4. The Group shall establish its own rules of procedure.

5. The Group is authorized to appoint ad hoc committees composed of such personnel of the command as may be deemed necessary or desirable to effect its objectives.

6. The Group may consult with, or obtain information and assistance from all agencies, military or civilian, in the command.

7. When the Group is unable to reach complete agreement, the matter will be referred to the Commissioners with a full statement of the circumstances.

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28 April 1947

DRAFT DIRECTIVE

SUBJECT: Advisory Groups to the American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission.

TO: Commanding General, USAMGIK,
Chief Commissioner, American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission,
Colonel E. A. Robinson, AC of S, G-2, USAFIK,
Colonel L. J. Kotrich, JA, USAFIK,
Colonel R. M. Shaw, AC of S, G-4, USAFIK.

1. In order to provide the American Delegation of the US - USSR Joint Commission with the most expert and experienced assistance in the accomplishment of its primary missions, the following named individuals are designated to serve on advisory groups to the American Delegation to assist that body as required:

Political Advisory Group

Mr. Clyde Sargent (Chairman), American Delegation,
Colonel E. A. Robinson, Headquarters USAFIK,
Dr. E. A. J. Johnson, Headquarters USAMGIK.

Governmental Organization and Charter Advisory Group

Dr. Charles Fergler, (Chairman), Headquarters USAMGIK,
Colonel L. J. Lincoln, American Delegation,
Colonel L. J. Kotrich, Headquarters USAFIK.

Economic Advisory Group

Dr. A. C. Bunce (Chairman), American Delegation,
Dr. J. Anderson, Headquarters USAMGIK,
Colonel Ronald M. Shaw, Headquarters USAFIK.

2. Charters for the above groups will be provided by the Chief Commissioner, American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission.

3. The Chief Commissioner, American Delegation, US - USSR Joint Commission, is authorized, after appropriate coordination,

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DRAFT DIRECTIVE - Cont'd.

to make such changes in the above assignments as may be desirable and to select replacements for vacancies which may occur from all personnel of this command.

JOHN R. HODGE
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army,
Commanding.

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

American Delegation
US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION
APO 235

20 October 1947

SUBJECT: Tables of Distribution for Overhead Allotments

TO : Commanding General
USAFIK, APO 235

The attached inclosures are forwarded in compliance with letter Hq USAFIK, TF Gap 320.3, subject as above, dtd 10 October 1947.

FOR THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER:

R. B. HOPKINS
CWO USA
Adm Secretary

12 Inclosures
T/D 301 - 1405

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NND 760090
By _____ NARS, Date _____

Joint Comm.

Secret

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
APO 235

10 Oct 1947

TFGAP 320.3

SUBJECT: Tables of Distribution for Overhead Allotments

TO: See Distribution

Reference: War Department Memorandum 310-60-2, 1947, and War Department Training Manual 20-410, 16 April 1947.

1. In order that Department of Army can be provided with organizational information for analytical budgetary studies it is essential that each command having overhead allotments prepare a Table of Distribution as indicated below:

a. The form of the Tables of Distribution will be similar to that of the organization section of Tables of Organization and Equipment (Section 10, Chapter 3, TM 20-410) except that War and Peace Columns and Cadre column will not be used; instead one strength column will be shown. The tables may be mimeographed and on legal size paper. The following numbers are assigned to the agencies indicated for the purpose of numbering Tables of Distribution:

XXIV Corps Ord Det	301-1400
Sp Trps, XXIV Corps	301-1401
USAFIK	301-1402
Amer Del, US-USSR Jt Comm	301-1403
Korea Base Command	301-1404
USAFIK Army Exch Sv Det	301-1405
Armed Forces Rad Sta #2	301-1406
Armed Forces Rad Sta #3	301-1407
1st Repl Depot OH Det	301-1408

b. Organizations will use figures as allocated by General Order No. 69, dtd 3 July 47, and General Order No. 84, dtd 17 Aug 47. All contemplated changes will be accounted for in revised tables which will be submitted when firm authorization figures are received.

WD Memo
310-60-2, 47

Secret AR+M 20-410
16 Apr. 47

11-10-194

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(Ltr, Hqrs USAFIK , ...O 235, dtd Oct 47, TFGAP 320.3, Subj: "Tables of Distribution for Overhead ...llotments", cont'd)

2. Tables of Distribution will be prepared in accordance with above references as amended herein. Twelve (12) copies of Tables of Distribution must reach this Headquarters by 20 October 1947.

BY COM...ND OF LIEUTEN...T GEN...L HODGE:

J. W. FR...SER
Colonel, ...GD
...djutant General

DISTRIBUTION:
G-1, XXIV Corps
G-3, XXIV Corps
Sp Trps, XXIV Corps
US...GIK
...nor Dol, US-USSR Jt Comm
Korea Base Command
US...FIK ...S Det
TI & E Section
1st Repl Depot

RECEIVED
AMER...N DELEGATION, USSJC
DATE 6 Oct TIME 0/0

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TABLE OF DISTRIBUTION 20 October 1947

No: 301-1403

TABLE OF DISTRIBUTION
Designation: American Delegation
US - USSR Joint Commission

1	UNIT	SSN	Technician Grades	Total Detachment	Commissioners	U.S. Secretariat	REMARKS
2	Colonels or Generals			3			
3	US Delegates	0002		(3)	(3[a])		a. One auth detailed in GSC.
4	Lieut Colonels			2			
5	US Secretary	2115		(1)		(1)	
6	Chief Translator & Interpreter	9330		(1)		(1)	
7	Majors			2			
8	PIO	5401		(1)		(1)	
9	Translater	9330		(1)		(1)	
10	Captains			5			
11	Interpreters	9330		(2)		(2)	
12	Supply Officer	4000		(1)		(1)	
13	Translators	9330		(2)		(2)	
14	TOTAL COMMISSIONED			13	(3)	(9)	
15	Warrant Officers			1			
	Adm-Clerk General Clsn 1			(1)		(1)	
16	Master Sergeants			1			
19	Sergeant Major	502		(1)		(1)	
20	Technician 3rd Grade			1)			
21	Technician 4th Grade			8)		13	
22	Technician 5th Grade			2)			
23	Privates & Privates first Cl			2)			
	Message Center	674	4	(1)		(1)	
24	Mimeograph Operator	055	5	(1)		(1)	
25	File Clerk	055	5	(1)		(1)	
26	Interpreter (Russian)	320	4	(2)		(2)	
27	Clerk-Typist	405	4	(3)		(3)	
28	Administrative NCO	502	5	(1)		(1)	
29	Messenger	521	6	(2)		(2)	
30	Supply	821	4	(2)		(2)	
31	TOTAL ENLISTED MEN			14		14	
32	TOTAL OFFICERS			12	(3)	(9)	
33	TOTAL WARRANT OFFICERS			1		(1)	
34	AGGREGATE			27	(3)	(24)	

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American Delegation
US-USSR Joint Commission
APO 235

MISSION

Fulfillment of the Moscow Decision and establishment of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government. The American Delegation probably will be called upon to assist the United Nations Commission, due to arrive in Korea in the near future, to conduct supervised elections.

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FORM A

AMERICAN DELEGATION

US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION

American Delegation US-USSR Joint Commission	Manning Table Strength					Accomplished by deleting from T/D 301-403	Manning Level Totals 1 July 1948	
	OFFICERS	NURSES	W.O.	E.M.	AGGREG.		No.	Strength
	12	--	1	14	27	None	1	27

USSR - Constitution

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THE CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR

Chapter I. The Organization of Society

ARTICLE 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

ARTICLE 2. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which grew and attained strength as a result of the overthrow of the landlords and capitalists and the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitute the political foundation of the USSR.

ARTICLE 3. In the USSR all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

ARTICLE 4. The socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production firmly established as a result of the abolition of the capitalist system of economy, the abrogation of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, constitute the economic foundation of the USSR.

ARTICLE 5. Socialist property in the USSR exists either in the form of state property (the possession of the whole people), or in the form of cooperative and collective-farm property (property of a collective farm or property of a cooperative association).

ARTICLE 6. The land, its natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, post, telegraph and telephones, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like) as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of the dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.

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ARTICLE 7. Public enterprises in collective farms and cooperative organizations, with their livestock and implements, the products of the collective farms and cooperative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the collective farms and cooperative organizations.

In addition to its basic income from the public, collective-farm enterprise, every household in a collective farm has for its personal use a small plot of land attached to the dwelling and, as its personal property, a subsidiary establishment on the plot, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements -- in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel.

ARTICLE 8. The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity.

ARTICLE 9. Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the predominant form of economy in the USSR, the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others.

ARTICLE 10. The right of citizens to personal ownership of their incomes from work and of their savings, of their dwelling houses and subsidiary household economy, their household furniture and utensils and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law.

ARTICLE 11. The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the state national economic plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material conditions of the working people and raising their cultural level, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

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ARTICLE 12. In the USSR work is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the USSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The Organization of The State

ARTICLE 13. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal state, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of Soviet Socialist Republics having equal rights, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic

The Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic

The Kazak Soviet Socialist Republic

The Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic

The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 14. The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its highest organs of state authority and organs of government, covers:

a) Representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other states, and the establishment of the general character of the relations between the Union Republics and foreign states;

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b) Questions of war and peace;

c) Admission of new republics into the USSR;

d) Control over the observance of the Constitution of the USSR and ensuring conformity of the Constitutions of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the USSR.

e) Confirmation of alterations of boundaries between Union Republics;

f) Confirmation of the formation of new Territories and Regions and also of new Autonomous Republics within Union Republics;

g) Organization of the defense of the USSR and direction of all the armed forces of the USSR; the establishment of the guiding principles of the organization of the military formations of the Union Republics;

h) Foreign trade on the basis of state monopoly;

i) Safeguarding the security of the state;

j) Establishment of the national economic plans of the USSR;

k) Approval of the single state budget of the USSR as well as of the taxes and revenues which go to the all-Union, Republican and local budgets;

l) Administration of the banks, industrial and agricultural establishments and enterprises and trading enterprises of all-Union importance;

m) Administration of transport and communications;

n) Direction of the monetary and credit system;

o) Organization of state insurance;

p) Raising and granting of loans;

q) Establishment of the basic principles for the use of land as well as for the use of natural deposits, forests and waters;

r) Establishment of the basic principles in the spheres of education and public health;

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s) Organization of a uniform system of national economic statistics;

t) Establishment of the principles of labor legislation;

u) Legislation on the judicial system and judiicial procedure; criminal and civil codes;

v) Laws on citizenship of the Union; laws on the rights of foreigners;

w) Issuing of all-Union acts of amnesty.

ARTICLE 15. The sovereignty of the Union Republics is limited only within the provisions set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR. Outside of these provisions, each Union Republic exercises state authority independently. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 16. Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, which takes account of the specific features of the Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the USSR.

ARTICLE 17. To every Union Republic is reserved the right freely to secede from the USSR.

ARTICLE 18. The territory of a Union Republic may not be altered without its consent.

(a) Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

(b) Each Union Republic has its republican military formation.

ARTICLE 19. The laws of the USSR have the same force within the territory of every Union Republic.

ARTICLE 20. In the event of a discrepancy between a law of a Union Republic and an all-Union law, the all-Union law prevails.

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ARTICLE 21. A single Union citizenship is established for all citizens of the USSR. Every citizen of a Union Republic is a citizen of the USSR.

ARTICLE 22. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoyarsk, Ordjonikidze, Maritime and Khabarovsk Territories; the Archangel, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kalinin, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kursk, Leningrad, Molotov, Moscow, Murmansk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orel, Penza, Rostov, Ryazan, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tula, Chelyabinsk, Chita, Chkalov, Yaroslavl, Ulianov, Kemerevo and Kurgan Regions, the Tatar, Bashkir, Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabardino-Balkarian, Kalmyk, Komi, Crimean, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Checheno-Ingush, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Karachai, Oirot, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

ARTICLE 23. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Vinnitsa, Volynsk, Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Drogobych, Zhitomir, Zaporozhe, Izmail, Kamenets-Podolsk, Kiev, Kirovograd, Lvov, Nikolaev, Odessa, Poltava, Rovno, Stalino, Stanislav, Sumy, Tarnopol, Kharkov, Chernigov and Chernovitsy Regions.

ARTICLE 24. The Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 25. The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Adjar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 26. The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Ferghana, and Khorezm Regions, and the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

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ARTICLE 27. The Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Garm, Kuliab, Leninabad and Stalinabad Regions, and the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 28. The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Akmolinsk, Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, East Kazakhstan, Guryev, Djambul, West Kazakhstan, Karaganda, Kzyl-Orda, Kustanai, Pavloder, North Kazakhstan, Semipalatinsk, and South Kazakhstan Regions.

ARTICLE 29. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Baranovichi, Byelostok, Brest, Vileika, Vitebsk, Gomel, Minsk, Moghilev, Pinsk and Polessye Regions.

ARTICLE 29-A. The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Ashkhabad, Krasnovodsk, Mari, Tashauz and Chardzhou Regions.

ARTICLE 29-B. The Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Dzhalal-Abad, Issyk-Kul, Osh, Tian-Shan and Frunze Regions.

Chapter III. The Highest Organs of State Authority of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ARTICLE 30. The highest organ of state authority of the USSR is the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

ARTICLE 31. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR exercises all rights vested in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution, in so far as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the USSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the People's Commissariats of the USSR.

ARTICLE 32. The legislative power of the USSR is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

ARTICLE 33. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR consists of two Chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

ARTICLE 34. The Soviet of the Union is elected by the citizens of the USSR according to electoral areas on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 of the population.

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ARTICLE 35. The Soviet of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the USSR according to Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and national areas on the basis of twenty-five deputies from each Union Republic, eleven deputies from each Autonomous Republic, five deputies from each Autonomous Region and one deputy from each national area.

ARTICLE 36. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is elected for a term of four years.

ARTICLE 37. Both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, have equal rights.

ARTICLE 38. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have an equal right to initiate legislation.

ARTICLE 39. A law is considered adopted if passed by both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by a simple majority vote in each.

ARTICLE 40. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are published in the languages of the Union Republics over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

ARTICLE 41. Sessions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities begin and terminate simultaneously.

ARTICLE 42. The Soviet of the Union elects a Chairman of the Soviet of the Union and two Vice-Chairmen.

ARTICLE 43. The Soviet of Nationalities elects a Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities and two Vice-Chairmen.

ARTICLE 44. The Chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities preside over the sittings of the respective Chambers and direct the procedure of these bodies.

ARTICLE 45. Joint sittings of both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are presided over alternately by the Chairman of the Soviet of the Union and the Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

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ARTICLE 46. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR twice a year.

Special sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at its discretion or on the demand of one of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 47. In the event of disagreement between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the question is referred for settlement to a conciliation commission formed on a parity basis. If the conciliation commission fails to arrive at an agreement, or if its decision fails to satisfy one of the Chambers, the question is considered for a second time by the Chambers. Failing agreement between the two Chambers, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dissolves the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and orders new elections.

ARTICLE 48. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR at a joint sitting of both Chambers elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, sixteen Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and twenty-four members of the Presidium.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for all its activities.

ARTICLE 49. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;

b) Interprets laws of the USSR in operation, issues decrees;

c) Dissolves the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in conformity with Article 47 of the Constitution of the USSR and orders new elections;

d) Conducts referendums on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union Republics;

e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics in case they do not conform to law;

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f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, relieves of their posts and appoints People's Commissars of the USSR on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;

g) Awards decorations and confers titles of honor of the USSR;

h) Exercises the right of pardon;

i) Appoints and removes the higher commands of the armed forces of the USSR;

j) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, proclaims a state of war in the event of armed attack on the USSR, or whenever necessary to fulfill international treaty obligations concerning mutual defense against aggression;

k) Orders general or partial mobilization;

l) Ratifies international treaties;

m) Appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the USSR to foreign states;

n) Receives the credentials and letters of recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states;

o) Proclaims martial law in separate localities or throughout the USSR in the interests of the defense of the USSR or for the purpose of ensuring public order and state security.

ARTICLE 50. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities elect Credentials Commissions which verify the credentials of the members of the respective Chambers.

On the recommendation of the Credentials Commissions, the Chambers decide either to endorse the credentials or to annul the election of the deputies concerned.

ARTICLE 51. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of inquiry and investigation on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and public servants to comply with the demands of these commissions and to submit to them the necessary materials and documents.

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ARTICLE 52. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and during the period when the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

ARTICLE 53. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or after the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet prior to the expiration of its term of office, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR retains its powers until the formation of a new Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

ARTICLE 54. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or in the event of its dissolution prior to the expiration of its term of office, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office or dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

ARTICLE 55. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR is convened by the out-going Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR not later than one month after the elections.

ARTICLE 56. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR at a joint sitting of both Chambers, appoints the Government of the USSR, namely, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.

Chapter IV. The Highest Organs of State Authority of the Union Republics

ARTICLE 57. The highest organ of state authority of a Union Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 58. The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years.

The basis of representation is established by the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 59. The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Republic.

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ARTICLE 60. The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic:

a) Adopts the Constitution of the Republic and amends it in conformity with Article 16 of the Constitution of the USSR;

b) Confirms the Constitutions of the Autonomous Republics forming part of it and defines the boundaries of their territories;

c) Approves the national economic plan and also the budget of the Republic;

d) Exercises the right of amnesty and pardon of citizens sentenced by the judicial organs of the Union Republic;

e) Establishes the representation of the Union Republics in international relations;

f) Establishes the method of the creation of military formations of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 61. The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic, consisting of a Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic, Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary of the Presidium and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

The powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic are defined by the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 62. The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic elects a Chairman and Vice-Chairmen to conduct its sittings.

ARTICLE 63. The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic appoints the Government of the Union Republic, namely, the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

Chapter V. The Organs of Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ARTICLE 64. The highest executive and administrative organ of state authority of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.

ARTICLE 65. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR is responsible to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and accountable to it; and in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet

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it is responsible and accountable to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

ARTICLE 66. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation, and supervises their execution.

ARTICLE 67. Decisions and Orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR are binding throughout the territory of the USSR.

ARTICLE 68. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the All-Union and Union-Republican People's Commissariats of the USSR and of other institutions, economic and cultural, under its administration;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national economic plan and the state budget, and to strengthen the credit and monetary system;

c) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

d) Exercises general guidance in respect of relations with foreign states;

e) Fixes the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for military service and directs the general organization and development of the armed forces of the country;

f) Sets up, whenever necessary, special committees and Central Administrations under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR for matters concerning economic, cultural and defense organization and development.

ARTICLE 69. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR has the right, in respect of those branches of administration and economy which come within the jurisdiction of the USSR, to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics and to annul orders and instructions of People's Commissars of the USSR.

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ARTICLE 70. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR;

The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR;

The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the USSR;

The People's Commissars of the USSR;

The Chairman of the Committee on Arts;

The Chairman of the Committee on Higher Education;

The Chairman of the Board of the State Bank.

ARTICLE 71. The Government of the USSR or a People's Commissar of the USSR to whom a question of a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is addressed must give a verbal or written reply in the respective Chamber within a period not exceeding three days.

ARTICLE 72. The People's Commissars of the USSR direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the USSR.

ARTICLE 73. The People's Commissars of the USSR issue, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the respective People's Commissariats, orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation, and also of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, and supervise their execution.

ARTICLE 74. The People's Commissariats of the USSR are either All-Union or Union-Republican Commissariats.

ARTICLE 75. The All-Union People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them throughout the territory of the USSR either directly or through bodies appointed by them.

ARTICLE 76. The Union-Republican People's Commissariats, as a rule, direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them through the corresponding People's Commissariats of the Union Republics; they administer directly only a definite and limited

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number of enterprises according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

ARTICLE 77. The following People's Commissariats are All-Union People's Commissariats:

Foreign Trade, Railways, Post and Telegraph and Telephones, Maritime Transport, River Transport, Coal Industry, Oil Industry, Power Stations, Electrical Industry, Iron and Steel Industry, Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, Chemical Industry, Aviation Industry, Ship-building Industry, Munitions, Armaments, Heavy Machine-Building, Tank Industry, Mortar Armament, Navy, Agricultural Procurement, Construction, Paper and Cellulose Industry, Machine-Tool Industry and Rubber Industry.

ARTICLE 78. The following People's Commissariats are Union-Republican People's Commissariats:

Defense, Foreign Affairs, Food Industry, Fish Industry, Meat and Dairy Industry, Light Industry, Textile Industry, Timber Industry, Agriculture, State Grain and Livestock Farms, Finance, Trade, Internal Affairs, Justice, Public Health, Building Materials Industry, State Control.

Chapter VI. The Organs of Government of the Union Republics

ARTICLE 79. The highest executive and administrative organ of state authority of a Union Republic is the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 80. The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic is responsible to the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic and accountable to it; and in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic it is responsible and accountable to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the respective Union Republic.

ARTICLE 81. The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and of the Union Republic, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, and supervises their execution.

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ARTICLE 82. The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic has the right to suspend decisions and orders of Councils of People's Commissars of Autonomous Republics, and to annul decisions and orders of Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories, Regions and Autonomous Regions.

ARTICLE 83. The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic;

The Vice-Chairmen;

The Chairman of the State Planning Commission;

The People's Commissars of:

Defense, Foreign Affairs, Food Industry, Fish Industry, Meat and Dairy Industry, Light Industry, Textile Industry, Timber Industry, Building Materials Industry, Agriculture, State Grain and Livestock Farms, Finance, Trade, Internal Affairs, Justice, Public Health, State Control, Education, Local Industry, Municipal Economy, Social Maintenance, Automobile Transport, The Chief of the Arts Administration, The Representatives of the All-Union People's Commissariats.

ARTICLE 84. The People's Commissars of a Union Republic direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 85. The People's Commissars of a Union Republic issue, within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective People's Commissariats, orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR and of the Union Republic, of the decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and that of the Union Republic, and of the orders and instructions of the Union Republican People's Commissariats of the USSR.

ARTICLE 86. The People's Commissariats of a Union Republic are either Union-Republican or Republican Commissariats.

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ARTICLE 87. The Union-Republican People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them, and are subordinate both to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic and to the corresponding Union-Republican People's Commissariats of the USSR.

ARTICLE 88. The Republican People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them and are directly subordinate to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

Chapter VII. The Highest Organs of State Authority of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics

ARTICLE 89. The highest organ of state authority of an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the respective Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 90. The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years on the basis of representation established by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

ARTICLE 91. The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 92. Each Autonomous Republic has its own Constitution, which takes account of the specific features of the Autonomous Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 93. The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic and appoints the Council of People's Commissars of the Autonomous Republic, in accordance with its Constitution.

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Chapter VIII. The Local Organs of State Authority

ARTICLE 94. The organs of state authority in territories, regions, autonomous regions, areas, districts, cities and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets, kishlaks, auls) are the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

ARTICLE 95. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, autonomous regions, areas, districts, cities and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets, kishlaks, auls) are elected by the working people of the respective territories, regions, autonomous regions, areas, districts, cities or rural localities for a term of two years.

ARTICLE 96. The basis of representation for Soviets of Working People's Deputies is defined by the Constitutions of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 97. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies direct the work of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens, direct local economic and cultural organization and development and draw up the local budgets.

ARTICLE 98. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the USSR and of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 99. The executive and administrative organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, autonomous regions, areas, districts, cities and rural localities are the Executive Committees elected by them, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary and members.

ARTICLE 100. The executive and administrative organ of rural Soviets of Working People's Deputies in small localities, in accordance with the Constitutions of the Union Republics, is the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, and the Secretary elected by them.

ARTICLE 101. The executive organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which elected them and to the Executive

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organ of the superior Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Chapter IX. The Courts and the Procurator's Office

ARTICLE 102. In the USSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the USSR, the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics, the Territorial and the Regional courts, the courts of the Autonomous Republics and the Autonomous Regions, the Area courts, the special courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the People's Courts.

ARTICLE 103. In all courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

ARTICLE 104. The Supreme Court of the USSR is the highest judicial organ. The Supreme Court of the USSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the USSR and of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 105. The Supreme Court of the USSR and the special courts of the USSR are elected by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 106. The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 107. The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 108. The Territorial and the Regional courts, the courts of the Autonomous Regions and the Area courts are elected by the Territorial, Regional or Area Soviets of Working People's Deputies or by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Regions for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 109. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

ARTICLE 110. Judicial proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union Republic, Autonomous Republic or Autonomous Region, persons not knowing this language being guaranteed every

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opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

ARTICLE 111. In all courts of the USSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to be defended by Counsel.

ARTICLE 112. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

ARTICLE 113. Supreme supervisory power over the strict execution of the laws by all People's Commissariats and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by public servants and citizens of the USSR, is vested in the Procurator of the USSR.

ARTICLE 114. The Procurator of the USSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for a term of seven years.

ARTICLE 115. Procurators of Republics, Territories and Regions, as well as Procurators of Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions, are appointed by the Procurator of the USSR for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 116. Area, district and city procurators are appointed for a term of five years by the Procurators of the Union Republics, subject to the approval of the Procurator of the USSR.

ARTICLE 117. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator of the USSR.

Chapter X. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

ARTICLE 118. Citizens of the USSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment.

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ARTICLE 119. Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest and leisure.

The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, the institution of annual vacations with full pay for workers and employees and the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

ARTICLE 120. Citizens of the USSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of workers and employees at state expense, free medical service for the working people and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

ARTICLE 121. Citizens of the USSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal, compulsory elementary education; by education, including higher education, being free of charge; by the system of state stipends for the overwhelming majority of students in the universities and colleges; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

ARTICLE 122. Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, pre-maternity and maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

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ARTICLE 123. Equality of rights of citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

ARTICLE 124. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the USSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

ARTICLE 125. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law:

a) freedom of speech;

b) freedom of the press;

c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;

d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

ARTICLE 126. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the USSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations--trade unions, cooperative associations, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically most conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working

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people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.

ARTICLE 127. Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

ARTICLE 128. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

ARTICLE 129. The USSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.

ARTICLE 130. It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to abide by the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to observe the laws, to maintain labor discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

ARTICLE 131. It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to safeguard and strengthen public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperous and cultured life of all the working people.

Persons committing offenses against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

ARTICLE 132. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is an honorable duty of the citizens of the USSR.

ARTICLE 133. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Treason to the country--violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage--is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

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Chapter XI. The Electoral System

ARTICLE 134. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies--of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Territories and Regions, the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics, and Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, area, district, city and rural (stanitsa, village, hamlet, kishlak, aul) Soviets of Working People's Deputies--are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot.

ARTICLE 135. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the USSR who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, religion, educational and residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

ARTICLE 136. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

ARTICLE 137. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

ARTICLE 138. Citizens serving in the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

ARTICLE 139. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from rural and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

ARTICLE 140. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

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ARTICLE 141. Candidates for election are nominated according to electoral areas.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

ARTICLE 142. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time in the manner established by law upon decision of a majority of the electors.

Chapter XII. Arms, Flag, Capital

ARTICLE 143. The arms of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consist of a sickle and hammer against a globe depicted in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain with the inscription "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" in the languages of the Union Republics. At the top of the arms is a five-pointed star.

ARTICLE 144. The state flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is of red cloth with the sickle and hammer depicted in gold in the upper corner near the staff and above them a five-pointed red star bordered in gold. The ratio of the width to the length is 1:2.

ARTICLE 145. The capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the City of Moscow.

Chapter XIII. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

ARTICLE 146. The Constitution of the USSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes cast in each of its Chambers.

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COMPARISON OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT CHARTER OF THE PKDG AND OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

Draft Constitution Art.	Corresponding articles in Soviet Constitution Chapter X, Fundamental rights and duties of citizens.
1. Rights of the people.	(118) Right to work (119) Right to rest (120) Social security (121) Right to education (122) Equal rights to sexes (123) Equal rights of races (124) Freedom of religion and of anti-religious propaganda (125) Guarantee, "subject to the interests of the toilers", of Freedoms of (a) word (b) press (c) meetings and assembly (d) street processions and demonstrations (126) Guarantee of right to belong to organizations. (127) Inviolability of person (128) Inviolability of home and correspondence (129) Right of asylum (130) Duty to obey laws and constitution (131) Duty to strengthen Soviet regions (132) Duty to discharge universal military service (133) Duty to defend one's country
2. Limitations on Government Power	--As implicit in above I(10) Right to private property IX(117) Independent procurature to guard fulfillment of law
3. The Executive Organ	Ch. V(64)--The supreme executive and administrative organ is the Council of People's Commissars, (65) responsible to the Supreme Soviet; (66) It issues regulations to implement laws (67) These regulations are compulsory (68) It coordinates the work of the local commissariats; puts into effect the economic plan, state budget, etc.; assures public order and defense of the rights of citizens; exercises general guidance in the conduct of foreign relations; determines the number of citizens to be drafted; forms special committees when necessary; (69) has the right to rescind decisions of individual commissariats and local organs; (70) is formed by the Supreme Soviet; includes Chairman, vice chairman, chairman of State Planning Commission, Chairman of the Central Commission, the Commissars /Ministers/, Chairmen of Fine Arts Commission, of the Higher Education Commission, and of the Board of the State Bank, (71) The government of the individual commissar must in 3 days time submit answers to questions by deputies (77) The list of the commissariats as given: Defense, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, Transportation, Communications, Merchant Marine, River Marine, 14 industrial C (coal, oil, electric stations, electric industry, Ferrous metalurgy, Non-ferrous metalurgy, material building, etc.); Navy; Compulsory deliveries of produce; Building industry; paper and pulp industry /the list is currently still larger/ (NB, no provision on tenure, oath of office, etc.)
4. The Legislative Organ.	Ch. III (30) The Supreme Soviet is the highest organ of governmental authority (31) It implements all rights vested in the USSR by the Constitution, excepting those delegated by the Constitution to

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the lower bodies (32) Is the sole legislative body for the Union (33) Consists of two chambers /Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities/; (34) which are elected on the basis of population, 1 deputy per 300,000, C. of U.; (35) fixed number from the various classes of autonomous republics (36) for a 4 year period (37) both chambers having equal rights (38) and equal legislative initiative (39) Simple majority of both Chambers being necessary to approve a law (41) sessions of 2 Chambers occuring simultaneously (42/44) Provision for one chairman and 2 chairmen in each Chamber (45) Chairmanship of joint meetings rotates (46) Biennial regular sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (47) In the case of differences between Chambers, question is submitted to a Commission of conciliation; if no decision or unacceptable solution is reached the Supreme Soviet falls and new elections take place (48) the interim body is the Presidium, elected at a joint session of both Chambers, and consisting of Chairman, 16 vice-chairmen, secretary and 24 members. The Presidium is subordinated to the Supreme Soviet in all its activities (49) and has the following functions (a) to convene the sessions of the Supreme Soviet, (b) to interpret the laws, (c) to designate new elections, (d) to conduct referendum, (e) to rescind the regulations issued by the executive body, (f) appoints and dismisses Commissars (in interim), (g) awards decorations, (h) has the right of pardon, (i) appoints and dismisses the Supreme Command of the armed forces, (k) declares war (if USSR is attacked during interim between sesssions) (l) declares full and partial mobilization (m) ratifies international treaties, (m) appoints, recalls and (o)accredits diplomatic representatives, (p) delcares martial law when needed (52) Immunity of deputies (55) Newly elected Supreme Soviet convened not later than 1 month after the elections (56) Appoints at a joint meeting the Covernment of the USSR--the Council of People's Commissars.

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U.S.S.R.
UNION LEVEL

PARTY CONGRESS
(Annual)
Interim Body is the Politbureau, J. ~~Stalin, Sec'y~~

Executive & Legislative Body of the Party.

Members at each level elected by next lower level

SUPREME SOVIET
(Biennial)
(Praesidium is its Iterim Body, it appoints)

COUNCIL OF THE UNION	COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES*	COUNCIL OF MINISTERS	CHIEF PROCURATOR
(One deputy for each 300,000 population)	(Represents ethnic groups; has deputies from republics, oblasts, districts)	(Includes Ministry of Justice. Another is the Minister of Internal Affairs (MVD) which appoints the MVD organ attached to each exec. organization at each level down to the county.)	(Appointed for 7 years. Supervises the enforcement of laws and the activities of administrative agencies; ratifies appointment of all procurators at each level.)

(Both chambers must approve laws; in a conflict, if an appointed commission cannot obtain agreement, new elections will be called.)
Any Soviet can annul or defer execution of laws of lesser Soviets.)

UNION REPUBLIC LEVEL

Party Congress and Bureau — Soviet or Council (Unicameral)* (Only Union Republics have right to tax, have own armed force, send foreign reps.) — MVD — PROC

AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC LEVEL

Party Congress (Bureau) — Soviet or Council* — MVD — PROC

PROVINCE OR OBLAST LEVEL

Party Congress (Bureau) — Soviet or Council* — MVD — PROC

NATIONAL MINORITY DISTRICT LEVEL

Party Congress (Bureau) — Soviet or Council* — MVD — PROC

COUNTRY OR CITY LEVEL

Party Congress (Bureau) — Soviet or Council (Raikom)* — MVD — PROC

RURAL TOWNSHIP OR WORKERS' SETTLEMENT

Township Cell — Executive Committee*

WORKERS

Communist Cells
(Four or more party members; may include members of Communist Youth-Komsomol.)

Electorate
(Nominations must be approved by the Party or other specifically authorized organizations. (unions) No choice between candidates, but if sufficient voters scratch off a name the candidate may not be given the office.)

* Each Soviet appoints the administrative officers at its level; in practice, there is close relationship between the personnel of the Communist Party bureau and of the administrative personnel at a given level, particularly at the Politbureau-Supreme Soviet leve.

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U.S.S.R.
UNION LEVEL

PARTY CONGRESS
(Annual)
Interim Body is the Politbureau, J. Stalin, Sec'y

Executive & Legislative Body of the Party.

Members at each level elected by next lower level

SUPREME SOVIET
(Biennial)
(Praesidium is its Iterim Body, it appoints)

COUNCIL OF THE UNION
(One deputy for each 300,000 population)

COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES*
(Represents ethnic groups; has deputies from republics, oblasts, districts)

(Both chambers must approve laws; in a conflict, if an appointed commission cannot obtain agreement, new elections will be called.) Any Soviet can annul or defer execution of laws of lesser Soviets.)

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
(Includes Ministry of Justice. Another is the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) which appoints the MVD organ attached to each exec. organization at each level down to the county.)

CHIEF PROCURATOR
(Appointed for 7 years. Supervises the enforcement of laws and the activities of administrative agencies; ratifies appointment of all procurators at each level.)

	UNION REPUBLIC LEVEL		
Party Congress and Bureau	Soviet or Council (Unicameral)* (Only Union Republics have right to tax, have owned armed force, send foreign reps.)	MVD	PROC
	AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC LEVEL		
Party Congress (Bureau)	Soviet or Council*	MVD	PROC
	PROVINCE OR OBLAST LEVEL		
Party Congress (Bureau)	Soviet or Council*	MVD	PROC
	NATIONAL MINORITY DISTRICT LEVEL		
Party Congress (Bureau)	Soviet or Council*	MVD	PROC
	COUNTRY OR CITY LEVEL		
Party Congress (Bureau)	Soviet or Council (Raikom)*	MVD	PROC
	RURAL TOWNSHIP OR WORKERS' SETTLEMENT		
Township Cell	Executive Committee*		
	WORKERS		
Communist Cells (Four or more party members; may include members of Communist Youth-Komsomol.)	Electorate (Nominations must be approved by the Party or other specifically authorized organizations. (unions) No choice between candidates, but if sufficient voters scratch off a name the candidate may not be given the office.)		

* Each Soviet appoints the administrative officers at its level; in practice, there is close relationship between the personnel of the Communist Party bureau and of the administrative personnel at a given level, particularly at the Politbureau-Supreme Soviet leve.

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U.S.S.R.

- Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
  - Krai or Territory
    - Cities
    - Counties
  - Oblast or Autonomous Republic
    - Autonomous District
      - Cities
      - Counties
    - Cities
    - Counties
  - Autonomous Republic
    - Cities
    - Counties
  - Cities
  - Counties
- Cities (Leningrad & Moscow)
- Other Union Republics
  - Autonomous Republic
    - Cities
    - Counties
  - Cities
  - Counties
  - Oblast or Autonomous Republic
    - Autonomous District
      - Cities
      - Counties
    - Cities
    - Counties

Rural Townships or Workers' Settlements

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USSR CONSTITUTION

Chapter I: Social Organization

1. The USSR is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

2. The political foundation of the USSR consists of the councils (Soviets) of toilers' deputies that have matured and become strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of landlords and capitalists, and the attainment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. The entire authority in the USSR belongs to the working people of cities and villages represented by the Soviets (Councils) of toilers' deputies.

4. The economic foundation of the USSR consists of the socialistic system of economy and the socialistic ownership of tools and means of production, which had become established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, abolition of private ownership of tools and means of production, and the suppression of exploitation of one man by another.

5. Socialistic ownership in the USSR has either the form of state ownership (national property), or the form of cooperative-collective property (property of individual collective farms; property of cooperative unions).

6. The land, its mineral resources, waters, forests, industrial plants, factories, mines, collieries, rail, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, large-scale agricultural enterprises organized by the state (state farms, machinery and tractor stations, etc.) and also communal establishments and basic housing in the cities and industrial areas are owned by the state (are national property).

7. Social enterprises in collective farms and cooperative organizations, with their livestock and inventories, their produce, as well as their communal buildings are communal, socialistic property of collective farms and cooperative organizations.

   Every collective farm household, in addition to the basic income deriving from the communal, collective farm economy, has for its individual use a small lot of land connected with the dwellings, and, as private property, the auxiliary farming on such lot, dwelling, productive cattle, fowl, and minor farming inventory, as provided for by the Charter for agricultural cooperative organizations.

8. The land, occupied by the collective farms, is vested in them for free and interminate use,

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that is to say, in perpetuity.

9. Along with the socialistic system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the USSR, the law allows small scale private economy of individuals, peasants, and craftsmen, based on their personal labor and excluding the exploitation of the labor of others.

10. The right of personal ownership of citizens to their earned incomes and savings, to their dwellings and auxiliary household economy (gardens, etc.) to household effects, to objects of personal use and convenience, as well as the right to inherit personal property of citizens are preserved by law.

11. The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the governmental plan of national economy in the interests of increasing the social wealth, steady rise of material and cultural level of the toilers, strengthening of independence of the USSR and increasing of its ability to defend itself.

12. In the USSR work is the duty and the honorable task of every able-bodied citizen according to the principle, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." In the USSR is being put into effect the principle of socialism--"from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

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CHAPTER II

STATE STRUCTURE

13. The Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics is a union of states formed on the basis of voluntary unification of equal Soviet Socialistic Republics. The Russian Soviet Federation of Socialistic Republics, Ukranian Soviet Socialistic Republic, White Russian Soviet Socialistic Republic, etc. (List of Republics).

14. For the purpose of direction, the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics in the name of this higher organ of authority and organs of state direction belong:

(a) Representatives of the Union in inter-popular relation including agreements with other nations;

(b) The question of war and peace;

(c) The acceptance into the USSR of new Republics;

(d) Control for the fulfillment of the Constitution of USSR and the insuring the conforming with the Constitution of the Union's Republics with the Constitution of the USSR;

(e) The approval of the change of boundaries between the Union's Republics;

(f) The approval and the formation of new districts and regions and also new automomous republics in the composition of the Union's Republics;

(g) The organization of defense of the USSR and the direction of all armed forces of the USSR;

(h) Foreign trade on the basis of state's monopoly;

(i) The defense of state's security;

(j) The establishment of peoples-agricultural plans of USSR;

(k) The approval of one state budget of the USSR and also taxes and incomes;also the formation of the budgets for the Union, Republics, and local budgets;

(l) The direction of banks, industry, and agricultural enterprises and institutions, and also trade enterprises -- of national character;

(m) The direction, transportation, and communication;

(n) The direction of money and credit system;

(o) Organization of state insurance;

(p) The reservation and completion of loans;

(q) The establishment of the basic principles for agriculture and for equal utilization of ores, woods, and water;

(r) The establishment of basic principles of regional education and public health;

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(s) The organization of a single, economic system of accounting;

(t) The establishment of the basic legislature for labor;

(u) Legislature for ship-building and shipping; criminal and civil code;

(v) Laws for the Union's citizenship; laws for the rights of foreigners;

(w) Editing all-Union acts about Amnesty.

15. The soveriegnity of the Union's Republics is limited only in matters stated in paragraph 14, Constitution of USSR. In these matters every Soviet Republic has independent government authority. The USSR safeguards the sovereign rights of the Union's Republics.

16. Every Repu lic has its own constitution, verifying the individuality of the Republic constructed in full conformity with the USSR Constitution.

17. Every republic is reserved the right for free secession from the USSR.

18. The territory of the Republic cannot be chan ed without the Republic's agreement.

19. The laws of the USSR have the same power in all territories of all Republics.

20. In the case of misunderstanding of the law of the Republics with the law of the Nation, the Nation's will supercede..

21. One citizenship is established for all citizens of the USSR. Every citizen of the Republic is a citizen of the USSR.

22. The Russian Soviet of Federated Socialistic Republics is composed of the districts of: (list of districts)

23 - 29 b (inclusive) - Enumeration of Republics and districts.

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SCHEME OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

Chapter III.

Higher Organs of Government Authority of the Soviet Union of Socialistic Republics.

30. The highest organ of state power of the USSR is the USSR Supreme Council.

31. The USSR Supreme Council executes all rights, appropriated by the USSR in agreement with Para. 14 as long as they do not encroach on the power of the Constitution, and is accountable for the competency of all organs of the USSR: the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council, the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the USSR, and the Peoples' Commissariats of the USSR.

32. The legislative power of the USSR is accomplished exclusively by the Supreme Council of the USSR.

33. The USSR Supreme Council consits of two houses: Council of the Union, and the Council of Nationalities.

34. The Council of the Union is elected by the citizens of the USSR by voting districts according to a standard: one duputy per 300,000 population.

35. The Council of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the USSR by the Unions of Autonomous Regions and National Districts according to a standard: 25 deputies from each republic of this union, 11 deputies from every autonomous region, and 1 deputy from every national district.

36. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is elected for a period of 4 years.

37. Both houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Soviet of the Union, Soviet of Nationalities have equal rights.

38. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have an equal amount of legislative initiative.

39. A law is considered approved if it is accepted by both houses of the Supreme Council by a simple majority of each house.

40. Laws, accepted by the Supreme Council of the USSR, are published in the language of the republics of the Union with the signatures of the representative and the secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

41. Sessions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities begin and end at the same time.

42. The Soviet of the Union elects a representative of the Soviet of the Union and two deputies.

43. The Soviet of Nationalities elects a representative of the Soviet of Nationalities and two deputies.

44. The representatives of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities direct the meetings in their corresponding house and supervise interior affairs.

45. Joint meetings of both houses of the USSR Supreme Council are supervised alternately by the representatives of each house.

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46. Sessions of the USSR Supreme Council are called twice a year by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council.

47. Extra sessions are called by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council according to his discretion or on the demand of one of the republics of the union.

48. The USSR Supreme Council elects at the joint meeting of both houses the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council which consists of: Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council, 16 of his deputies, Secretary of the Presidium and 24 members of the presidium.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council is accountable to the Supreme Council for all his activities.

49. Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council:

(a) Calls sessions of the Supreme Council.
(b) Gives an interpretation of active laws of the USSR, issues edicts.
(c) Adjourns the Supreme Council on the basis of paragraph 47 of the USSR Constitution and designates new elections.
(d) Makes a nation wide referendum on its own initiative or on the request of one of the republics of the union.
(e) Overrules the decrees and commands of the Soviet of Peoples' Commissars of the USSR and the Soviets of Peoples' Commissars of the republics of the union in case of discrepancy to the law.
(f) During the period between sessions of the USSR Supreme Council, it (the presidium) frees from responsibility and appoints individual Peoples' Commissars of the USSR upon presentation by the chairman of the USSR Soviet of Peoples' Commissars and brought up for the approval of the USSR Supreme Council.
(g) Rewards with orders (decorations) and awards USSR honorary titles.
(h) Carries out the right of pardon.
(i) Appoints and dismisses the high command of the USSR armed forces.
(j) During the period between sessions of the USSR Supreme Council it explains the condition of the war in case of invasion of the USSR, or in the case of necessity the carrying out of international contracted obligations on mutual defense from aggression.
(k) Announces general and partial mobilization.
(l) Ratifies international negotiations.
(m) Appoints and recalls authorized representatives of the USSR in foreign countries.
(n) Accepts mandatory and testimonial documents of accredited diplomatic representatives of foreign nations.
(o) Announces in separate localities or in the entire USSR the war situation in the interests of defense of the USSR, or guarantying social order and national security.

50. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities elect mandatory commissions which verify the authority of the deputies of each house.

On presentation of the mandatory commission, the houses decide whether to recognize the authorities or whether to reverse the selections of individual deputies.

51. The USSR Supreme Council appoints, when it thinks necessary, inquiring and revising commissions on any question. All establishments and officials must carry out requirements of these commissions and present them with necessary material and documents.

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52. The deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR cannot be brought up for prosecution by law or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and, during the period when there is no session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

53. After the expiration of plenary powers and after the pre-term dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR preserves its plenary powers up to the formation, by the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the new Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

54. After the expiration of plenary powers or in case of the dissolution pre-term of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR appoints new election for the term not more than 2 months from the day of the expiration of plenary powers or the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

55. The newly elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR is called by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the previous personnel not later than one month after the election.

56. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR forms, at the joint meeting of the two chambers, the government of the USSR - (namely) The Soviet of the People's Commissars of the USSR.

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CHAPTER IV

HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE AUTHORITY OF THE UNION'S REPUBLICS

57. The highest organ of State authority of the Union's Republics is the Supreme Soviet of the Republic.
58. The Supreme Soviets of the Republics are elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of 4 years. The standards of representation are established by the constitutions of the Republics.
59. The Supreme Soviet of the Republic is the only legislative organ in the Republic.
60. (a) The Supreme Soviet of the Republic accepts the constitution of the Republic and makes changes in it in conformity with Article # 16 of the Constitution of the USSR.
    (b) Approves the constitution of her autonomous republics and designates the boundaries of their territories.
    (c) Approves people's agricultural plan and budget of the Republic.
    (d) Makes use of the right of amnesty and pardon for the citizens, decided by the judicial organs of the Union's Republic.
61. The Supreme Soviet of the Union's Republics elects the presidium, which consists of: chairman, his deputy, secretary, and members. The powers of the presidium are determined by the Consitutions of the Republics.
62. For conducting meetings of the Supreme Soviet of the Republics, they elect their own chairman and his deputies.
63. The Supreme Soviet of Union's Republics forms the government of the Republic - the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Union's Republics.

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SECTION V

ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION OF THE USSR

64. The Supreme executive and administrative organ of State authority of the USSR is the Soviet of the People's Commissars of the USSR.

65. The Soviet of the People's Commissars of the USSR is responsible and subordinate to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, but during the period between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

66. The Soviet of the People's Commissars of the USSR edits the decisions and dispositions on the basis of and in accordance with the laws in force and assures their fulfillment.

67. It is compulsory that the decisions and dispositions of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR are carried out throughout the territory of the USSR.

68. The Soviet of the People's Commissars of the USSR:
(a) Unites and directs the work of All-Union and Unions-Republic People's Commissariats of the USSR and other subordinate economic and cultural establishments.
(b) Adopts measures for realization of the national economic plan, governmental budget and strengthening of the money credit system.
(c) Adopts measures for the security of social order, for the safeguarding of state interests and of the rights of citizens.
(d) Accomplishes general guidance in the sphere pertaining to foreign powers.
(e) Determines the annual contingents of citizens due for induction to Regular Army service, directs the general building up of the armed forces of the nation.
(f) Will form, in case of necessity, special committees and department heads within the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR, pertaining to the structure of economy, culture and defense.

69. The Soviet of the People's Commissars of the USSR has the right in branches of administration and economy, assigned to the competency of the USSR to delay decisions and directions of the Soviet of the People's Commissars of the Union's Republics and revoke orders and instructions of the People's Commissars of the USSR.

70. The Soviet of the People's Commissars of the USSR is formed (organized) by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and consisting of: the chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR; vice chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR; the chairman of the State.Planning Commission of the USSR; the chairman of the Soviet Control Commission; The People's Commissars of the USSR; the chairman of the Committee of Arts; the Chairman of the Higher Schools Committee; the chairman for the Direction of the State Bank.

71. Either the government of the USSR or the People's Commissar of the USSR, having received an inquiry from the deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, must reply verbally or in writing to the appropriate chamber within three days.

72. The People's Commissars of the USSR direct the branches of State supervision which enter into the competency of the USSR.

73. The People's Commissars of the USSR edit, within the competence of appropriate People's Commissars, orders and instructions on the basis of and in compliance with the laws in effect and also decrees and arrangements by the Soviet of the People's Commissars of the USSR, and verify their fulfillment.

74. The People's Commissars of the USSR are either All-Union or Union Republics.

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SECTION V (Cont'd)

75. The All-Union People's Commissars direct the branch of the government administration entrusted to them in all the territory of the USSR either themselves or through the organs designated by them.

76. The People's Commissars Union-Republics direct the branch of government administration entrusted to them, as a rule, through a similar People's Commissars of the Union-Republics, and themselves direct only a designated limited number of undertakings according to a list approved by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

77. The All-Union People's Commissariat includes the following People's Commissariats:
Defense,
Foreign affairs,
Foreign trade,
Means of communications,
Liaison (signal, etc.),
Sea fleet,
River fleet,
Coal industry,
Oil industry,
Hydro-electric plants,
Electrical industry,
Ferrous metallurgy,
Non-ferrous industry,
Chemical industry,
Aviation industry,
Shipbuilding industry,
Ammunition,
Armament,
Heavy machine building industry,
Medium machine building industry,
General machine building industry,
Navy,
Supplies,
Building,
Cellulose and paper industry.

78. The Union-Republics' People's Commissariat includes the People's Commissariats of:
Food industry,
Fishing industry,
Meat and milk industry,
Light industry,
Textile industry,
Forestry,
Agriculture,
Grain and animal husbandry of collective farms,
Finance,
Trade,
Interior affairs,
National security,
Justice,
Public health,
Building materials industry,
Government control.

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CHAPTER VI

ORGANS OF STATE DIRECTION OF THE UNION'S REPUBLICS

79. The highest executive and administrative organ of State authority of the Republic is the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Union's Republic.

80. The Soviet of People's Commissars of the Union's Republic is responsible and subordinate to the Supreme Soviet of the Union's Republic, and during the period between sessions of the Supreme Soviet is responsible and subordinate to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union's Republic.

81. The Soviet of People's Commissars issues the manner and arrangement on the basis and fulfillment of active laws of the USSR and Republics, set up and arranged by the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR and assures their fulfillment.

82. The Soviet of the People's Commissars and Union's Republics have the right to reconstruct the manner and arrangement of the Soviet of People's Commissars of Autonomous Republics and to change the decisions and arrangement of the executive committees of the Soviets of Deputies of the toilers of the regions, districts, and autonomous districts.

83. The Soviets of People's Commissars of the Union's Republics are established by the Supreme Soviet of Union's Republics and consist of:

Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Unions Republics,
Deputy,
Chairman of the State Planning Commission,
People's Commissars for:
Food industry,
Fishing industry,
Meat and milk industry,
Light industry,
Testile industry,
Forestry,
Building materials industry,
Agriculture,
Grain and animal husbandry of Collective Farms,
Finance,
Commerce,
Internal affairs,
State insurance,
Justice,
Public ~~finance,~~ health,
~~Commerce,~~ State control,
~~Inte-n-~~ Education,
Local industry,
Community business,
Social insurance (Security),
Automobile transportation,
Director of Arts,
Authorized All-Union People's Commissars.

84. The People's Commissars of the Union's Republics supervise the branches of State Adminstration, under the competency of the Union's Republic.

85. The People's Commissars of the Union's Republic issue in the matters under the competency of appropriate People's Commissariats orders and instructions on the basis and fulfillment of the laws of the USSR and the Union's Republic set up and arranged by the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Union's Republic, the orders and instructions of the Union Republic's People's Commissariats of the USSR.

86. The Union Republic People's Commissariat directs those branches given to it for administration, is subordinate to both the Soviet

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of People's Commissars of the Union Republic and to the Union Republic's People's Commissariat of the USSR.

88. The Republic's People's Commissariat directs those branches given to it for administration and is immediately subordinate to the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Union's Republic.

CHAPTER VII

HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE AUTHORITY OF AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALISTIC REPUBLICS

89, The highest organ of state authority in the Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Soviet USSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialistic Republic).

90. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of 4 years according to the standards of representation established by the constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

91. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is the only legislative organ in the USSR.

92. Every Autonomous Republic has its own constitution verifying the individuality of the Autonomous Republic and constructed in full conformity with the constitution of the Union's Republic.

93. The Supreme Soviet of Autonomous Republic elects a presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic and forms the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Autonomous Republic conforming to its own constitution.

~~CHAPTER XI~~

~~ELECTION SYSTEM~~

86. Peoples Commissariats of the Union's Republics and the Union's Republics a Republics.

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SECTION 8

LOCAL ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY

94. The organs of the government authority (power) in Regions, Provinces, Autonomous Provinces, Districts, Areas, towns and villages (cossak village, village-country, farms, central Asia villages, Caucasus villages) are the Soviets of Deputies of the Workers (representatives).

95. The regional, provincial, autonomous provinces', districts', areas', towns', villages' (cossak villages', village-countrys', farms', central Asia and Caucasian villages') Soviets of Deputies of the Workers are elected respectively by the toilers of the region, province, autonomous province, district, area, town and village, for a period of 2 years.

96. The rates (standards) of representation of the Soviet of Deputies of the Toilers are designated by the Constitutions of the Allied Republics.

97. The Soviets of Deputies of the Toilers guide (direct) the activity of their subordinate organs of government, guarantee (safety) of government order, observance of laws and guarding the rights of citizens, guide (or direct) local economic and cultural construction, and set up the local budget.

98. The Soviet of Deputies of the Toilers accept decisions and issue directives within their rights, given them by the laws of the USSR and the Allied Republics.

99. The Executive Committees of the Soviets of Deputies of the regions, provinces, autonomous provinces, districts, areas and towns elect their Executive and Administrative organs consisting of: chairman, vice chairman, secretary and members.

100. The Soviet of Deputies of the Toilers in small villages, in accordance with the Constitutions of the Allied Republics elect an Executive and Administrative organ consisting of chairman, vice chairman and secretary.

101. The Executive organ of the Soviets of Deputies of the Toilers is immediately subordinate to the Soviet of Deputies of the Toilers, which elects them, also to the Executive organ of the Supreme Soviet of Deputies of the Toilers.

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COURTS AND PROCURATURES

Chapter IX

102. Administration of justice in USSR is accomplished by the Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Courts of the Unions Republics, Regional Courts, courts of autonomous republics and autonomous regions, district courts; special courts of the USSR are created according to the form of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR People's Court.

103. Examination of the affairs in all cases is accomplished with the participation of a people's jury, except in the cases specially foreseen by law.

104. The Supreme Court of the USSR is the highest judicial organ. Upon the Supreme Court of the USSR is conferred the supervision of judicial activities of all judicial organs in the USSR and the Union's Republics.

105. The Supreme Court of the USSR and special courts of the USSR are elected by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for a term (period) of 5 years.

106. The Supreme Court of the Union's Republics is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Union's Republics for a term of 5 years.

107. The Supreme Court of the autonomous republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the autonomous republics for a term of 5 years.

108. The regional and district courts, the courts of autonomous districts, and the circuit courts are elected by the regional, district or circuit Soviet of Deputies of the Toilers or by the Soviet of Deputies of the Toilers of the autonomous districts for a term of 5 years.

109. The People's Courts are elected by citizens of an area on the basis of universal, direct and equal electoral rights with secret voting for a term of 3 years.

110. Law procedure is conducted in the language of the Union or autonomous republic, or autonomous district with a guarantee for those, who have no knowledge of this language, of full familiarization with material through interpretors, and also the right to speak in court in their own language.

111. Examination of the affairs in all USSR courts is open as long as it is not a foreseen exception by the law, with guarantee for the accused of the right of defense.

112. The judges are independent and are subordinate only to law.

113. Supreme supervision of exact carrying out of laws by all people's commissariats and subordinate institutions, also as by individual responsible persons, also by the citizens of the USSR, is delegated to the procurator of the USSR.

114. The procurator of the USSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for the term of 7 years.

115. The republic, regional and district procurators, also procurators of autonomous republics and autonomous regions, are appointed by the procurator of the USSR for the term of 5 years.

116. The regional, district and city procurators are appointed by the procurators of the Union's republics, with the approval of the procurator of the USSR for the term of 5 years.

117. Organs of the procuratura put their functions into practice independently from any and all local organs, being subordinate only to the procurator of the USSR.

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SECTION X

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

118. The USSR citizens have the right to toil, that is the right to receive a guaranteed job with pay in accordance with its quantity and quality.
The right to toil is guaranteed by the Social organization of the People's Economy, by unfailing growth of the productivity of the forces of the Soviet Community, by removal of possibility of economic crises and by liquidation of unemployment.

119. The USSR citizens have the right to rest. The right of rest is guaranteed by shortening of the working day for the overwhelming majority of workers to 7 hours, establishing annual leaves of workers and employees, with pay, placing the wide net of sanatoriums, houses of rest and clubs to serve the toilers.

120. The USSR citizens have the right of guarantee of material (financial) security in old age and also in case of sickness and the loss of capacity for work. This right is guaranteed by the widely developed social insurance of workers and employees at government expense, free medical aid for the toilers by making available use of the net of health-resorts to the laborer.

121. The USSR citizens have the right to education. This right is guaranteed by the universal compulsory basic education, free education, including higher education, system of government scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in higher schools, teaching in schools in the mother tongue, free productive, technical and agricultural education for the workers, in organizations, in factories, Soviet economics (cooperative farms), machine-tractor stations and in collective economics (farms).

122. Women in the USSR have equal rights with men in all branches of economic, governmental, cultural and general political life.
The possibility of realization of these rights of women is guaranteed by giving women and men equal right to toil, receive pay for their toil, rest, social insurance and education, governmental safeguarding of interests of the mother and child, giving expectant mothers leaves with a guarantee of support through a wide net of maternity homes, children's nurseries and gardens.

123. Equal rights for citizens of the USSR regardless of their nationality and race, is irrevocable law in all branches of economic, governmental, cultural and social political life. Either direct or indirect limitation of rights, or vice-versa, establishment of direct or indirect preference to citizens depending on their race and nationality, also every preaching of racial or national exclusion, or hate and contempt - are punishable by law.

124. With the aim to guarantee the citizens the freedom of conscience, the church in the USSR is separated from the State and the school from the church. The freedom of performance of religious cults and the freedom of the anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

125. In conformity with the interests of the toilers and with the aim of strengthening the socialistic order, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law:
(a) Freedom of speech.
(b) Freedom of press.
(c) Freedom of assemblies and meetings.
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.
These rights of the citizens are guaranteed by giving the workers and their organizations printing houses, stocks (reserves) of paper, social buildings, streets, means of communication and other material conditions necessary for their realization.

126. In conformity with the interests of the laborers and with the aim of developing organizational self-activity and political activity of the Social masses, the USSR citizens are guaranteed the right of joining a social organization: professional unions, cooperative unions, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies, and the

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most active and conscious citizens from the working class and other layers of the toilers join the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the forward echelon of the toilers in their fight for the strengthening of and development of the socialistic order representing the guiding core of all organizations of the toilers of both society and the State.

127. The citizens of the USSR are guaranteed the inviolability (immunity) of personal freedom. No one may be arrested unless by the order of a court or by the prosecutor's sanction.

128. Inviolability (immunity) of living quarters of the citizens and secrecy of correspondence are guarded by law.

129. The USSR gives the right of refuge to foreign citizens persecuted for the defense of interests of the toilers, or scientific activity, or for national-liberation struggle.

130. Every USSR citizen must observe the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics, obey the laws, observe the discipline of toil, honestly conform to the social debt and respect the rules of socialist living.

131. Every USSR citizen must preserve and strengthen public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable basis of the Soviet order, as the source of wealth and power of the Fatherland, as the source of well-to-do and cultural life of all the toilers.
Persons who work against the public, socialist property, are the enemies of the people.

132. Universal military duty is prescribed by law.
Military service in the Workers-Peasants Red Army is the honorable obligation of citizens of the USSR.

133. The defense of the Fatherland is the sacred obligation of every citizen of the USSR. High treason towards the Fatherland: violation of oath, deserting to the side of enemy, infliction of harm to the military might of the State, espionage - are punishable by the severeness of law, as the greatest crime.

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CHAPTER XI

ELECTION SYSTEM

134. The election of the deputies in all Soviets of Deputies of the Toilers:
The Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
The Supreme Soviet of the Union's Republic,
Regional and District Soviets of Deputies of the Toilers,
The Supreme Soviet of Autonomous Republics,
The Soviets of Deputies of toilers of Autonomous Republics,
regions, districts, sections, cities, towns, etc. --
are conducted by elections on the basis of the general, equal and direct electional laws with secret balloting.

135. The election of Deputies is a general election: All citizens of the USSR upon reaching the age of 18, independent from racial and national beliefs, religion, education, location, ancestry (social descent), property status and previous activities, have the right to participate in elections of Deputies and to be elected, with the exception of feeble-minded and persons deprived of the right by court.

136. The election of the Deputies is equal; every citizen has one vote, every citizen participates in the elections on an equal basis.

137. Women have the right to vote or be elected on the same basis as men.

138. Citizens, in the Red Army, have the right to vote or be elected on the same basis as all other citizens.

139. The election of Deputies is direct; the election of all the Soviet's Deputies of the toilers begins with the village and city Soviets and goes up through the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, carried out by the citizens by direct elections.

140. Voting for the election of Deputies is by secret ballot.

141. Candidates for election are nominated by electoral districts. The right for nomination of a candidate is guaranteed for social organizations and brotherhoods of toilers (labor unions) - the Communist party organizations, professional unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, and cultural societies.

142. Every Deputy is obliged to give an accounting before the voters, of his work and the work of the Soviet of Deputies of the toilers, and can be at any time recalled according to the decision of the majority of voters according to the established order.

CHAPTER XII

COAT OF ARMS, FLAG, AND CAPITOL

143. The State coat of arms of USSR consists of hammer and sickle on a globe. The globe resembles the sun (with rays) framed in wreaths with an inscription in the language of the Union's Republic, "Proletars of all countries unite". On the top of the coat of arms is a five pointed star.

144. The state flag of the USSR consists of a red banner, in its upper corner near the staff a gold hammer and sickle, above it a five pointed star framed in a gold edging. Proportion of width to length 1:2.

145. The capitol of the USSR is the city of Moscow.

CHAPTER XIII

ORDER OF AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

146. Amendment of the constitution of the USSR is brought about only according to decisions by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR accepted by a majority of not less than 2/3 vote in each of its houses.

US. USSR Joint Commission
(Consultation)

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COL. EDWARDS

SECRET

[redacted]

ORDER OF COMPILATION OF THE LIST OF PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS.

1. The applications for participation in consultation and signed copies of the declaration which are received by the representative of the American Secretariat in Seoul from the parties and organizations of South Korea shall be transmitted without delay as a copy or an translation to the Soviet Secretariat. The above mentioned documents received from the parties and organizations of Northern Korea by the representative of the Soviet Secretariat in Pyongyang shall be transmitted in the same manner to the American Secretariat.

2. The information submitted by the parties and organizations, after translation , will be forwarded by the Secretariats to the respective chairmen of Subcommission No. 1. On the basis of the aforementioned information, there shall be compiled a complete list of parties and organizations which have applied for consultation, and a separate list of their designated representatives.

3. The list of parties and organizations which had signed the declaration, as well as the list of their representatives, shall be discussed in Subcommission No.1, and following agreement will be submitted for approval to the Joint Commission.

4. Following the approval of the list, the Joint Commission shall send to the parties and organizations included in the list notification of having been admitted to consultation, and [redacted] an invitation extended to their representatives to attend the joint meeting.

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B. Elimination of oral consultation.

The American Delegation, mindful of the solemnobligations of its government under the Moscow Agreement and conscious of its duty to the Korean people to establish as early as possible a Provisional Korean Democratic Government, makes the following proposals to overcome the present impasse regarding consultation:

1. Oral consultation shall be dispensed with and the questionnaires submitted by Korean political parties and social organizations shall be accepted as consultation under the Moscow Agreement.

2. Directive to be issued to Subcommission No. 2 to complete and present to the Joint Commissiona provisional charter and political platform for the Provisional Korean Democratic Government. This charter to specify which offices are appointive and which are elective.

3. The Joint Commission shall in the Charter proposed to the Four Powers include a provision for an immediate general election to elect a national legislature and such other individuals of the government as the charter may specify, which election shall be held with free electioneering, secret and multi-party ballots, under international supervision. That Subcommission No. 2 be directed to prepare detailed plans for such a general election in North and South Korea to be presented to the Four Powers with the proposed charter.

4. That Subcommission No. 3 be directed to prepare a plan for the selection of appointive personnel for the Provisional Korean Democratic Government ~~together~~ together with a plan for the integration of the existing governmental functions of North and South Korea.

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NND 760090
By _____ NARS, Date _____

American Delegation
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea.

28 April 1947.

Memorandum for: General Weckerling.

1. The attached paper, recommending early informal consultation with Korean parties and social organizations in advance of Joint Commission conferences, and suggesting a means for effecting preliminary consultation, is submitted for your consideration.

2. If approved, it is recommended that this plan be implemented immediately and the undersigned be instructed to draft standards and to outline information desired.

CLYDE B. SARGENT.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

28 April 1947

TO: Mr. Sargent,
Colonel Edwards. ✓

1. This is a timely paper, however certain aspects may be somewhat premature. The following action should be taken:

Consult informally with Dean Pergler; Dept. of Public Information; Major Weems and others in M.G. concerned, as to whether Ordinance 55 could be broadened to embody the information now lacking (para. 4), to include social organizations and other desirable features; however, it is not desired as yet to take any action which might be interpreted as unilateral (para. 3 of Recommendations).

2. Hold a copy of this study for inclusion in our projected recommendations re Unilateral Action, as soon as text of U.S. reply is received. (Colonel Edwards will collect all this data initially.)

J.W.

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NND 760090
By _____ NARS, Date _____

American Delegation
US - USSR JOINT COMMISSION
Seoul, Korea.

26 April 1947.

PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVE:

To recommend informal consultation with Korean organizations and groups, as a procedure for preliminary sampling before re-convening of the Joint Commission.

RELEVANT FACTS:

1. The Moscow Agreement provides that the Joint Commission "shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations."

2. Registration is the only method of obtaining basic information required to determine eligibility of groups for consultation.

3. Political parties existing in February 1946 were required to register with Military Government in accord with Ordhance No. 55.

4. Ordinance No. 55 did not specifically require registration of political parties organized subsequent to issuance of Ordinance No. 55, and there has been no order requiring previously registered parties to bring information up to date.

5. Revised registration would provide up-to-date information regarding the considerable changes in political parties during the past 14 months.

6. Ordinance No. 55 did not require registration of social organizations not involved in political activities as defined in Ordinance No. 55.

7. Prior to conferences of the Joint Commission, it would be extremely useful to have full, up-to-date information on organization and views of "parties and social organizations" that may be candidates for consultation by the Joint Commission.

8. Collection of such information is fully within the reasonable authority of the Command.

9. Present acquisition of such information in no way violates the letter or spirit of the Moscow Agreement.

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DISCUSSION:

The anticipated forthcoming conferences of the Joint Commission requires possession of up-to-date information on parties and groups that shall be consulted. Furthermore, advance knowledge of views that might be expressed by these groups would appreciably aid the American Delegation in planning conferences with the Soviet Delegation.

BPO has attempted to keep abreast of changes and developments in organization of political parties, and the American Delegation has a file of limited information from newspaper sources on views regarding questions upon which consultation might be sought. However, a systematic collection of both types of information would save much later work, would provide definite data, and, above all, would give the American Delegation information useful for planning the conference.

The recommendations of this paper are made with the primary object of obtaining before the conference views of groups that might be consulted. A secondary objective, and hardly less important, is systematically to obtain up-to-date data on parties covered by Ordinance No. 55 and on social groups not covered by the Ordinance.

A corollary from the recommen ed procedure is that failure to register or failure to respond to the invitation provided in Recommendation No. 3, below, would safeguard the Commission against critieism for exclusion of groups from consultation. The onus for e clusion, then, would be on groups that either fail to register or respond to the inquiry regarding consultation, or to establish justification for a claim to eligibility for consultation.

A further advantage of this preparatory procedure would be the resulting opportunity to perform more thorough translation and analysis of data than will be possible if collection of data from groups is deferred until after the Commission convenes.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That necessary action be taken to acquire up-to-date

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RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That necessary action be taken to acquire up-to-date

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information obtained through registration. (This should be done by a new registration.)

2. That registration should include not only political parties, as defined in Ordinance No. 55, but all social organizations having a membership that is regarded as large enough to justify consideration for consultation (say, 25 members if non-political social organization.).

3. That all registering groups be invited to express their views on the following questions at the time of registration:

(a) Do you think you should be consulted by the Joint Commission about the projected Provisional Korean Government?

(b) On a basis of the Moscow Agreement that consultation shall be with "the Democratic parties and social organizations," what basis do you claim for inclusion within this classification?

(c) In order to facilitate eventual consultation, will you state your group's attitudes on the following subjects:

(Here follows a list of questions upon which it is thought desirable to have views regarding the projected government, such more or less to cover the scope anticipated by "consultation." This list will be compiled for approval when the procedure suggested in this paper is approved.)

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IMPORTANT EXCERPTS FROM OFFICIAL RECORDS PERTAINING TO T.N. SUBJECT OF BROAD CONSULTATION.

1. General Brown in the 26th Meeting, Joint Commission, page 6, said: "It is necessary to agree on a definition which will determine which parties and social organizations shall be consulted. In order to reach such a definition, the American Delegation proposes that any party or social organization having more than 1,000 members and which has branches in two or more provinces should, for the purpose consultation, be considered a political party or social organization." "If the Soviet Delegation desires to remove all limitations, the American Delegation is willing to discuss this with the Soviet Delegation. It is essential to further progress that the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation agree on what definition a political party or social organization must meet to be regarded as such under the terms of the Moscow Decision."

2. In the 28th Meeting, Page 7, General Shtikov said: "The Soviet Delegation does not make any proposals concerning the limitation of the number of parties and social organizations with which the Joint Commission will consult, and it also does not represent itself as an authority on the disputed number of 30 parties and social organizations to be eligible for consultation. This number was proposed by the American Delegation last year. Since the American Delegation objects to the number 30 at the present time, the Soviet Delegation also agrees not to limit the number of parties and social organizations which will be invited for consultation." (Underscoring supplied.)

3. General Shtikov in the transcript of the 29th Meeting, Page 24, said: "The signatures on declaration containing Communique #5 will be agreed as a declaration of good will to fully uphold the Moscow Decision and the signatory parties and social organizations will be given the right for initial consultation. The parties and organizations which have made such a statement have the right to assign such a representative which in his opinion will be able to best present to the Joint Commission the views on fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. If such representative for quite sound reasons is considered antagonistic towards the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision or towards one of the Allied Powers or towards the Joint Commission, such a party that has made such a statement or declaration must assign an alternative. Persons parties and social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission should not after signing the declaration contained in Communique #5 inflame or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either allied powers or against fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Those persons or social organizations which after having signed the declaration contained in Communique #5 do inflame or instigate active opposition against the work of the Joint Commission or towards the Allied powers or fulfillment of the Moscow Decision will be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission. The decision concerning exclusion of these persons, parties and social organizations will be accepted upon an agreement by both delegations of the Joint Commission."

4. General Brown with regard to the number of parties and organizations to be consulted said: "Those specified in the Moscow Decision -- the political parties and social organizations

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of Korea, "the" not meaning 30. But realizing there are certain political parties and social organizations with membership as low as 25, it is believed necessary to set a limit of membership which will make eligible for consultation a political party or social organization. The Moscow agreement intended that consultation be broad. The Soviet Delegation last year protested the elimination of certain parties, General Chistikov and Mr. Molotov insisting on broad consultation. It is the desire of the American Delegation that the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation be able to reach an agreement on a definition which will determine what political parties and social organizations shall be consulted with. (Underscoring supplied.) In order to reach such a definition the American Delegation proposes that any political party or social organization which had as many as 1,000 members and which had branches in as many as two provinces should for the purpose of consultation be considered a political party or a social organization. If the Soviet Delegation wishes to set other limitations, the American Delegation is willing to consult with them the limitations. If the Soviet Delegation desires to remove all limitations, the American Delegation will consult with them on that basis. What the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation believes is essential to further progress is that the Soviet Delegation and the American Delegation agree on what definition a political party or social organization must need to be regarded as such under the terms of the Moscow decision".

5. General Shtikov, transcript 14th meeting, page 20, said: "The Soviet Delegation doesn't make any proposals of limitation on the number of parties and social organizations -- just the opposite -- the publication of the Communique will give us the chance of finding out which parties and social organizations wish to participate in consultation with the Joint Commission, because such a list of parties will be drawn up and when drawing up such a list of parties the signed declaration will be taken into consideration. That is why the only wish of the Soviet Delegation is to have the Communique published which states the decision of the Joint Commission on April 17th. This decision states which parties may be consulted, those parties which have signed Communique #5. The Soviet Delegation also doesn't see any reasons not to have this Communique published just now, and also the reasons not to have published the questionnaire on the question of consultation and establishment of a platform for the Provisional Korean Democratic Government."

6. General Brown, in the transcript of the 20th Meeting, Page 23, asked the following question: "Will the Soviet Delegation agree to consult all democratic parties and social organizations which sign Communique #5?" General Shtikov replied: "We should be guided by a strict decision which was reached during the correspondence of our Ministers of Foreign Affairs and as stated in the three conditions which we have accepted and upon which a decision has been reached. Is there any necessity to have these three conditions repeated once more?"

7. General Shtikov, transcript of the 23th Meeting, Page 23, said: "The number thirty does not belong to the Soviet Delegation. The Soviet Delegation is not the author of this number thirty. This was the proposal made by the American Delegation. The Soviet Delegation agreed to this proposal, but now in consideration of the American Delegation's objection to such a stated number, the Soviet Delegation agrees not to limit the number of parties and social organizations." (Underscoring supplied.)

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8. General Shtikov in the 29th Meeting, Page 6, said: "The Soviet Delegation, in specifying the political parties and social organizations with which it desires to consult, is guided by the agreement reached by our ministers, namely --'the signing of the dedaration set forth in Joint Communique #5, shall be considered as a declaration of good will to support fully the Moscow Decision, and to parties and social organizations which signed such a declaration shall be given the right of initial consultation.' This guides the Soviet Delegation, therefore we should publish the declaration set forth in Joint Communique #5 immediately. The American Delegation insists upon consultation with political parties and social organizations on a broad basis. The opinion of the Soviet Delegation is that the very broad basis for such consultation consists in the publication of the Joint Communique #5."

9. General Brown, transcript of the 29th Meeting, Page 19, said: "The American Delegation sees no reason why we cannot agree on a standard of a political party. We request the Soviet Delegation through Mr. Tounkin to offer in Subcommission I a definition as to what constitutes a political party. If that point can be agreed on I can see no reason why the Joint Commission cannot go forward to approve Joint Decision 4."

10. General Shtikov replied: "The Soviet Delegation does not object in principle to give a hearing to the American Delegation on its opinion and to things proposed to the criteria which should be established now for democratic parties and social organizations which should be consulted by the Joint Commission, as the Soviet Delegation is to be guided in defining parties and social organizations for consultation by the decision which has been agreed on by our Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The signing of the declaration contained in Communique 5 will be considered as a statement of good will and to fully uphold the Moscow Decision of the political parties and social organizations it will give the right to be assigned for initial consultation. This is by what the Soviet Delegation is being guided."

11. General Brown in the transcript of the 29th Meeting, Page 20, said: "There is nothing in any decision known to the American Delegation which would define a political party or social organization nor which states to whom Communique 5 will be sent. The American Delegation feels that it is essential before Communique 5 is sent out that determination be had as to who it is to be sent. What do we mean by all political parties and social organizations."

12. General Brown, transcript of 29th Meeting, Pagee 22: "*****You must agree with me that there must be some definition of a political party. None is now in existence. This Commission must determine what is really a political party. If we do not make that determination every Korean will go out and organize himself a party overnight and instead of 200 parties in South Korea or in Korea, we will have 2,000 parties and we will not be able t to do our work. Therefore, Subcommission No. 1 must determine what constitutes a political party."

13. General Shtikov responded: "During the work of the Joint Subcommission last year, the Soviet Delegation proposed not to limit the number of parties or social organizations to be consulted by the Joint Commission, but as the work progressed last year and the question was discussed in the Joint Commission

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and also in Subcommission 1, there arose a proposal on the part of the American Delegation that this number be fixed as 30. The Soviet Delegation decided that this number will be the best way to consult parties and social organizations on such a very important question as Provisional Korean Democratic Government, and so accepted the American proposal to have this number 30. The Soviet Delegation is well informed that there are a lot of parties in Korea [illegible] and that there are such parties which have membership of which is only 20. I agree with General Brown that taking into consideration the great wish of the Koreans to be consulted they may fall in a great number of parties during one night. The Soviet Delegation considers that the Joint Commission ask people who are not experienced and have well grounded ideas on this question in order to find out and state which parties and social organizations should be consulted by the Commission. That is why we have assigned this duty to our experienced members of delegation to Mr. Bunce and Mr. Tounkin and to make recommendations and proposals of these questions." ***** "So my proposal is that we leave the definition of the number of parties and social organizations to be consulted for Subcommission No. 1 which was entrusted with this question, but alongside with this I propose that Communique No. 5 be published."

14. General Shtikov in the transcript of the 29th Meeting, Page 24, said: "The broadest scale for the publication of the declaration contained in Communique No. 5. Inasmuch as the Soviet Delegation has never insisted upon and never made such a proposal to have a narrow number of parties and organizations consult with the Joint Commission, it has always been of the opinion that a broad number of political parties and social organizations should be consulted by the Joint Commission."

15. Mr. Tounkin in the 31st Meeting, Page 4, said: "***** that according to the Soviet proposal all parties and social organizations, which signed the declaration, will have unlimited opportunity for presenting their recommendations to the Joint Commission in written, as well as in oral form. This proposal also forsees that Joint Subcommissions and subcommittees may, by mutual agreement of the chairmen of Joint Subcommissions, invite and have conversations with representatives of parties and social organizations."

16. General Brown in the 31st Meeting, Page 4, proposed: "******* that parties with which the Joint Commission will consult, all other conditions being equal, might be limited to those having memberships of not less than a thousand or five thousand persons. He added that the American Delegation would consider any recommendation on this matter which the Soviet Delegation may present." "General Shtikov declined the proposal of the American Delegation concerning the limitation of membership of parties or social organizations with which the Joint Commission will consult, and proposed that this matter be discussed after the complete list is compiled of democratic parties and social organizations which wish to participate in consultation."

17. General Brown, 31st Meeting, Page 5, "objected to General Shtikov's proposal that the number of political parties be determined after the commencement of consultation. He stated that the American Delegation opposes any change in the agreements reached in Joint Commission Decision No. 4 after the decision is approved. He said that in consideration of the pressure which will likely be brought to bear on the Joint Commission to revise its

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decisions, it is necessary that any and all limitations on political parties and social organizations be stipulated in Joint Decision No. 4."

18. "General Shtikov suggested for the time being not to set any limitation as to the number of members of political parties and social organizations with which the Joint Commission will consult, since the Soviet Delegation does not consider it expedient in the present document to limit the number of parties included in the list because neither the number of parties and organizations, which would like to consult with the Joint Commission, nor the number of members in such organizations is known. At the present time it would be easy to make a mistake in setting a criterion or a limit for parties and social organizations. It will be more appropriate to discuss this question after the Joint Commission will have a complete list of democratic parties and social organizations which wish to consult with the Joint Commission. The Soviet Delegation considers that only then would it be possible to solve correctly the question concerning the number of representatives whom it would be necessary to invite for consultation."

19. "General Shtikov agreed not to set limitations on the size of parties and social organizations to be consulted."

20. General Brown in the transcript of the 31st Meeting said: "I think we can continue and discuss the question of the 5,000 limitation. The only object of proposing any limitation is to reduce the work by reducing the number of representatives with whom we have to consult. The American Delegation has no particular reason to state 5,000. We will state any figure which is acceptable to the Soviet Delegation. As a matter of fact, we do not know what effect the figure 5,000 will have. We initially used 1,000 in order to eliminate very small groups, and 5,000 would seem probably a better figure. If the Soviet Delegation wishes some other figure, we would like to consider their recommendation, and if they want to eliminate any figure and leave it wide open, we will accept that but we believe with it wide open the working job would be quite heavy."

21. General Shtikov responded: "It is the understanding of the Soviet Delegation that it would not be expedient in the session of the Joint Commission and in this document to limit or to set any criteria for parties and social organizations which are included in the list, by naming a number of members. This would contradict point 7. Point 7 was given such a wording by us that permits all democratic parties and social organizations which will sign the declaration stated in Communique Number 5 to participate in verbal consultation, inasmuch as it is not know to us the number of parties and social organizations which will express their wish to be consulted by the Joint Commission. Neither do we know the membership of these parties. Consequently it would be very hard for us to resolve the question on a criteria for parties and social organizations."

22. " ***** The Soviet Delegation in objecting to stating such a criteria is afraid that in accepting such a decision, not being aware exactly of the number of parties and the number of members in these parties, we will thus commit a mistake and get into error. Should we now accept a decision in which neither the American Delegation nor the Soviet Delegation is sure of? We appreciate the wish of Mr. Bunce in the 1st Subcommission not to overload the commissioners with work in the future and to create the most favorable conditions for the work of the Joint Commission, but it is better to do it when we will have the full picture."

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23. General Shtikov in the transcript of the 31st Meeting, Page 7, said: "I move not to limit the political parties and social organizations, the number that was set forth by the American Delegation of 5,000. We should give the right to the political parties and social organizations which signed Declaration No. 5 to present their views and considerations on this question, and then after having presented, as was stated in 7, they present these recommendations in written form and they will be consulted in verbal form by the Joint Commission, as was stated in Form 7. Are there any objections to not including a limitation of 5,000?"

24. General Brown replied: "All right leave it wide open."

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AMERICAN DELEGATION
US-USSR SUBCOMMISSION I

18th June 1947.

SUBJECT: Organizations which have picked up applications for consultation through 16 June 1947.

To: All Concerned. Subcommission #1, Samuel Brown
" #2, Dr. Bunce.
" #3.,

1. Attached is a breakdown by political categories of those organizations which have picked up applications through 16 June.

2/ Of the 217 organizations which have picked up applications through 16 June, 56 have been classified as rightist, 47 as leftist, 27 as moderate, and 87 remain unclassified.

3. Names and addresses of those organizations which cannot be classified through the files or personnel of this office have been submitted to C.I.C. which has promised prompt compilation of necessary information.

4. It is noted that the following major rightist organizations have not picked upapplications: National Society for Rapid Realization of Independence, the Patriotic WWomen's League for Rapid Realization of Independence, the Great Korean Youth League for Rapid Realization of Independence, the Independent Farmers and Laborers Party, Member Organizations of the United Cultural Association of Korea, Member Unions of the Great Korean Independent Labor League (NO CHONG), and the Independence Party.

5. As all known leftist organizations have already picked up their applications, it is impossible to predict at this time what leftist organizations may still pick up applications.

6. The following items of significance concerning those leftist organizations which have picked up applications are noted:

(a) All "dead" as well as "alive" member organizations of the Democratic Peoples Front have picked up applications.

(b) The Democratic Peoples Front as well as each one of its member organizations has picked up a separate application.

(c) The League of Cultural Association as well as each one of its member organizations has picked up a separate application.

(d) "CHUN PYUNG" as well as its member unions has picked up a separate application.

7. It is planned that a file for each organization applying for consultation will be maintained and will contain a translation of the application, a brief sketch of the organization (as compiled by the PAG) and other pertinent information for use in consultation.

PHILIP C. ROWE
Subcommission I

Note: Under "Ord. 55 Registration" on attached breakdown, "N" = registered at national level, "KD" = registered at Kyonggi-do, "S" = registered at Seoul City.

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Subcommission No. 1

RIGHTIST KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING on 12 June thru 16 June 1947

Number	Name of Organization	Ord.55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00002	Construction Youngmen's Society		3,000	Ryang, Heun Whan
00005	Democratic Party of Korea	N	800,000	Kim, Kwang Ho
00006	Korean Political Economic Institute	S	125	Lee, Hoon Koo
00009	Industrial Patriotic Party	N	12,000	Lee, Jai Kan
00013	Holy Political Association	N	3,000	Kang, Hyun
00014	Korean Civil Engineers and Architectures Association		172	Lee, Won Sik
00018	Chosen Democratic Party	N	480,000 (Incl. N. Korea)	Cho, Man Sik
00022	New Progressive Racial Assn.	N	32,000	Kim, Chi Chung
00026	Old Men's Patriotic Assn.	N	20,000	Lee, Pyung Kwan
00027	The Eugenics Association of Korean Nation		400	Yu, Uk Kyum
00030	Roman Catholic Church		200,000	Reverend Paul Ro, DD
00031	Catholic Young Men's Federation		1,000	Chang, Myun
00037	Dan Min Society	S	31,560	Kim, Chong Tai
00041	Korean Popular Party	N	25,000	Lee, Doo San
00042	The Oriental Cultural Promotion Society	KD	13,670	Lee, Doo San Acting Lee, Young Soo
00044	Nationalist Socialist Party	N	45,000	Lyu, San
00048	Self-Realization Institute	S	2,700	Lee, Dong Il
00060	The Trader's Association of Korea		1,200	Kim, Do Yun
00062	Jai Woo Hoi		3,200	Ryang Je Bak
00068	Patriotic League		7,000	Chun, Kong Woo
00070	Korean-American Association		1,300	Lee, Hoon Koo
00082	Returned Countrymen's Assn.	N	376,800	Shin, Sook
00083	Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry		12,000	Lee, Dong Sun
00084	Korean Vested Property Managers Association		2,500	Chang, Hi Tai

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RIGHTIST KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING

Number	Name of Organization	Ord. 55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00085	Seoul Chamber of Commerce and Industry		1,700	Lee, Se Hyun
00086	Korean Forestry Association	N	2,100	Kim, Wha Choon
00087	Korean Public Accountants Assn.		27	Yun, Chung Ha
00088	Korean Revolutionist Self-Government Association	N	3,200	Kang, Woo Lim
00090	Popular Party	N	17,400	Shim, Yi Sung
00095	Philanthropist Institute	N	505	An, Sung Yul
00101	General Headquarters of National Cooperative Association		20,000	Ham, Sang Hoon
00104	Central Hq. of Korean Buddhists		5,000,000	Kim, Bub Rin
00107	Chosun Shinha Party	KD	2,666	Moon, Yong Chai
00109	Korean Christian Young People's Federation		200,000	Kim, Kyu Sik
00111	New Korean Youngmen's Federation	N	2,400	Kim, Chin Tai
00112	Central Friends' Association	N	10,000	Shin, Hyun Chang
00115	Korean Kwanglok Student's and Ex-Soldiers' Association	N	1,470	Chun, Sung Chong
00119	Kwanlok Association	N	300,000	Lyu, Nam Soo
00125	Korean Young Men's Association	N	280,000	Kim, Tai Ho
00126	Korean Christian Goodwill Mission		3,000	Chung, In Sun
00137	Korean Laborer-Farmers' Party	KD	35,000	Choi, Yun Chong
00138	Anti-Trusteeship Fellowship Assn.		3,500	Kim, Sung Chan
00139	Korean Race Association	N	853,267	Pak, Yung Sun
00140	All Korean Anti-Trusteeship		3,450	Pak, Soo Hai
00152	Korean Youth Union	N	287,500	Lee, Sun Keun
00162	The Revolutionary Buddhist's Alliance	KD	1,300	Pak, Pong Suk
00166	Puk Ak North Mount Assn.	S	300	Kim, Il
00167	Taedong Association		2,500	Kim Sung Kyu
00168	Independent Labor Federation of Korea	N	1,000,000	Jin, Whan Jun

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RIGHTIST
KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL
ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING

Number	Name of Organization	Ord, 55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00169	New Life Association	S	1,500	Chai, Tai Yong
00175	League of National Free Laborers	S	6,000	Kim, San
00185	Buddhist Young Men's Party	N	18,000	Paik, Suk Ki
00187	Korea Educational Research		100	Ahn, Ho Sang
00198	National Council of Korea YMCA	N	3,000	Paik, Nam Hoon
00205	Association and Council Against Illegal Actions		2,000	Lee, Choong Whan
00212	Korean Newspaper Association		40 News-papers and News Agencies	Kim, Dong Sung

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Subcommission No. 1

LEFTIST KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING on 12 June thru 16 June 1947

Number	Name of Organization	Ord. 55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00003	Young Friends Party of Chundo Kyo (Chungwoo Dang)	N	60,000 (480,000 N. Korea	Lee, Eung Chin
00004	General Hq. of Chundo Kyo		4,000,000 (N.& S.Korea)	Kim, Kwang Ho
00023	Anti Japanese Movers Relief Assn	N	500,000	Sung, Chu Sik
00025	People's Republican Party	N	127,500	Kim, Wun Bong
00028	Working People's Party	N	170,000	Lyuh, Woon Hyung
00032	Korean Industry Establishers Consulting Association	KD	180,000	Lee, Chong Man
00045	South Korean Labor Party	N	800,000	Huh, Huhn
00052	The Cooperative Association of Korea	N	650,000	Pak, Kyung Soo
00054	Seoul Student Promotion Union		80,000	Chu, Suk Il
00059	War Refuge Union	N	40,000	Son, Doo Whan
00064	Korean Labor Union	N	3,000,000	Hu, Sung Taik
00072	Central Committee of Korean Federation of Relief Organizations	N	12,000	Pak, Seung Chong
00073	Student Soldier Refuser's Assn.	KD	1,500	Choi, Sang Lin
00075	General Union of Korean Cultural Association	N	40	Kang, Sung Jai
00077	The Korean Literary Men's League	N	3,500	Kim, Nam Chun
00078	Korean Dramatists League	N	2,500	Lee, Su Hyang
00079	Christian Democratic Party	N	6,422	Kim, Chang Choon
00080	The Korean Federation of Confusians Association	N	10,512	Kim, Uhng Sup
00091	Korean Art of Dancing Assn.		800	Cho, Taik Won
00092	The Union of Korean Musical	KD	1,500	Kim, Je Hoon
00093	The South Korea Democratic Youngmen's League (Disbanded by Military Government)		790,000	Cho, Hi Young
00096	Korean Film Association	N	1,560	Yun, Sang Yul
00117	The Korean Democratic and Patriotic Youngmen's Assn.		780,000	Ko, Chan Bo

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LEFTIST
KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL
ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING

Number	Name of Organization	Ord. 55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00120	Chosun Federation of Youth	N	650,000	Lee, Ho Je
00128	Seoul Lawyers' Association		130	Lee, Hong Chong
00129	Kyung Sung Law Institute		120	Chung, Koo Yung
00149	Union of all Korean Farmers' Committee	N	2,800,000	Baik, Yong Hi
00151	Anti-Facist Fighting Committee	N		Chung, Woon Yung
00161	Central Headquarters of People's Committee	N	700,000	Huh, Hun
00163	Southern Korean Federation of Democratic Womens League	N	800,000	Lyu, Yung Choon
00172	Korean Assn. for Liberal Arts and Sciences	N	5,200	Yun, Haing Chung
00178	Korean Pharmacists' Assn.	KD	580	To, Bong Sup
00181	Union of Conscriptees	KD	11,050	Yun, Do Soo
00182	National Music Academy		500	Ham, Wha Jin
00183	Soviet-Korean Cultural Assn.	S	1,500	Kim, Yung Kun
00186	League of Legal Scholars	S	6,000	Yu, Young Yun
00189	Democratic People's Front	N	6,180,000	Huh, Hun
00190	Korean Communication Labor Union		8,000	Moon, Choo Chong
00191	Korean Electric Workers' Union		12,000	Joo, Yung Bok
00192	Federation of Korean Scientists and Technicians	KD		Kim, Bong Jip
00196	Korean Chinese Doctors' Assn.		3,000	Paik, Ho Poong
00201	Railway Labor Union		30,981	Pak, Kun Pyung
00204	Seoul Committee of the League of Korean Residents in Japan	N	15,000	Pai, Chul
00208	Korean Fabric Worker's Union		23,252	Kim, Nam Too
00215	Koreans Electric Engineer's Assn.		1,200	Kim, Bong Jip
00216	People's Committee of Seoul City			Chai, Won Taik
00217	Cooperating Association of Seoul City			Ra, Tong Wook

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MODERATE

Subcommission No. 1

KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING on 12 June 1947 THRU 16 JUNE

Number	Name of Organization	Political Category	Ord.55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00001	Socialist Democratic Party	M	N	100,000	Lyuh, Woon Hong
00007	New Progressive Party	M	N	3,000	Kim, Ho
00010	Democratic Union	M		1,000	Hai, Kyung Duck
00012	Peoples League	M	N	100,000	Lim, Yi Taik
00015	Korean Republic Party	M	N	173,500	Kim, Yak Soo
00020	War Refuge Relief Assn.	M	N	2,500,000	Kimm, Kiusic
00021	Alliance for Independence Movement	M	N	20,000	Kimm, Kiusic
00024	Seoul Medical Doctors Assn.	M	S	1,500	Pak, Rin Je
00055	Democratic Independence Front	M	N	150	Lee, Keuk No
00056	Council of Political Parties and Social Organizations for Studying the Policies on the US-USSR Joint Commission	M	N	82	Kimm, Kiusic
00069	Natl.Korean Reconstruction Youth	M	N	570,000	O. Chung Bang
00071	Right-Left Unification Promotion Assn.	M	N	2,700	Pai, Sung Ryong
00097	Korean Red Cross	M		5,000,000	Kimm, Kiusic (Pres.)
00100	Toiling Masses Party	M	N	50,000	Kang, Shoon
00105	Socialist Popular Party	M		2,000	Wong, Woo Kwan
00106	Whole National Party	M		1,000	Lee, Keuk No
00108	Korean Inventor's Assn.	M	KD	567	Lee, Choon Yul
00124	Young Korean Party	M	N	3,300,000	Lee, Sun Keun
00131	Democratic Youth United Front	M	N	45,000	Lee, Rin Nam
00132	Democratic Korean Independence Party	M	N	30,000	Kwan, Tai Suk
00135	Ham Nam Association	M		120,000	Won, Se Hoon
00136	Korean Democratic Union	M	N	32,000	Tai, Jai Ai
00153	Korean Esperanto Society	M		180	Lee, Keuk No
00165	Hankook General Farmers' Alliance	M	N	50,000	Kim, Sang Duk

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KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING

Number	Name of Organization	Political Category	Ord.55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00202	Revolutionary Young Men's Union	M		12,000	Yu, Chin Sik
00207	Korea Football Assn.	M		15,300	Ha, Kyung Duck
00214	Coalition Committee	M		30 partisan organizations	Kimm, Kiusic

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Subcommission No. 1

UNCLASSIFIED
KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL
ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING
on 12 June thru 16 June 1947

Number	Name of Organization	Ord. 55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00008	Women's Work Patron's Assn.		60	Kim, Yong He
00011	Keun Kang Do (Buddhists) (changed from 10,000 to 100,000)		10,000	Lee, Seung Jik
00016	United People's Party		14,000	Han, Heung
00017	Humanity Institution		8,000	Chu, Chai Ryong
00019	Korean Economic Association		2,700	Chang, Hong Sik
00029	Korean Nationalist-Socialist Young Men's Assn.		80	Kang, Wi Chung
00033	Kong Rin Hai		18,392	Choi, Chang Min
00034	Three Million Revival League		15,000	Kim, Chi Sun
00035	Association for Christian Nation		5,000	Chang, Bo Ik
00036	The Society for the Study of Korean		1,200	Ahn, Yung Sup
00038	Committee Promoting the Korean Independent Democratic Government		22,000	Kim, Chong Tai
00039	Korean Bu Kang Hoi		7,580	Kim, Chong Tai
00040	Korean Law and Political Institute		2,000	Yun, Koo Ha
00043	O Min Hai		3,000	Baik, Chul
00046	Han Kook Party		6,000	Kim, Eul Kil
00047	Han Shin Party		5,000	Yim, Bong Soon
00049	Yong San Social Work Association		1,500	Chang, Il
00050	Chando Kyo Inshil Central Church		100,000	Shin, Myung Hi
00051	North Korea Farmer's Union		3,000	Lee, Doo Yul
00053	Korean Farmer's Society		32,000	Lim, Moon Ho
00057	Tai Baik Friends Association		728	Ko, Chul Soo
00058	Korean Revolutionary Labor Party		3,000	Kim, Kyu Yung
00061	Returner's League from South Sea Islands		3,673	Whang, Pyung Hoon
00063	Club of Fifteenth		4,500	O. E. Sang
00065	Reformation Comrade Association		4,500	Pak, Chan Hi
00066	Construction League		3,200	Pai, In Sik
00067	Ham Nam Friend's Association		5,000	Cho, Chong Ko

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KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL
ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING

Number	Name of Organization	Ord. 55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00074	Committee for War Refugees		18,000	Pak, Tai Ho
00076	United Idea Association		9,000	See, Dong Sun
00081	Korean Confusianists Unification Assn.		7,000	Lee, Sang Chun
00089	Korea Medical Doctors Assn.		3,000	Shin, Ho Sup
00094	Korean Seaman's League		8,700	Chung, Hang Kun
00098	The League of Korean Art		1,300	O, Chi Ho
00099	Keun Neung Friends' Assn.		1,500	Song, Un
00102	Korea Patriotic Friends Assn.		1,050	Moon, Jai Kwan
00103	Federation of Distributing Assn. of Korea		8,000	Pak, Sung Bong
00110	Popular Party		40,000	Shim, Yi Taik
00113	Pyung Wha Athletic Institute		3,000	Kim, Nam San
00114	Oriental Youth Association		1,583	Eun, Chu Pho
00116	Korean Civil Engineers and Architectures' League		1,220,000	Chung, Moon Kyo
00118	Korean Engineers' Association		16,796	Lee, Choon Yul
00121	Tan-Race Unification Party		1,966	Shin, Ta Whan
00122	Korean Farmers' Association		2,000	Lee, Yu Keun
00123	National Construction Oratory Society (Taegu)		1,500	Lee, Hak Don
00127	General Association of Blinds in Korea		10,000	Oh, Hyun Sang
00130	Sung Dong Youngmens' League	KD	1,600	Choi, Baik Keun
00133	General Union of Entire Country Buddhists Association		1,585,708	Kim, Yong Dam
00134	Central Union of Education		23	Cho, Dong Sik
00141	Great Korea Youngmens' League		1,700	Lee, Sung Min
00142	Research Association on Problems of Koreans residing Abroad		1,800	Kim, Yung Sam
00143	Repatriated Koreans from Manchuria Association		1,600	Su, Bum Suk
00144	Anam Dong Anti-Trusteeship Womens' Association		2,000	Kim, Nora
00145	Full Moon Meeting Society		1,430	Choi, Yung Soo
00146	Anam Youngmens' Association		1,100	Cho, Hi Chul

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ORGANIZATIONS REGISTERING

Number	Name of Organization	Ord. 55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00147	Anam Revolutionary Youngmens' Association		1,250	Chun, Duk Sung
00148	National Club		28,000	Kim, Choon Yun
00150	Woman's New Life Society		60	Lee, Hang Sun
00154	Korean Young Men's Esparantisto's League		70	Pak, Chung Hoon
00155	Fatherland Culture Society		2,000	Lee, Hyuk
00156	The Samo Association		1,600	Kim, Hyun Soo
00157	The Ham Min Party		1,800	Lee, In Kyung
00158	The Han Kook Club		3,200	Kim, Chai Hak
00159	Yusin Association		3,500	Yim, Bong Soon
00160	Kingwha Club		4,500	Kim, Chang Sun
00164	Great Korean Popular Socialist Party for the Redistribution of the Nation's Land		200	Oh, Suk Wha
00170	Industrial Assn. of Kyonggi-do		480	Ahn, Seung Han
00171	Korean Economic Association		120	Yun, Ho Pyung
00173	Korean Dentists' Association		1,100	Kim, Yong Jin
00174	Korean Language Research Society		263	Chang, Chi Yung
00176	Korean Musicians' Association		37,015	Chung, Myung Sun
00177	Self-Supporting Student Mutual Aid Assn.			Choi, Hyun
00179	Korean Manufacturing Chemists' Assn.		510	Han, Ku Tong
00180	Korean Eternal Friendship Assn.		200	Lee, Chai Uck
00184	North-South Intimacy Assn.		2,000	Han, Tak Yul
00193	Union of Laboring Athletics of Whole Nation		30,000	Kim, Seun Pai
00194	Merchants' Association of Nana Tai Moon Market			Lee, Choo Pok
00195	Korean Educators Association		9,210	Paik, Joon Young
00197	Assn. for the Welfare of Korean Patriots		22	Choi, Jin
00199	General Headquarters of Self Governing		1,200	Yang, Chun Soo
00200	Wednesday Association		200	Won, Tahl
00203	Popular Party of Korea		24,988	Ka, Chun Koo
00206	Korean Mechanical Engineers' Association		1,210	Lee, Chai Ho

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KOREAN PARTIES AND SOCIAL
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Number	Name of Organization	Ord. 55 Registration	Number Members	Leader
00209	The Korean Handball Assn.		5,000	Cho, Young Ha
00210	Heung Kook Christian Brotherhood		3,200	Han, Tai Young
00211	Korean Law Research		102	Lee, Bum Seung
00213	Teuk Yong Farmers' Committee		5,000	Whang Chai Yun
00218	Aichi Young Men's Association		3,500	Kang, Won Sik

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American Delegation
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DAILY ACCESSION LIST OF COMPLETED CONSULTATION DOCUMENTS

Serial No.	Name of Party or Organization	Party Leader	Designation of Documents
00040	Korean Law and Political Institute	Yun, Koo Ha	Application
00133	General Union of Entire Country Buddhists' Assn.	Kim, Yong Tan	Application

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DAILY ACCESSION LIST OF COMPLETED
CONSULTATION DOCUMENTS

Serial Number	Name of Party or Organization	Leader	Designated Document
00022	New Progressive National Assn.	Kim, Chi Chung	Application
00116	Korean Civil Engineers Union	Chung, Moon Kyo	"
00268	Whanghai Christian Assn.	Lee, Whan Soo	"
00267	University Club	Lee, Yong Jik	"
00287	Hampuk Society	Sur, Sang Yong	"
00132	Korean Democratic/Independence Party	Kwon, Tai Suk	"
00315	Relief Assn. for Korean in China	Cho, Paik Man	"
00042	The Oriental Cultural Promoting Society	Lee, Doo San	"
00009	Industrial Patriotic Party	Lee, Choi Kan	"
00266	Northwestern Revolutionary Friendship Assn.	Lee, Choong Keun	"
00097	The Korean Red Cross	Kimm, Kiusic	"
00039	Korean Bukang Assn.	Kim, Chong Tai	"
00038	Committee Promoting Korean Independent Democratic Government	Kim, Chong Pai	"
00037	Dan Min Assn.	Kim, Chong Tai	"
00106	Whole National Patriotic Assn.	Lee, Keuk No	"
00305	Korean Renaissance Political Party	Lee, Yong Chick	"
00021	Alliance for Independence Movement	Kim, Kiusic	"
00244	The Reconstruction Alliance of Korean Drug	Nam, Tai Won	"

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DAILY ACCESSION LIST OF COMPLETED
CONSULTATION DOCUMENTS

Serial Number	Name of Party or Organization	Leader	Designated Document
00154	Korean Young Mens Esperantosto League	Park, Chung Hoon	Application
00124	Young Korean Party	Lee, Sung Keun	"

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21 June 1947

Daily Accenssion List of Completed
Consultation Documents

Serial Number	Name of Party or Organization	Leader	Deaignated Document
00397	Korean Industrial Assn.	Yim, Sang Soon	Reply to Political Platform Questionnaire

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21 June 1947

Daily Accenssion List of Completed
Consultation Documents

Serial Number	Name of Party or Organization	Leader	Designated Document
00397	Korean Industrial Assn.	Yim, Sang Soon	Reply to Charter Questionnaire

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25 June 1947

Daily Accenssion List of Completed
Consultation Documents

Serial Number	Name of Party or Organization	Leader	Designated Document
00058	The Great Korean Republic Revolutionary Labor Party	Kim, Kyo Yong	Reply to Political Platform Questionnaire

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American Delegation
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25 June 1947

Daily Accenssion List of Completed
Consultation Documents

Serial Number	Name of Party or Organization	Leader	Designated Document
00058	The Great Korean Republic Revolutionary Labor Party	Kim, Kyo Yong	Reply to Charter Questionnaire

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SYMBOLS: (C) - Reply to Questionnaire on Charter for Provisional Government.
(P) - Reply to Questionnaire on Political Platform.

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DAILY ACCESSION LIST OF COMPLETED CONSULTATION DOCUMENTS

Serial Number	Name of Party or Organization	Leader	Designated Document
00203	Popular Party of Korea	Ko, Chun Koo	(C) (P)

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O.K.

DRAFT
27 June 1947

PLAN FOR THE JOINT MEETING OF THE COMMISSION WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF NORTHERN KOREA, 30 JUNE 1947.

1. Opening of the meeting.

Text of General Brown's remarks:

Gentlemen:

I hereby open this meeting of the Joint American-Soviet Commission with representatives of democratic parties and social organizations of Northern Korea.

2. Three National Anthems:

(1) Korean

(2) Soviet

(3) American

3. General Brown (continuing remarks):

I give the floor to the Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation of the US-Soviet Joint Commission, Colonel General Shtikov, who will present a statement on the aims and procedure of oral consultation.

4. General Shtikov's speech in:

(1) Russian

(2) Korean

(3) English

5. General Brown (closing remarks):

"I hereby close this meeting of the Joint Commission with the representatives of democratic parties and social organizations."

"And now I invite the representatives of democratic parties and social organizations, who are present at this meeting, to meet the Chief Commissioners of the Soviet and American Delegations."

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of Adviser
CG USAFIK

To: Chief Commissioner, American Delegation 10 July 1947.

From: Analysis Committee

SUBJECT: NORTH & SOUTH KOREA LISTS FOR CONSULTATION

1. The Chief Commissioner, Soviet Delegation, declared at the close of the meeting on 9th July that the Soviets had presented a list of political parties and social organizations of North Korea for consultation, and chided the American Delegation for not doing the same for South Korea and for thus delaying consultation.

2. The following is a review of the facts of the case:

a - Subcommission No.1 presented the Soviet Delegation with lists, in the prescribed form, of both the South Korea political parties and social organizations that had applied for consultation and their designated representatives on 24th June 1947 the day after the deadline for receiving applications.

b - This list included a complete list of those groups which applied for consultation in South Korea and fulfilled the prescribed conditions as presented in Joint Commission Decision No.12, which made no provision for unilateral rejection of applications for consultation by either Delegation.

c.- Because of the large number of applicants, and the desire to complete initial consultation in two weeks, the American Subcommission No.1 worked out a plan for completing all consultation in South Korea in 11 days. Under this plan, the Joint Commission would have fulfilled the obligation assumed in Joint Decision No.12 to consult with all groups who fulfilled the stated conditions, although the representatives of the smaller organizations would have been heard in groups. Instead of discussing this plan, the Soviets launched new efforts aimed at unilateral exclusion.

d - American Subcommission No.1 also recommended to the Soviets on the 25th and 26th of June the deletion of three names from the South Korea list because of fraudulent claims of membership and duplication. It also called attention to other errors in membership figures, and made necessary corrections.

e - American Subcommission No.1 compiled lists of organizations of both North and South Korea with 10,000 or more members, and on 3rd July proposed that consultation with all these organizations begin on 7th July, as had been announced to the Koreans.

3. The Soviet Delegation consistently rebuffed these American attempts to arrange for consultation as agreed upon in Joint Commission Decision No.12, and persisted in manoeuvers which would give them the power to exclude unilaterally from consultation those groups with whom they differ in political outlook.

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4. A comparison of the two lists indicates:

a - North Korea: The Soviet list includes 38 organizations, almost all of which are affiliated with the Peoples Committee, and represent the "official" North Korea point-of-view. In effect a very substantial body of people in North Korea, the non-communist will have little or no voice in the North Korea consultations. The same rules for applying for consultation were in effect both North and South of the 38th parallel. The Soviets have claimed that if local organizations had applied in North Korea their applications would have numbered in the hundreds. Just why did not at least one or two such organizations apply for consultation? Is the North Korea list actually the list of those organizations which applied for consultation, or is it a list compiled by the Soviets and the Peoples Committee? The latter answer is strongly implied in the Soviet stand against certain types of organizations, notwithstanding the fact that Joint Decision No.12 does not define groups eligible for consultation, and in the lack of any but the officially controlled groups in their list.

b - South Korea: This list is long, and includes many small local organizations, as predicted by the American Delegation when the Soviets refused to agree to inclusion in Joint Decision No.12 of elimination of local organizations, as well as those with less than 5,000 members. However, the list includes a wide diversity of organizations, representing all shades of political, economic, and social opinion, and therefore should provide a sound instrument through which to get a true cross-section of Korean opinion, as provided for in the Moscow Decision. The North Korea list certainly cannot give this same cross-section of political opinion in North Korea.

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ON THE ORDER OF CONSULTATION WITH KOREAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN KOREA

1. In consulting with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, the Joint Commission shall be guided by the conditions stated in the letter of Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. V. M. Molotov, of 7 May 1947, and accepted by the Secretary of State of the U.S.A. George Marshall in his letter of 13 May 1947. The appropriate quotation from the letter of Foreign Minister Molotov is given below:

"The Soviet Commander in his letter of Nov. 26, 1946, advanced the following proposals as a basis for the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission:

1. The Joint Commission must consult those democratic parties and organizations which uphold fully the Moscow Decision on Korea.

2. Parties or social organizations invited for consultation with the Joint Commission must not nominate for consultation those representatives who have compromised themselves by actively voicing opposition to the Moscow Decision.

3. Parties and social organizations invited for consultation with Joint Commission must not and will not voice opposition nor will they incite others to voice opposition to Moscow Decision and the work of the Joint Commission. If such be the case, such parties and social organizations by mutual agreement of both delegations will be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission.

The American Commander in his letter of Dec. 24, 1946, agreed to accept these proposals of the Soviet Commander with the following changes as the basis for the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission:

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"Proposal Number 1 to be interpreted as follows:

"Signing the declaration in Communique Number 5 will be accepted as declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow Decision and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for initial consultation.

"Proposal Number 2. I consider it the right of a declarant party or organization to appoint the representative which it believes will best present to the Joint Commission its views on the implementation of the Moscow Decision. However, should such representative for good reason be believed to be antaganistic to the implementation of the Moscow Decision or to either of the Allied Powers, the Joint Commission may, after mutual agreement, require the declarant party to name a substitute spokesman.

"Proposal Number 3. It is suggested that it be reworded as follows: Individuals, parties and social organizations invited for the consultation with the Joint Commission should not after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 foment or instigage active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision. Those individuals, parties and social organizations which after signing the declaration contained in Communique Number 5 do foment or instigate active opposition to the work of the Joint Commission or to either of the Allied Powers or to the fulfillment of the Moscow Decision shall be excluded from further consultation with the Joint Commission. The decision excluding such individuals, parties and social organizations shall be by agreement of the Joint Commission."

With a view to expediting the resumption of the work of the Joint Commission and the creation of a temporary Korean democratic government, I am prepared to accept the amendments set forth above proposed by the American Commander."

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2. The Joint Commission will consult with Korean democratic parties and social organizations which are truly democratic in their aims and methods and which will subscribe to the following declarations:

"We _____ declare that we will uphold the aims of the Moscow Decision on Korea as stated in paragraph 1 of this decision, namely:

'The reestablishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles, and, the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea.'

Further, we will abide by the decisions of the Joint Commission in its fulfillment of paragraph 2 of the Moscow Decision in the formation of a Provisional Korean Democratic Government;

Further, we will cooperate with the Joint Commission in working out by it with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government, of proposals concerning measures foreseen by paragraph 3 of the Moscow Decision.

Signed _____

Representing the _____ Party or Organization."

3. Democratic parties and social organizations of northern and southern Korea are hereby invited to submit their applications for participation in consultation with the Joint Commission. Every party and organization must submit only one application through its central zonal organ.

The application should be accompanied by a copy of the declaration given in paragraph 2 above, duly signed and sealed with the seal of its central organ and also signed by the designated representative. The application shall contain the following information:

a. The full name of the party or organization, the address of its central office, the date of estab-

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lishment, the membership number and location of branches, and total membership.

b. The full name of a designated representative given in Chinese characters and, where possible, in English and Russian transliteration, the place and dat of birth, position held in the party or organization and home address. Applications for participation in consultation shall be submitted to the Joint Commission at Seoul or Pyongyang by 20 June 1945.

4. Democratic parties and social organizations of Northern and Southern Korea which have signed the declaration contained in paragraph 2 may submit to the Joint Commission in written form their considerations regarding the structure and principles of organization of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also the political platform for this Government, in accordance with a questionnaire approved by the Commission. This questionnaire shall be published in the press and printed copies will be available at the Joint Commission headquarters in Seoul and Pyongyang.

The aforementioned considerations shall be submitted to the Joint Commission by 25 June 1947.

5. Subcommission No. 1, upon receiving the applications for consultation, shall compile a list of all democratic parties and social organizations and their designated representatives of North and South Korea which have signed the declaration in paragraph 2.

6. Following the approval by the Joint Commission of the list of democratic parties and social organizations and their representatives, mentioned in paragraph 5, the Joint Commission shall convene in Seoul on 25 June 1947 a joint meeting to which it shall invite the above mentioned representatives of parties

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and social organizations in South Korea. A similar meeting of representatives of parties and social organizations in North Korea shall take place in Pyongyang on 30 June 1947. The Chief Commissioner of the Soviet Delegation shall preside over the meeting in Seoul, and the Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation shall preside at the meeting in Pyongyang. At such meetings the Chief of the Delegation in whose zone the assembly is being held will present a statement elaborated by the Joint Commission.

7. Representatives of parties and social organizations of both Northern and Southern Korea which are included in the list referred to in paragraph 5 above will be invited to individual oral consultation regarding the structure and principle of organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also regarding the political platform for this Government. For this purpose the Joint Commission will appoint the necessary number of subcommittees and shall notify each representative of the time and place he is to appear for consultation. This process of oral consultation shall commence on 3 July 1947 and take place in Seoul and Pyongyang. **(Question of consultation in Seoul and Pyongyang.)**

8. The Joint Commission will present the considerations and proposals received from the Korean democratic parties and social organizations of North as well as South Korea for study and elaboration of coordinated proposals to the corresponding subcommissions which will create, for this purpose, the necessary number of subcommittees. Advisors, experts and technical personnel for the work in the Joint subcommissions and subcommittees will be appointed by the heads of the corresponding delegations.

9. For the purpose of consultation and aiding the Joint Com-

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mission in elaboration by it of recommendations regarding the structure and principles of organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and of the local organs of authority (Provisional Charter), and also the political platform for this government, representatives of various parties and social organizations shall be invited from among such parties and organizations included in the list mentioned in paragraph 5.

The number of such representatives of various parties and organizations shall be determined by the Joint Commission in accordance with the number of members and, as far as possible, taking into account their influence. The Joint Commission shall convene joint meetings with such representatives and may also call upon them to take part in the elaboration of recommendations by subcommissions and subcommittees. The time and the agenda of the joint sessions of the Joint Commission with such representatives will be approved by the Chief Commissioners.

10. Democratic parties and social organizations of both northern and southern Korea shall have equal rights and opportunity in consultation with the Joint Commission.

11. The coordinated proposals elaborated by the subcommissions shall be submitted for consideration to the Joint Commission which shall examine such proposals and shall grant its provisional approval. Following this the Joint Commission shall appoint a drafting commission to which it shall give the necessary instructions regarding the compilation of the final text of the recommendations concerning the structure and principles or organization of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government and local organs of authority (Provisional Charter) and also the political platform for this government. The texts of

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recommendations elaborated by the drafting commission shall be approved by the Joint Commission.

12. Following the approval of the texts of recommendations submitted by the drafting commission, the Joint Commission shall proceed with elaboration of recommendations regarding the personnel of the Korean Provisional Democratic Government.

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Policy for Korea (US-USSR Joint commission)

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC

APO 500
3 July 1946

AG 091 (3 Jul 46)CS

SUBJECT: Policy for Korea

TO : Commanding General, XXIV Corps, APO 235.

1. Attached hereto, for your information and guidance, is letter, War Department General Staff, OPD 091 Korea (7 Jun 46), subject as above, dated 13 June 1946, with proper enclosures.

2. Copies of enclosures have been withdrawn by this headquarters for necessary information.

By command of General MacARTHUR:

/s/ J. R. Martz
/t/ J. R. MARTZ
Lt. Col. AGD,
Asst. Adj. Gen.

3 Incls:
1. Copy ltr, WDGS, OPD 091 Korea (7 Jun 46)
2. Copy Memo, Dept of State, dtd 6 June 46
3. Copy, mimeographed notes on Policy for Korea

1. File.
2. Gen Arnold
3. Gen. Werkeling
4. Col. Booth.
(24 July 46)
fhm

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WAR DEPARTMENT
War Department General Staff
Plans & Operations Division
Washington 25, DC

OPD 091 Korea (7 Jun 46) 13 June 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U.S. ARMED FORCES, PACIFIC,
TOKYO, JAPAN

SUBJECT: Policy for Korea.

1. On June 6, 1946, the Assistant Secretary of State for occupied areas forwarded to the War Department copies of the inclosed paper, "Policy for Korea", with the request that the conclusions be transmitted to you by radio and that copies of the entire paper be forwarded to you at an early date, for your guidance and information.

2. The conclusions were transmitted to you in WAR 90716.

3. The inclosures are herewith forwarded to you for information.

J. E. HULL
Lieutenant General, GSC
Director of Plans & Operations

K. R. HILDRING
Major, GSC
Ass't Executive Officer
Plans & Policy Group

2 Incls
7 copies of mimeographed notes on Policy for Korea.

Ltr from Mr. Hilldring to OPD - copy.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1946

MEMORANDUM

TO: Operations Division
War Department

FROM: Assistant Secretary of State for
Occupied Areas

It is recommended that the following message together with the conclusions of the attached paper be transmitted to SCAP as soon as possible and that the entire paper be forwarded at an early date.

> Following are conclusions of a State Department political policy paper on Korea, concurred in by War and Navy Departments and transmitted to you for information and guidance. Entire paper is being forwarded by courier. In implementing any of the below listed provisions you are cautioned not to exceed your current budget. Steps have been taken to prepare a new JCS directive for Korea based on political principles outlined below and including expanded cultural and economic measures which are considered necessary in order effectively to implement a revised policy.

/s/ J. H. HILLDRING
Assistant Secretary

Attachment:
Paper on "Policy for Korea."

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POLICY FOR KOREA

THE PROBLEM

1. The problem is to determine the basic objectives of the United States with regard to Korea and how best to achieve these objectives through further negotiations in the Joint Commission and through unilateral action in southern Korea, pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government.

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

2. See Appendix "A".

DISCUSSION

3. See Appendix "B".

CONCLUSIONS

4. It is concluded that:

a. The basic objectives of the United States with regard to Korea as a whole are:

(1) To establish a self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations;

(2) To insure that the national government so established shall be a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people; and

(3) To assist the Koreans in establishing the sound economy and adequate educational system necessary for an independent democratic state.

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local and provincial administrations and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole;

(b) For all appointive posts, selecting Koreans insofar as possible from all political groups; and

(2) Establish through broad electoral processes an advisory legislative body which shall supersede the present Representative Democratic Council of Southern Korea and shall have the duty of formulating and presenting to the United States Commander draft laws to be used at his discretion as a basis for political, economic and social reforms in the southern zone, pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government. The Commander of the United States Forces in Korea shall put into effect such draft laws except when they are inconsistent with basic United States objectives or the Moscow Agreement.

In the implementation of paragraphs (1)(a) and (2) above, the United States Commander shall make every effort to insure that all major political groups participate in all elections.

c. As a further measure to win popular Korean support for United States policies and thus strengthen the United States position in future negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea shall take steps to institute a broad program of constructive economic and educational

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b. It is the intention of the United States Government to achieve its objectives in Korea within the framework of the Moscow Agreement and to this end to do all in its power to achieve the fulfillment of the terms of the Agreement and in particular the attainment of Korean independence at the earliest possible date.

c. The military occupation of Southern Korea is for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of basic United States objectives in Korea and shall continue as long as it contributes to this end.

d. With a view to preparing Koreans for early independence and winning popular Korean support for United States policies and thus strengthening the United States position in future negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea, pending the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government, shall broaden the basis for Korean participation in the administration of Southern Korea. Insofar as the following can be accomplished without impairing the maintenance of the necessary military control, he shall:

(1) Utilize qualified Koreans in as many posts of responsibility as possible in the local and provincial administrations and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole:

(a) Using popular electoral processes for the selection of Koreans to occupy key posts in

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reforms for Southern Korea looking toward the creation of conditions favorable to the development of a strong and lasting democratic system in Korea. The advisory legislative body, when constituted, shall be encouraged to assist in formulating this program and to take the lead in initiating draft legislation for its implementation. All major reforms shall, if possible, be initiated by the advisory legislative body, and no major reform shall be undertaken without consultation with this body and, preferably after obtaining its support. Further instructions regarding specific features of such an economic and educational reform program will be provided by the United States Government for the guidance of the United States Commander.

f. In implementing paragraphs d and e above, the Commander of the United States Forces in Korea shall continue to permit full freedom of expression to all political groups and shall seek the cooperation of representatives of all groups in the administration of southern Korea. No Korean shall be barred from an appointive or elective post because of his political affiliations. As a general policy, however, the United States Commander shall encourage the selection of leaders who remained in Korea throughout the period of Japanese rule and shall in no way oppose the voluntary retirement from politics of Korean leaders who have returned to Korea since the Japanese capitulation.

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g. The public information program shall be utilized to the fullest to further Korean understanding of and support for United States policies in Korea.

h. While implementing paragraphs d and e above, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea should not lose sight of the intention of this government to establish, as soon as possible, a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government, in accordance with the terms of the Moscow Agreement. To this end, the United States Commander, while standing firm on the principle that freedom of expression must be safeguarded throughout Korea, shall be prepared to instruct the United States representatives on the Joint Commission to resume negotiations with the Soviet representatives at any time and shall propose the resumption of negotiations whenever there is reason to believe that there may be a basis for agreement within the Commission without compromising United States principles. In particular, he shall be ready to exploit any favorable reaction on the part of the Korean people or the Soviet representatives on the Joint Commission to conditions resulting from the implementation of paragraphs d and e above as the basis for agreement regarding the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government. When negotiations are resumed, the United States representatives shall look to SWNCC 176/18 for guidance and shall also consider the present impasse in the Joint Commission:

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(1) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the group of representative democratic Korean leaders called for in paragraph 4 d (1) of SWNCC 176/18;

(2) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the key members of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government;

(3) To accept for consultative purposes the advisory legislative body called for in paragraph d (2) above as representative of all democratic parties and social organizations in southern Korea; and

(4) To use members of such an advisory legislative body for key positions in a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government.

i. Pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government, the United States Commander in Korea shall continue to strive for the coordination of economic and administrative matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, insofar as this can be done without prejudicing the attainment of basic United States objectives.

j. For the purpose of attracting the well-qualified personnel essential to the effective operation of the United States occupation in southern Korea, a substantial program shall be initiated to provide

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provide acceptable living accommodations for the families of United States personnel. In addition to providing living accommodations by utilizing and remodeling former Japanese owned property, new construction should be undertaken. Other facilities, such as schools, hospitals, and household supplies shall be made available to all United States personnel and their families. Accommodations shall also be provided for personnel on specialized duty requiring only brief visits.

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APPENDIX "A"

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

1. The United States, the United Kingdom, and China stated in the Cairo Declaration on December 1, 1943, that they

> "Mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

In the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945 the same Powers declared that:

> "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor islands as we determine."

2. In oral statements to Mr. Hopkins at Yalta in February 1945 and at Moscow on November 12, 1945, Stalin agreed with the United States suggestion that a Four-Power trusteeship involving the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Great Britain, and China would be a desirable solution to the problem of the immediate future of Korea.

3. SWNCC 176/8 (October 13, 1945) was the basic initial directive to the Commander in Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, for the administration of civil affairs in those areas of Korea occupied by United States Forces. It defined the authority which CINCAFPAC possessed and the policies which were to guide CINCAFPAC in the administration of civil affairs in Korea in the initial period after Japanese surrender prior to the establishment of a trusteeship. The political section outlined in basic objectives of the military occupation of Korea, the establishment

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establishment of the Civil Affairs Administartion and the political and administrative reorganization; the procedures to be followed in regard to demilitarization, arrest and internment, prisoners of war, United Nations Nationals, Neutrals and other persons; and the actions of the Command relative to political activity, education, arts and archives.

The section on economics defined the objectives and methods of economic control; procedures regarding armament production, agriculture, industry and internal commerce, public health, international economic transactions and restitution of property; and the methods of achieving adequate civilian supply and relief. The financial section defined the action to be taken regarding the control of banks, issuance of money, payment of pensions, freezing of certain assets, and foreign exchange transactions.

4. Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Agreement of December 27, 1945, reads as follows:

> "III. Korea. 1. With a view to the reestablishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.
>
> "2. In order to assist the formation of a Provisional Korean Government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures, there shall be established a joint commission consisting of representatives of the United States Command in Southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern

Korea.

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Korea. In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations. The recommendations worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom and the United States prior to final decision by the two Governments represented on the Joint Commission.

"3. It shall be the task of the Joint Commission with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and of the Korean democratic organizations to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea.

"The proposals of the Joint Commission shall be submitted, following consultations with the Provisional Korean Government for the joint consideration of the Governments of the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and China for the working out of an agreement concerning a four-power trusteeship of Korea for a period of up to five years.

"4. For the consideration of urgent problems affecting both southern and northern Korea and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, a conference of the representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea shall be convened within a period of two weeks."

5. Mr. Byrnes in his radio address on 30 December 1945 commented on the Korean Section of the Moscow Agreement as follows:

"The administration of Korea has been a trying problem since the surrender of Japan. For the purposes of military operations the occupation of Korea was divided north and south of Latitude 38 into Soviet and American areas. The continuation of this division after surrender has been unsatisfactory. The movement of persons and goods and the functioning of public services on a nationwide scale has been hampered.

"Under

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"Under our agreement at Moscow, the two military commands are to form a Joint Soviet-American Commission to solve immediate economic and administrative problems. They will make recommendations to the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China for the formulation of a Korean Provisional Democratic Government. They will also make proposals to these Governments regarding a four-power trusteeship to prepare Korea for its independence within five years.

"The Joint Soviet-American Commission, working with the Korean Provisional Democratic Government, may find it possible to dispense with a trusteeship. It is our goal to hasten the day when Korea will become an independent member of the Society of Nations."

6. The United States-Soviet Joint Conference, which met from January 16 to February 5, 1946, was convened in accordance with the Moscow Agreement, which provided for consideration of urgent problems affecting both occupation areas and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the two occupation commands. Of the fifteen points on the official agenda, agreement was achieved on only seven items. These agreements provided for: rail, motor and water-borne transportation on a limited basis; uniform regulation of ports in both zones; establishment of joint control posts along the 38th parallel; limited movement of Korean citizens from one zone to the other; limited exchange of first-class mail; allocation of radio frequencies; and measures for future coordination between the two commands. Implementation of the agreements made has not been complete; in fact the only agreement known to have been carried out in full is that concerning exchange of first-class mails.

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Because of fundamental differences in points of view, no decision could be reached on the supply of electric power, exchange of commodities, mutual payments for goods, repatriation of Japanese in northern Korea, telecommunication between zones, and partial or local changes in the boundary between zones. The United States delegation based its discussions on the desirability of removing the barrier of the 38th parallel and considering the country as an economic and administrative unit. The Soviets, on the other hand, viewed the problem as one of exchange and coordination between two adjoining but separate zones of military responsibility.

7. The objective of SWNCC 176/18 (January 28, 1946) was to determine the policy for the guidance of General MacArthur in conducting negotiations with the Soviet Command in northern Korea regarding the initial powers and functions of the Joint Commission provided for in paragraph 2 of Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Agreement and regarding the formulation of plans for the creation of a Provisional Korean Government.

CINCAFPAC was directed to make arrangements for an early meeting of the Joint Commission at which the United States members were to regard the creation of a Provisional Korean Government as the first and most pressing political task. To facilitate such an end the United States Commander in Korea was to encourage the various political parties to reach fundamental agreement on political, social and economic policies.

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The United States members were to suggest that the Joint Commission should select a group of representative democratic Korean leaders for the purpose of consultation with the Joint Commission in its preparation of proposals for the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government. Such leaders were to be chosen after full consultation with all democratic parties or through electoral processes. If the Joint Commission could not agree on such a position, the United States and Soviet Commanders in Korea separately were to choose the members of the group from their respective zones—the number from each zone to be proportionate to the population or at least to the number of provinces in each zone. The group of Korean leaders were to be called on to formulate plans for a Provisional Korean Government, subject to modification by the Joint Commission. Such proposals were then to be forwarded to the four Powers. If it were impossible for the Joint Commission to reach agreement on the creation of an advisory group of Korean leaders, the United States Commander in Korea was independently to form such a group to act in an advisory capacity to the United States members of the Joint Commission in matters relating to the creation of a Provisional Korean Government.

8. Representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea began sessions of the Joint Commission on March 20, 1946. In the opening session, the Soviet Delegate, General Shtikov, stated that "the Soviet Union has a keen interest in Korea being a true democratic and independent country, friendly to the Soviet Union.

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so that in the future it will not become a base for attack on the Soviet Union."

From the beginning the Soviet position was that the Provisional Korean Government would be formed after consultation with those political parties and social organizations fully in favor of the Moscow Agreement. A month of negotiations resulted in a public statemenw on the part of the Joint Commission to the effect that those Korean parties and organizations would be consulted which supported the aims of the Moscow Agreement expressed in Paragraph (1) thereof, abided by decisions of the Joint Commission and Four Powers under paragraph (2), and cooperated with reference to paragraph (3).

In discussions with reference to the procedure for consulting parties, the Soviets insisted that should individuals selected by the parties be those who had expressed opposition to the Moscow decision or had attacked any of the Allied powers, they would be declared ineligible for consultation with the Joint Commission. The United States delegation did not agree with this proposal since such exclusion would in effect have barred from consultation those Koreans who had participated in the "Representative Democratic Council of South Korea," a majority of whom had voiced opposition to trusteeship. The formation of the "Democratic Council" had been encouraged by the United States Command. The Soviet delegation adopted the position that because the United States delegation did not agree without

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qualification that the Moscow Agreement makes a five-year trusteeship for Korea mandatory, and because the United States Command did not prohibit further discussion of the subject by Koreans, the United States was not living up to the Moscow decision.

It became evident that no progress could be made, and the United States delegation moved for consideration of measures for the elimination of the 38th parallel. The Soviet delegation responded to the effect that the problems involved there would be solved with the creation of a Provisional Government. The United States delegation, on May 8, moved for adjournment sine die; the Soviet delegation agreed.

9. In a press conference on May 17, Acting Secretary Acheson stated when asked if any communication had passed between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the deadlock of the Joint Commission in Korea, that no such communication had passed on government level and that the Commission had simply adjourned and had not dissolved since it had no authority to dissolve, He added that the United States representatives on the Joint Commission are ready at any item to resume negotiations for fulfillment of the Moscow decision as soon as the Soviet delegation to the Commission is ready to acknowledge that freedom of expression will be safeguarded throughout Korea in implementation of the Moscow decision. The State Department has been kept fully informed by General John R. Hodge of all phases

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of negotiations and fully concurs in position General Hodge has taken, Mr. Acheson said.

10. Representative Democratic Council

In order to create an advisory body representative of the various political parties in southern Korea, the United States Command set up the Representative Democratic Council which held its first meeting on February 14, 1946. The twenty-eight members of the Council signed a statement pledging themselves to assist General Hodge in his efforts to create a provisional government. Syngman Rhee became Chairman of the Council, Kim Kiuosik--Vice Chairman, and Kim Koo--Secretary General.

The leader of the Peoples' Party, Lyuh Woon Hyung, did not attend, although he signed the agreement and his name appeared on the list of members. Lyuh's absence stemmed first from the fact that the "Propaganda Minister" of the defunct "Provisional Government," in a face-saving statement, had conveyed the impression that the new organization was an offshoot of the former "Provisional Government" and that Lyuh had merely been invited to participate rather than that he had been included from the outset as an original member; and secondly, from Communist opposition within Lyuh's party to the Council.

Thus, the Representative Democratic Council did not succeed in unifying the political parties; rather it stimulated their alignment into two camps. The Right and Center parties united behind the Representative Democratic Council under the leadership of Syngman

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of Syngman Rhee, and the Left was entirely excluded. As a result, the Representative Democratic Council contains all the well known conservative and moderate leaders, and membership of any working council would probably include Syngman Rhee, Kim Koo and Kim Kyusik.

The Communist controlled Korean Peoples' Republic, Peoples' Party, Independence Alliance and Communist Party united in a Democratic Peoples' Front under Pak Heun Yung and Lyuh Woon Hyung and continued to refuse to participate in the Council.

The position of the two parties became more and more diametrically opposed. The right wing in general supported military government and opposed the trusteeship principle, while the leftist groups became increasingly critical of the United States. On March 18, 1946, Syngman Rhee resigned as chairman of the Representative Democratic Council, offering ill health as the reason. However, the Council refused to accept his resignation and granted him a leave of absence to which he agreed. He had recently been under attack from the leftist press as allegedly having promised important Korean mining concessions to a New York firm when he became president of Korea.

Meanwhile, the Representative Democratic Council issued its platform, parallelling the pronouncement of Rhee on February 28; personal rights, radical land reform, planned economy and progressive taxation were the basic concepts.

Since the Representative Democaratic Council is packed with conservative elements, it cannot be considered representative of the political parties of southern Korea as a whole.

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APPENDIX "B"

DISCUSSION

1. The major current statements of United States policy with regard to Korea are SWNCC 176/8 and SWNCC 176/18. These two documents no longer fully meet the needs of the situation in Korea. The former was designed as guidance for the initial stages of the occupation of southern Korea prior to the assumed early unification of the United States and Soviet zones and the creation of a Korean Government or a Trusteeship. The latter document was designed as guidance in the negotiations with the Soviet authorities over the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government as a preliminary step in the unification of Korea and the creation of a Trusteeship or an independent Korean Government, as called for in the Moscow Agreement.

When the Joint Commission adjourned sine die on 8 May 1946, negotiations looking toward the creation of a Provisional Korean Government came to a halt. It obviously will be extremely difficult to reopen these negotiations and push them to a successful conclusion. Thus, the United States authorities in southern Korea are faced with the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the present unnatural division of Korea and the postponement of all plans for the creation of a Trusteeship or independent Korean Government. It is necessary, therefore, at this time to reexamine United States policy with regard to Korea in order

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in order to determine what are our basic objectives there and how under present circumstances these may best be attained.

2. The fundamental United States objective with regard to Korea, simply stated, is the independence of Korea. This the United States has promised in the Cairo Declaration and subsequent statements. Korean independence is important not only for the sake of the Koreans themselves but also as a means of strengthening political stability throughout the Far East, for the domination of Korea by either Japan or the Soviet Union would further endanger Chinese control of Manchuria and would thus lessen the prospect of the creation of a strong and stable China, without which there can be no permanent political stability in the Far East. If we are to establish a self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations, we must also assist the Koreans to establish the sound economy and adequate educational system essential to an independent state. To be consistent with our own principles of freedom and liberty, we must also be prepared to insure that the National Korean Government we help establish is a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people.

3. The United States occupation of southern Korea is for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of these basic objectives. At present, the occupation greatly aids this end, and, without it, there would be little hope of achieving our objectives. This, no doubt, will continue to be the situation as long as the Soviet occupation

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occupation of northern Korea is continued. The United States occupation of southern Korea, therefore, should be maintained as long as it contributes to the attainment of basic United States objectives with regard to Korea.

4. As a result of the joint occupation of Korea by United States and Soviet forces, basic United States objectives with regard to Korea can only be attained through agreement with the Soviet Union. In fact, the policy problems raised by Korea assume added significance because they entail the necessity of agreement with the Soviet Union and thus become part of the much more vital problem of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. While the United States should hold firm to its basic objectives with regard to Korea, it should be recognized that an amicable agreement with the Soviet Union over Korea is to be desired not only as a means of achieving our objectives there but also as a factor facilitating a Far Eastern and general understanding with the Soviet Union.

5. If an agreement over Korea is to be reached with the Soviet Union, it is imperative that the United States strictly observe the Moscow Agreement. The United States Government, therefore, in attempting to achieve its objectives in Korea should work within the framework of the Moscow Agreement and to this end should do all in its power to achieve the fulfillment of the terms of the Agreement and in particular the attainment of Korea independence within a maximum period of five years.

6. A satisfactory

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6. A satisfactory agreement over Korea with the Soviet Union can only be made if, in the future, common ground for agreement can be found where none now exists or if the Soviet authorities are persuaded to modify their present position by the force of Korean public opinion ranging itself in support of United States policies as opposed to Soviet policies in Korea. In other words, the way to resolve the present impasse in our favor would seem to be to adopt a course of action in southern Korea which would win such active popular support for United States principles and practices as to force the Soviet Union to modify its present stand and at the same time would make an understanding easier by developing common ground for agreement with the Soviet Union.

7. Measures which would win great popular Korean support are:

a. To broaden the basic for Korean participation in the administration of southern Korea by utilizing Koreans from all political groups in as many positions of responsibility as possible in the local and provincial administrations, and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole;

b. To embark on a broad program of popular elections; and

c. To institute a broad program of constructive economic and educational reforms looking towards the creation

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creation of conditions favorable to the development of a strong and lasting democratic system in Korea.

These measures, while helping to prepare Koreans for the duties and responsibilities envisaged in the Moscow Agreement and in basic United States objectives, would prove to be extremely popular with the Koreans and should do much to strengthen democratic tendencies within the country. Popular elections should be used wherever possible for the selections of Koreans to occupy key posts in local, provincial and zone administrations and also to select an advisory legislative body. For non-elective posts, it would be advisable to choose Koreans insofar as possible from all political groups, with a view to giving Korean leaders of all shades of political opinion a vested interest in the administration of southern Korea and thus winning their support for United States policies. In holding elections, it may prove to be advisable to try local elections before attempting provincial elections and to postpone elections for the zone administration until after successful provincial elections have been held.

Since elections are to be held primarily to educate Koreans in the ways of democracy, it would be advisable to insure that all major political groups participate in all elections. Such a policy might at times make it desirable to postpone elections temporarily, but it is felt that in some cases this might be preferable to holding elections under conditions which would only serve to widen political cleavages within southern Korea and make

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make eventual agreement with the Soviet Union more difficult. It is believed that, because of popular pressure, it would be difficult for any major party to postpone elections for long by boycotting them.

The establishment of an advisory legislative body should facilitate the carrying out of a broad program of constructive political, economic, and educational reforms, which should prove to be popular with the Koreans and essential to the creation of conditions under which a strong and lasting democratic system can be developed in Korea. The advisory legislative body, which should supersede the present Representative Democratic Council of southern Korea, should have the duty of formulating and presenting to the United States Commander draft laws to be used at his discretion as a basis for these reforms. The advisory legislative body should be encouraged to assist in formulating the general program and to take the lead in initiating draft legislative for its implementation. Since such a reform program can only be successful if supported by the Korean people and since Korean support is essential to the attainment of United States objectives in Korea, it would be advisable to have all major reforms initiated, if possible, by the advisory legislative body and it should be the general rule to undertake no major reform without the support of that body.

8. It would be desirable to utilize to the fullest all mass media of information in order to insure that the above measures have

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have the maximum effect in winning public support for the United States position and United States policies as opposed to the Soviet position and policies.

9. While winning Korean support for United States policies, it should not be forgotten that the creation of a broader basis for agreement with the Soviet Union is equally important. The measures outlined in paragraph 7 above should prove to be equally valuable for this purpose. A broad program for constructive economic and educational reforms would probably contain many features which would be acceptable to the Soviet authorities and might help to create greater confidence among them in our aims and methods. The inclusion of Koreans from all political groups in our administrations in sourthern Korea and the holding of popular elections also should afford new ground for agreement. In particular, the holding of elections to choose an advisory legislative body should enable us to create a Korean leadership in the south which is more truly representative of all Korean political opinion than is the leadership of the present Representative Democratic Council of sourthern Korea, which includes no leftists of any kind. Such a new leadership should prove to be not only stronger but also more acceptable to the Soviet Union than the present Council and, therefore, a factor strengthening rather than weakening the possibility of agreement with the Soviet Union. For these reasons the United States Commander should seek the cooperation of representatives of all political groups

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groups in the administration of southern Korea and should not bar any Korean from an appointive or elective post because of his political affiliation.

10. Agreement not only between the Soviet and United States authorities but also between the various factions in southern Korea would also be greatly facilitated if certain personalities who have been the storm centers of recent political controversy in Korea were to retire temporarily from the political scene. There is reason to interpret the collapse of negotiations in the Joint Commission as the result of a clash between United States insistence upon respect for the principle of freedom of speech and Soviet determination to prevent certain avowedly anti-Soviet Korean leaders from participation in a Provisional Korean Government. These leaders constitute a group of older emigre Koreans who have returned to Korea since the capitulation of Japan. They are not thought to be completely representative of Korean political opinion, nor are they felt to be essential to the establishment of Korean democracy or the attainment of United States objectives in Korea. On the other hand, their presence on the political scene greatly increases the difficulty of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union. For these reasons, it can be concluded that the attainment of United States objectives in Korea is on the whole hampered rather than aided by their participation in Korean politics.

The holding

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The holding of elections referred to in the preceding paragraph would probable either force these returned Korean leaders to share their leadership with more liberal Koreans or else make them a minority opposition group in the southern Korea regime. It would, however, be still better if these men were to retire altogether and permit other less controversial figures to replace them as the representatives of rightist and centrist opinion in southern Korea. Such a step would probably greatly facilitate the achievement of a satisfactory agreement with the Soviet Union without weakening the United States position in the slightest. The United States Commander, therefore, would as a general policy encourage the selection for important posts of leaders who remained in Korea throughout the period of Japanese rule and should in no way oppose the voluntary retirement from politics of Korean leaders who have returned to Korea since the Japanese capitulation.

11. The various measures outlined above are not ends in themselves but are means of achieving basic United States objectives in Korea through agreement with the Soviet Union on the basis of the Moscow Agreement. These measures are meant to facilitate but not to delay such an agreement. The Commander of United States Forces in Korea, therefore, while initiating these various measures, should not lose sight of the intention of this government to bring the negotiations of the Joint Commission to a successful conclusion as soon as possible through the creation

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the creation of the Provisional Korean Government provided for in the Moscow Agreement. To this end, he and the United States representatives on the Joint Commission should be prepared to resume negotiations with the Soviet representatives at any time and should, in particular, be ready to exploit in these negotiations any favorable reaction on the part of the Korean people or the Soviet representatives to conditions resulting from the implementation of these measures as the basis for agreement regarding the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government. The United States Commander should not only be receptive to any Soviet suggestion that negotiations be resumed but he should also be prepared to take the initiative in their resumption when he had reason to believe that there exists a basis for agreement within the Commission without compromising the principle that freedom of expression must be safeguarded throughout Korea.

12. When negotiations are resumed, the United States representatives on the Joint Commission should look to SWNCC 176/18 for guidance, but they should also consider the following additional suggestions as possible formulae which might be acceptable to the Soviet representatives but which would in no way compromise the principle of freedom of expression:

(1) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the group of representative democratic Korean leaders called for in paragraph 4 d (1) of SWNCC 176/18;

(2) To

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(2) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the key members of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government

(3) To accept for consultative purposes the advisory legislative body mentioned in paragraph 7 above as representative of all democratic parties and social organizations in southern Korea; or

(4) To use members of such an advisory legislative body for key positions in a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government.

13. The civilian recruitment program now being operated by the War Department to furnish Military Government in Korea with civilian personnel has had limited success. Notwithstanding the attractive salaries offered for positions in Korea, well qualified United States civilian personnel hesitate to accept employment. Chief among the drawbacks are said to be the present prohibition against families accompanying the employees to Korea and lack of adequate facilities there for the families, including housing, schooling, medical care and limitations on supplies ordinarily required by an American household.

In the face of demobilization affecting the strenght of military government personnel, it is feld that every means should be taken to strengthen the civilian recruitment program. Since the positions for which personnel are required demand experience and technical knowledge not now ordinarily found among Koreans, and since

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and since Americans possessing the necessary qualities are reluctant to leave their families for extended periods, it would appear that the only course would be to make adequate provisions for the families of such personnel.

It is conceivable that Koreans will raise objections to a program of this sort. The anticipation of such objections, however, should not outweigh the beneficial effects that might reasonably be expected to follow from a well planned and executed program of recruitment. New construction and the avoidance of creating an added burden on civilian supplies through imports providing for the needs of United States civilians would help to forestall criticism. Hotel accommodations and restaurant service to provide for visitors with duties limited in time are regarded as a necessary service in order to facilitate the work of survey missions and consultants.

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SECRET

POLICY FOR KOREA

THE PROBLEM

1. The problem is to determine the basic objectives of the United States with regard to Korea and how best to achieve these objectives through further negotiations in the Joint Commission and through unilateral action in southern Korea, pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government.

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

2. See Appendix "A".

DISCUSSION

3. See Appendix "B".

CONCLUSIONS

4. It is concluded that:

a. The basic objectives of the United States with regard to Korea are:

(1) To establish a self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations;

(2) To insure that the national government so established shall be a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people; and

(3) To assist the Koreans in establishing the sound economy and adequate educational system necessary for an independent democratic state.

b. It is the intention of the United States Government to achieve its objectives in Korea within the framework of the Moscow Agreement and to this end to do all in its power to achieve the fulfillment of the terms of the Agreement and in particular the attainment of Korean independence at the earliest possible date.

c. The military occupation of Southern Korea is for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of basic United States

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objectives in Korea and shall continue as long as it contributes to this end.

d. With a view to preparing Koreans for early independence and winning popular Korean support for United States policies and thus strengthening the United States position in future negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea, pending the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government, shall broaden the basis for Korean participation in the administration of Southern Korea. Insofar as the following can be accomplished without impairing the maintenance of the necessary military control, he shall:

(1) Utilize qualified Koreans in as many posts of responsibility as possible in the local and provincial administrations and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole:

(a) Using popular electoral processes for the selection of Koreans to occupy key posts in local and provincial administrations and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole;

(b) For all appointive posts, selecting Koreans insofar as possible from all political groups; and

(2) Establish through broad electoral processes an advisory legislative body which shall supersede the present Representative Democratic Council of Southern Korea and shall have the duty of formulating and presenting to the United States Commander draft laws to be used at his discretion as a basis for political, economic and social reforms in the southern zone, pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government. The Commander of the United States Forces in Korea shall put into effect such draft laws except when they are inconsistent with basic United States objectives or the Moscow Agreement.

In the implementation of paragraphs (1)(a) and (2) above, the United States Commander shall make every effort to insure that all

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major political groups participate in all elections.

e. As a further measure to win popular Korean support for United States policies and thus strengthen the United States position in future negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea shall take steps to institute a broad program of constructive economic and educational reforms for Southern Korea looking toward the creation of conditions favorable to the development of a strong and lasting democratic system in Korea. The advisory legislative body, when constituted, shall be encouraged to assist in formulating this program and to take the lead in initiating draft legislation for its implementation. All major reforms shall, if possible, be initiated by the advisory legislative body, and no major reform shall be undertaken without consultation with this body and, preferably after obtaining its support. Further instructions regarding specific features of such an economic and educational reform program will be provided by the United States Government for the guidance of the United States Commander.

f. In implementing paragraphs d and e above, the Commander of the United States Forces in Korea shall continue to permit full freedom of expression to all political groups and shall seek the cooperation of representatives of all groups in the administration of southern Korea. No Korean shall be barred from an appointive or elective post because of his political affiliations. As a general policy, however, the United States Commander shall encourage the selection of leaders who remained in Korea throughout the period of Japanese rule and shall in no way oppose the voluntary retirement from politics of Korean leaders who have returned to Korea since the Japanese capitulation.

g. The public information program shall be utilized to the fullest to further Korean understanding of and support for United States policies in Korea.

h. While implementing paragraphs d and e above, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea should not lose sight of the intention of this government to establish, as soon as possible, a nation-wide

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Provisional Korean Government, in accordance with the terms of the Moscow Agreement. To this end, the United States Commander, while standing firm on the principle that freedom of expression must be safeguarded throughout Korea, shall be prepared to instruct the United States representatives on the Joint Commission to resume negotiations with the Soviet representatives at any time and shall propose the resumption of negotiations whenever there is reason to believe that there may be a basis for agreement within the Commission without compromising United States principles. In particular, he shall be ready to exploit any favorable reaction on the part of the Korean people or the Soviet representatives on the Joint Commission to conditions resulting from the implementation of paragraphs d and e above as the basis for agreement regarding the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government. When negotiations are resumed, the United States representatives shall look to SWNCC 176/10 for guidance and shall also consider the present impasse in the Joint Commission:

(1) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the group of representative democratic Korean leaders called for in paragraph 4 d (1) of SWNCC 176/10;

(2) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the key numbers of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government;

(3) To accept for consultative purposes the advisory legislative body called for in paragraph d (2) above as representative of all democratic parties and social organizations in southern Korea; and

(4) To use numbers of such an advisory legislative body for key positions in a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government.

i. Pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government, the United States Commander in Korea shall continue to strive for the coordination of economic and administrative matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, insofar as this can be done without prejudicing

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the attainment of basic United States objectives.

j. For the purpose of attracting the well-qualified personnel essential to the effective operation of the United States occupation in southern Korea, a substantial program shall be initiated to provide acceptable living accomodations for the families of United States personnel. In addition to providing living accomodations by utilizing and remodeling former Japanese owned property, new construction should be undertaken. Other facilities, such as schools, hospitals, and household supplies shall be made available to all United States personnel and their families. Accomodations shall also be provided for personnel on specialized duty requiring only brief visits.

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APPENDIX "A"

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

1. The United States, the United Kingdom, and China stated in the Cairo Declaration on December 1, 1943, that they

> "Mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

In the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945 the same Powers declared that:

> "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor islands as we determine."

2. In oral statements to Mr. Hopkins at Yalta in February 1945 and at Moscow on November 12, 1945, Stalin agreed with the United States suggestion that a Four-Power trusteeship involving the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Great Britain, and China would be a desirable solution to the problem of the immediate future of Korea.

3. SWNCC 176/8 (October 13, 1945) was the basic initial directive to the Commander in Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, for the administration of civil affairs in those areas of Korea occupied by United States Forces. It defined the authority which CINCAFPAC possessed and the politics which were to guide CINCAFPAC in the administration of civil affairs in Korea in the initial period after Japanese surrender prior to the establishment of a trusteeship. The political section outlined in basic objectives of the military occupation of Korea, the establishment of the Civil Affairs Administration and the political and administrative reorganization; the procedures to be followed in regard to demilitarization, arrest and internment, prisoners of war, United Nations Nationals, Neutrals and other persons; and the actions of the Command relative to political activity, education, arts and archives.

The section on economics defined the objectives and methods of economic control; procedures regarding armament production, agriculture, industry and internal commerce, public health, international economic transactions and restitution of property; and the methods of achieving adequate civilian supply and relief. The financial

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section defined the action to be taken regarding the control of banks, issuance of money, payment of pensions, freezing of certain assets, and foreign exchange transactions.

4. Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Agreement of December 27, 1945, reads as follows:

"III. Korea. 1. With a view to the reestablishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.

"2. In order to assist the formation of a Provisional Korean Government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures, there shall be established a joint commission consisting of representatives of the United States Command in Southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea. In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations. The recommendations worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom and the United States prior to final decision by the two Governments represented on the Joint Commission.

"3. It shall be the task of the Joint Commission with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and of the Korean democratic organizations to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea.

"The proposals of the Joint Commission shall be submitted, following consultations with the Provisional Korean Government for the joint consideration of the Governments of the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and China for the working out of an agreement concerning a four-power trusteeship of Korea for a period of up to five years.

"4. For the consideration of urgent problems affecting both southern and northern Korea and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, a conference of the representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea shall be convened within a period of two weeks."

5. Mr. Byrnes in his radio address on 30 December 1945 commented on the Korean Section of the Moscow Agreement as follows:

"The administration of Korea has been a trying problem since the surrender of Japan. For the purposes of military operations the occupation of Korea was divided north and south of Latitude 38 into Soviet and American areas. The continuation of this division after surrender has been unsatisfactory. The movement of persons and goods and the

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functioning of public services on a nationwide scale has been hampered.

"Under our agreement at Moscow, the two military commands are to form a Joint Soviet-American Commission to solve immediate economic and administrative problems. They will make recommendations to the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China for the formulation of a Korean Provisional Democratic Government. They will also make proposals to these Governments regarding a four-power trusteeship to prepare Korea for its independence within five years.

"The Joing Soviet-American Commission, working with the Korean Provisional Democratic Government, may find it possible to dispense with a trusteeship. It is our goal to hasten the day when Korea will become an independent member of the Society of Nations."

6. The United States-Soviet Joint Conference, which met from January 16 to February 5, 1946, was convened in accordance with the Moscow Agreement, which provided for consideration of urgent problems affecting both occupation areas and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the two occupation commands. Of the fifteen points on the official agenda, agreement was achieved on only seven items. These agreements provided for: rail, motor and water-borne transportation on a limited basis; uniform regulation of ports in both zones; establishment of joint control posts along the 38th parallel; limited movement of Korean citizens from one zone to the other; limited exchange of first-class mail; allocation of radio frequencies; and measures for future coordination between the two commands. Implementation of the agreements made has not been complete; in fact the only agreement known to have been carried out in full is that concerning exchange of first-class mails.

Because of fundamental differences in points of view, no decision could be reached on the supply of electric power, exchange of commodities, mutual payments for goods, repatriation of Japanese in northern Korea, telecommunication between zones, and partial or local changes ih the boundary between zones. The United States delegation based its discussions on the desirability of removing the barrier of the 38th parallel and considering the country as an economic and administrative unit. The Soviets, on the other hand, viewed this problem

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as one of exchange and coordination between two adjoining but separate zones of military responsibility.

7. The objective of SWNCC 176/18 (January 28, 1946) was to determine the policy for the guidance of General MacArthur in conducting negotiations with the Soviet Command in northern Korea regarding the initial powers and functions of the Joint Commission provided for in paragraph 2 of Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Agreement and regarding the formulation of plans for the creation of a Provisional Korean Government.

CINCAFPAC was directed to make arrangements for an early meeting of the Joint Commission at which the United States members were to regard the creation of a Provisional Korean Government as the first and most pressing political task. To facilitate such an end the United States Commander in Korea was to encourage the various political parties to reach fundamental agreement on political, social and economic policies.

The United States members were to suggest that the Joint Commission should select a group of representative democratic Korean leaders for the purpose of consultation with the Joint Commission in its preparation of proposals for the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government. Such leaders were to be chosen after full consultation with all democratic parties or through electoral processes. If the Joint Commission could not agree on such position, the United States and Soviet Commanders in Korea separately were to choose the members of the group from their respective zones--the number from each zone to be proportionate to the population or at least to the number of provinces in each zone. The group of Korean leaders were to be called on to formulate plans for a Provisional Korean Government, subject to modification by the Joint Commission. Such proposals were then to be for the Joint Commission to reach agreement on the creation of an advisory group of Korean leaders, the United States Commander in Korea was independently to form such a group to act in an advisory capacity to the United States members of the Joint Commission in matters relating to the creation of a Provisional Korean Government.

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8. Representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea began sessions of the Joint Commission on March 20, 1946. In the opening session, the Soviet Delegate, General Shtikov, stated that "the Soviet Union has a keen interest in Korea being a true democratic and independent country, friendly to the Soviet Union, so that in the future it will not become a base for attack on the Soviet Union."

From the beginning the Soviet position was that the Provisional Korean Government would be formed after consultation with those political parties and social organizations fully in favor of the Moscow Agreement. A month of negotiations resulted in a public statement on the part of the Joint Commission to the effect that those Korean parties and organizations would be consulted which supported the aims of the Moscow Agreement expressed in Paragraph (1) thereof, abided by decisions of the Joint Commission and Four Powers under paragraph (2), and cooperated with reference to paragraph (3).

In discussions with reference to the procedure for consulting parties, the Soviets insisted that should individuals selected by the parties be those who had expressed opposition to the Moscow Decision or had attacked any of the Allied powers, they would be declared ineligible for consultation with the Joint Commission. The United States delegation did not agree with this proposal since such exclusion would in effect have barred from consultation those Koreans who had participated in the "Representative Democratic Council of South Korea," a majority of whom had voiced opposition to trusteeship. The formation of the "Democratic Council" had been encouraged by the United States Command. The Soviet delegation adopted the position that because the United States delegation did not agree without qualification that the Moscow Agreement makes a five-year trusteeship for Korea mandatory, and because the United States Command did not prohibit further discussion of the subject by Koreans, the United States was not living up to the Moscow Decision.

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It became evident that no progress could be made, and the United States delegation moved for consideration of measures for the elimination of the 38th parallel. The Soviet delegation responded to the effect that the problem involved there would be solved with the creation of a Provisional Government. The United States delegation, on May 8, moved for adjournment sine die; the Soviet delegation agreed.

9. In a press conference on May 17, Acting Secretary Acheson stated when asked if any communication had passed between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the deadlock of the Joint Commission in Korea, that no such communication had passed on government level and that the Commission had simply adjourned and had not dissolved since it had no authority to dissolve. He added that the United States representatives on the Joint Commission are ready at any time to resume negotiations for fulfillment of the Moscow decision as soon as the Soviet delegation to the Commission is ready to acknowledge that freedom of expression will be safeguarded throughout Korea in implementation of the Moscow decision. The State Department has been kept fully informed by General John R. Hodge of all phases of negotiations and fully concurs in position General Hodge has taken, Mr. Acheson said.

10. Representative Democratic Council

In order to create an advisory body representative of the various political parties in southern Korea, the United States Command set up the Representative Democratic Council which held its first meeting on February 14, 1946. The twenty-eight members of the Council signed a statement pledging themselves to assist General Hodge in his efforts to create a provisional government. Sygman Rhee became Chairman of the Council, Kim Kui Sik--Vice Chairman, and Kim Koo--Secretary General.

The leader of the People's Party, Lyuh Woon Hyung, did not attend, although he signed the agreement and his name appeared on the list of members. Lyuh's absence stemmed first from the fact that the "Propaganda Minister" of the defunct "Provisional Government,"

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in a face-saving statement, had conveyed the impression that the new organization was an offshoot of the former "Provisional Government" and that Lyuh had merely been invited to participate rather than that he had been included from the outset as an original member; and secondly, from Communist opposition within Lyuh's party to the Council.

Thus, the Representative Democratic Council did not succeed in unifying the political parties; rather it stimulated their alignment into two camps. The Right and Center parties united behind the Representative Democratic Council under the leadership of Syngman Rhee, and the Left was entirely excluded. As a result, the Representative Democratic Council contains all the well known conservative and moderate leaders, and membership of any working council would probably include Syngman Rhee, Kim Koo and Kim Kiu Sik.

The Communist controlled Korean People's Republic, People's Party, Independence Alliance and Communist Party united in a Democratic People's Front under Pak Heun Yung and Lyuh Woon Hyung and continued to refuse to participate in the Council.

The position of the two parties became more and more diametrically opposed. The right wing in general supported military government and opposed the trusteeship principle, while the leftist groups became increasingly critical of the United States. On March 18, 1946, Syngman Rhee resigned as chairman of the Representative Democratic Council, offering ill health as the reason. However, the Council refused to accept his resignation and granted him a leave of absence to which he agreed. He had recently been under attack from the leftist press as allegedly having promised important Korean mining concessions to a New York firm when he became president of Korea.

Meanwhile, the Representative Democratic Council issued its platform, paralleling the pronouncement of Rhee on February 28; personal rights, radical land reform, planned economy and progressive taxation were the basic concepts.

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Since the Representative Democratic Council is packed with conservative elements, it cannot be considered representative of the political parties of southern Korea as a whole.

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APPENDIX "B"

DISCUSSION

1. The major current statements of United States policy with regard to Korea are SWNCC 176/8 and SWNCC 176/18. These two documents no longer fully meet the needs of the situation in Korea. The former was designed as guidance for the initial stages of the occupation of southern Korea prior to the assumed early unification of the United States and Soviet zones and the creation of a Korean Government or a Trusteeship. The latter document was designed as guidance in the negotiations with the Soviet authorities over the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government as a preliminary step in the unification of Korea and the creation of a Trusteeship or an independent Korean Government, as called for in the Moscow Agreement.

When the Joint Commission adjourned sine die on 8 May 1946, negotiations looking toward the creation of a Provisional Korean Government came to a halt. It obviously will be extremely difficult to reopen these negotiations and push them to a successful conclusion. Thus, the United States authorities in southern Korea are faced with the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the present unnatural division of Korea and the postponement of all plans for the creation of a Trusteeship or independent Korean Government. It is necessary, therefore, at this time to reexamine United States policy with regard to Korea in order to determine what are our basic objectives there and how under present circumstances these may best be attained.

2. The fundamental United States objective with regard to Korea, simply stated, is the independence of Korea. This the United States has promised in the Cairo Declaration and subsequent statements. Korean independence is important not only for the sake of the Koreans themselves but also as a means of strengthening political stability throughout the Far East, for the domination of Korea

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by either Japan or the Soviet Union would further endanger Chinese control of Manchuria and would thus lessen the prospect of the creation of a strong and stable China, without which there can be no permanent political stability in the Far East. If we are to establish a self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations, we must also assist the Koreans to establish the sound economy and adequate educational system essential to an independent state. To be consistent with our own principles of freedom and liberty, we must also be prepared to insure that the National Korean Government we establish is a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people.

3. The United States occupation of southern Korea is for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of these basic objectives. At present, the occupation greatly aids this end, and, without it, there would be little hope of achieving our objectives. This, no doubt, will continue to be the situation as long as the Soviet occupation of northern Korea is continued. The United States occupation of southern Korea, therefore, should be maintained as long as it contributes to the attainment of basic United States objectives with regard to Korea.

4. As a result of the joint occupation of Korea by United States and Soviet forces, basic United States objectives with regard to Korea can only be attained through agreement with the Soviet Union. In fact, the policy problems raised by Korea assume added significance because they entail the necessity of agreement with the Soviet Union and thus become part of the much more vital problem of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. While the United States should hold firm to its basic objectives with regard to Korea, it should be recognized that an amicable agreement with the Soviet Union over Korea is to be desired not only as a means of achieving our objectives there but also as a factor facilitating a Far Eastern and general understanding with the Soviet Union.

5. If an agreement over Korea is to be reached with the Soviet

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Union, it is imperative that the United States strictly observe the Moscow Agreement. The United States Government, therefore, in attempting to achieve its objectives in Korea should work within the frameword of the Moscow Agreement and to this end should do all in its power to achieve the fulfillment of the terms of the Agreement and in particular the attainment of Korea independence within a maximum period of five years.

6. A satisfactory agreement over Korea with the Soviet Union can only be made if, in the future, common ground for agreement can be found where none now exists or if the Soviet authorities are persuaded to modify their present position by the force of Korean public opinion ranging itself in support of United States policies as opposed to Soviet policies in Korea. In other words, the way to resolve the present impasse in our favor would seem to be to adopt a course of action in southern Korea which would win such active popular support for United States principles and practices as to force the Soviet Union to modify its present stand and at the same time would make an understanding easier by developing common ground for agreement with the Soviet Union.

7. Measures which would win great popular Korean support are:

a. To broaden the basic for Korean participation in the administration of southern Korea by utilizing Koreans from all political groups in as many positions of responsibility as possible in the local and provincial administrations, and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole;

b. To embark on a broad program of popular elections; and

c. To institute a broad program of constructive economic and education reforms looking towards the creation of conditions favorable to the development of a strong and lasting democratic system in Korea.

These measures, while helping to prepare Koreans for the duties and responsibilities envisaged in the Moscow Agreement and in basic United States objectives, should prove to be extremely popular with

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with the Koreans and should do much to strengthen democratic tendencies within the country. Popular elections should be used wherever possible for the selections of Koreans to occupy key posts in local, provincial and zone administrations and also to select an advisory legislative body. For non-elective posts, it would be advisable to choose Koreans insofar as possible from all political groups, with a view to giving Korean leaders of all shades of political opinion a vested interest in the administration of southern Korea and thus winning their support for United States policies. In holding elections, it may prove to be advisable to try local elections before attempting provincial elections and to postpone elections for the zone administration until after successful provincial elections have been held.

Since elections are to be held primarily to educate Koreans in the ways of democracy, it would be advisable to insure that all major political groups participate in all elections. Such a policy might at times make it desirable to postpone elections temporarily, but it is felt that in some cases this might be preferable to holding elections under conditions which would only serve to widen political cleavages within southern Korea and make eventual agreement with the Soviet Union more difficult. It is believed that, because of popular pressure, it would be difficult for any major party to postpone elections for long by boycotting them.

The establishment of an advisory legislative body should facilitate the carrying out of a broad program of constructive political, economic, and education reforms, which should prove to be popular with the Koreans and essential to the creation of conditions under which a strong and lasting democratic system can be developed in Korea. The advisory legislative body, which should supersede the present Representative Democratic Council of southern Korea, should have the duty of formulating and presenting to the United States Commander draft laws to be used at his discretion as a basis for these reforms. The advisory legislative body should be encouraged to assist in

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formulating the general program and to take the lead in initiating draft legislative for its implementation. Since such a reform program can only be successful if supported by the Korean people and since Korean support is essential to the attainment of United States objectives in Korea, it would be advisable to have all major reforms initiated, if possible, by the advisory legislative body and it should be the general rule to undertake no major reform without the support of that body.

8. It would be desirable to utilize to the fullest all mass media of information in order to insure that the above measures have the maximum effect in winning public support for the United States position and United States policies as opposed to the Soviet position and policies.

9. While winning Korean support for United States policies, it should not be forgotten that the creation of a broader basis for agreement with the Soviet Union is equally important. The measures outlined in paragraph 7 above should prove to be equally valuable for this purpose. A broad program for constructive economic and educational reforms would probably contain many features which would be acceptable to the Soviet authorities and might help to create greater confidence among them in our aims and methods. The inclusion of Koreans from all political groups in our administrations in southern Korea and the holding of popular elections also should afford new ground for agreement. In particular, the holding of elections to choose an advisory legislative body should enable us to create a Korean leadership in the south which is more truly representative of all Korean political opinion than is the leadership of the present Representative Democratic Council of southern Korea, which includes no leftists of any kind. Such a new leadership should prove to be not only stronger but also more acceptable to the Soviet Union than the present Council and, therefore, a factor strengthening rather than weakening the possibility of agreement with the Soviet Union. For these reasons the United States Commander should seek the cooperation of representatives of all political groups in the administration of southern Korea and should not bar any Korean from an appointive or elective post because of his political affiliation.

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10. Agreement not only between the Soviet and United States authorities but also between the various factions in southern Korea would also be greatly facilitated if certain personalities who have been the storm centers of recent political controversy in Korea were to retire temporarily from the political scene. There is reason to interpret the collapse of negotiations in the Joint Commission as the result of a clash between United States insistence upon respect for the principle of freedom of speech and Soviet determination to prevent certain avowedly anti-Soviet Korean leaders from participation in a Provisional Korean Government. These leaders constitute a group of older emigre Koreans who have returned to Korea since the capitulation of Japan. They are not thought to be completely representative of Korean political opinion, nor are they felt to be essential to the establishment of Korean democracy or the attainment of United States objectives in Korea. On the other hand, their presence on the political scene greatly increases the difficulty of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union. For these reasons, it can be concluded that the attainment of United States objectives in Korea is on the whole hampered rather than aided by their participation in Korean politics.

The holding of elections referred to in the preceding paragraph would probable either force these returned Korean leaders to share their leadership with more liberal Koreans or else make them a minority opposition group in the southern Korea regime. It would, however, be still better if these men were to retire altogether and permit other less controversial figures to replace them as the representatives of rightist and centrist opinion in southern Korea. Such a step would probably greatly facilitate the achievement of a satisfactory agreement with the Soviet Union without weakening the United States position in the slightest. The United States Commander, therefore, would as a general policy encourage the selection for important posts of leaders who remained in Korea throughout the period of Japanese rule and should in no way oppose the voluntary retirement

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from politics of Korean leaders who have returned to Korea since the Japanese capitulation.

11. The various measures outlined above are not ends in themselves but are means of achieving basic United States objectives in Korea through agreement with the Soviet Union on the basis of the Moscow Agreement. These measures are meant to facilitate but not to delay such an agreement. The Commander of United States Forces in Korea, therefore, while initiating these various measures, should not lose sight of the intention of this government to bring the negotiations of the Joint Commission to a successful conclusion as soon as possible through the creation of the Provisional Korean Government provided for in the Moscow Agreement. To this end, he and the United States representatives on the Joint Commission should be prepared to resume negotiations with the Soviet representatives at any time and should, in particular, be ready to exploit in these negotiations any favorable reaction on the part of the Korean people or the Soviet representatives to conditions resulting from the implementation of these measures as the basis for agreement regarding the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government. The United States Commander should not only be receptive to any Soviet suggestion that negotiations be resumed but he should also be prepared to take the initiative in their resumption when he had reason to believe that there exists a basis for agreement within the Commission without compromising the principle that freedom of expression must be safeguarded throughout Korea.

12. When negotiations are resumed, the United States representatives on the Joint Commission should look to SWNCC 176/18 for guidance, but they should also consider the following additional suggestions as possible formulae which might be acceptable to the Soviet representatives but which would in no way compromise the principle of freedom of expression:

(1) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in

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order to select the group of representative democratic Korean leaders called for in paragraph 4 d (1) of SWNCC 176/18;

(2) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the key members of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government

(3) To accept for consultative purposes the advisory legislative body mentioned in paragraph 7 above as representative of all democratic parties and social organizations in southern Korea; or

(4) To use members of such an advisory legislative body for key positions in a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government.

13. The civilian recruitment program now being operated by the War Department to furnish Military Government in Korea with civilian personnel has had limited success. Notwithstanding the attractive salaries offered for positions in Korea, well qualified United States civilian personnel hesitate to accept employment. Chief among the drawbacks are said to be the present prohibition against families accompanying the employees to Korea and lack of adequate facilities there for the families, including housing, schooling, medical care and limitations on supplies ordinarily required by an American household.

In the face of demobilization affecting the stength of military government personnel, it is felt that every means should be taken to strengthen the civilian recruitment program. Since the positions for which personnel are required demand experience and technical knowledge not now ordinarily found among Koreans, and since American possessing the necessary qualities are reluctant to leave their families for extended periods, it would appear that the only course would be to make adequate provisions for the families of such personnel.

It is conceivable that Koreans will raise objections to a

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program of this sort. The anticipation of such objections, however, should not outweigh the beneficial effects that might reasonably be expected to follow from a well planned and executed program of recuirtment. New construction and the avoidance of creating an added burden on civilian supplies through imports providing for the needs of United States civilians would help to forestall criticism. Hotel accomodations and restaurant service to provide for visitors with duties limited in time are regarded as a necessary service in order to facilitate the work of survey missions and consultants.

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POLICY FOR KOREA

THE PROBLEM

1. The problem is to determine the basic objectives of the United States with regard to Korea and how best to achieve these objectives through further negotiations in the Joint Commission and through unilateral action in southern Korea, pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government.

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

2. See Appendix "A".

DISCUSSION

3. See Appendix "B".

CONCLUSIONS

4. It is concluded that:

a. The basic objectives of the United States with regard to Korea as a whole are:

(1) To establish a self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations;

(2) To insure that the national government so established shall be a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people; and

(3) To assist the Koreans in establishing the sound economy and adequate educational system necessary for an independent democratic state.

b. It is the intention of the United States Government to achieve its objectives in Korea within the framework of the Moscow Agreement and to this end to do all in its power to achieve the fulfillment of the terms of the Agreement and in particular the attainment of Korean independence at the earliest possible date.

c. The military occupation of Southern Korea is for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of basic United States

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objectives in Korea and shall continue as long as it contributes to this end.

d. With a view to preparing Koreans for early independence and winning popular Korean support for United States policies and thus strengthening the United States position in future negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea, pending the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government, shall broaden the basis for Korean participation in the administration of Southern Korea. Insofar as the following can be accomplished without impairing the maintenant of the necessary military control, he shall:

(1) Utilize qualified Koreans in as many posts of responsibility as possible in the local and provincial administrations and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole:

(a) Using popular electoral processes for the selection of Koreans to occupy key posts in local and provincial administrations and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole;

(b) For all appointive posts, selecting Koreans insofar as possible from all political groups; and

(2) Establish through broad electoral processes an advisory legislative body which shall supersede the present Representative Democratic Council of Southern Korea and shall have the duty of formulating and presenting to the United States Commander draft laws to be used at his discretion as a basis for political, economic and social reforms in the southern zone, pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government. The Commander of the United States Forces in Korea shall put into effect such draft laws except when they are inconsistent with basic United States objectives or the Moscow Agreement.

In the implementation of paragraphs (1)(a) and (2) above, the United States Commander shall make every effort to insure that all

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major political groups participate in all elections.

e. As a further measure to win popular Korean support for United States policies and thus strengthen the United States position in future negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea shall take steps to institute a broad program of constructive economic and educational reforms for Southern Korea looking toward the creation of conditions favorable to the development of a strong and lasting democratic system in Korea. The advisory legislative body, when constituted, shall be encouraged to assist in formulating this program and to take the lead in initiating draft legislation for its implementation. All major reforms shall, if possible, be initiated by the advisory legislative body, and no major reform shall be undertaken without consultation with this body and, preferably after obtaining its support. Further instructions regarding specific features of such an economic and educational reform program will be provided by the United States Government for the guidance of the United States Commander.

f. In implementing paragraphs d and e above, the Commander of the United States Forces in Korea shall continue to permit full freedom of expression to all political groups and shall seek the cooperation of representatives of all groups in the administration of southern Korea. No Korean shall be barred from an appointive or elective post because of his political affiliations. As a general policy, however, the United States Commander shall encourage the selection of leaders who remained in Korea throughout the period of Japanese rule and shall in no way oppose the voluntary retirement from politics of Korean leaders who have returned to Korea since the Japanese capitulation.

g. The public information program shall be utilized to the fullest to further Korean understanding of and support for United States policies in Korea.

h. While implementing paragraphs d and g above, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea should not lose sight of the intention of this government to establish, as soon as possible, a nation-wide

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Provisional Korean Government, in accordance with the terms of the Moscow Agreement. To this end, the United States Commander, while standing firm on the principle that freedom of expression must be safeguarded throughout Korea, shall be prepared to instruct the United States representatives on the Joint Commission to resume negotiations with the Soviet representatives at any time and shall propose the resumption of negotiations whenever there is reason to believe that there may be a basis for agreement within the Commission without compromising United States principles. In particular, he shall be ready to exploit any favorable reaction on the part of the Korean people or the Soviet representatives on the Joint Commission to conditions resulting from the implementation of paragraphs d and e above as the basis for agreement regarding the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government. When negotiations are resumed, the United States representatives shall look to SWNCC 176/18 for guidance and shall also consider the present impasse in the Joint Commission:

(1) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the group of representative democratic Korean leaders called for in paragraph 4 d (1) of SWNCC 176/18;

(2) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the key numbers of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government;

(3) To accept for consultative purposes the advisory legislative body called for in paragraph d (2) above as representative of all democratic parties and social organizations in southern Korea; and

(4) To use numbers of such an advisory legislative body for key positions in a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government.

i. Pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government, the United States Commander in Korea shall continue to strive for the coordination of economic and administrative matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, insofar as this can be done without prejudicing

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the attainment of basic United States objectives.

j. For the purpose of attracting the well-qualified personnel essential to the effective operation of the United States occupation in southern Korea, a substantial program shall be initiated to provide acceptable living accomodations for the families of United States personnel. In addition to providing living accommodations by utilizing and remodeling former Japanese owned property, new construction should be undertaken. Other facilities, such as schools, hospitals, and household supplies shall be made available to all United States personnel and their families. Accomodations shall also be provided for personnel on specialized duty requiring only brief visits.

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APPENDIX "A"

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

1. The United States, the United Kingdom, and China stated in the Cairo Declaration on December 1, 1943, that they

> "Mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

In the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945 the same Powers declared that:

> "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor islands as we determine."

2. In oral statements to Mr. Hopkins at Yalta in February 1945 and at Moscow on November 12, 1945, Stalin agreed with the United States suggestion that a Four-Power trusteeship involving the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Great Britain, and China would be a desirable solution to the problem of the immediate future of Korea.

3. SWNCC 176/8 (October 13, 1945) was the basic initial directive to the Commander in Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, for the administration of civil affairs in those areas of Korea occupied by United States Forces. It defined the authority which CINCAFPAC possessed and the politics which were to guide CINCAFPAC in the administration of civil affairs in Korea in the initial period after Japanese surrender prior to the establishment of a trusteeship. The political section outlined in basic objectives of the military occupation of Korea, the establishment of the Civil Affairs Administration and the political and administrative reorganization; the procedures to be followed in regard to demilitarization, arrest and internment, prisoners of war, United Nations Nationals, Neutrals and other persons; and the actions of the Command relative to political activity, education, arts and archives.

The section on economics defined the objectives and methods of economic control; procedures regarding armament production, agriculture, industry and internal commerce, public health, international economic transactions and restitution of property; and the methods of achieving adequate civilian supply and relief. The financial

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section defined the action to be taken regarding the control of banks, issuance of money, payment of pensions, freezing of certain assets, and foreign exchange transactions.

4. Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Agreement of December 27, 1945, reads as follows:

"III. Korea. 1. With a view to the reestablishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.

"2. In order to assist the formation of a Provisional Korean Government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures, there shall be established a joint commission consisting of representatives of the United States Command in Southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea. In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations. The recommendations worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom and the United States prior to final decision by the two Governments represented on the Joint Commission.

"3. It shall be the task of the Joint Commission with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and of the Korean democratic organizations to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea.

"The proposals of the Joint Commission shall be submitted, following consultations with the Provisional Korean Government for the joint consideration of the Governments of the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and China for the working out of an agreement concerning a four-power trusteeship of Korea for a period of up to five years.

"4. For the consideration of urgent problems affecting both southern and northern Korea and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, a conference of the representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea shall be convened within a period of two weeks."

5. Mr. Byrnes in his radio address on 30 December 1945 commented on the Korean Section of the Moscow Agreement as follows:

"The administration of Korea has been a trying problem since the surrender of Japan. For the purposes of military operations the occupation of Korea was divided north and south of Latitude 38 into Soviet and American areas. The continuation of this division after surrender has been unsatisfactory. The movement of persons and goods and the

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functioning of public services on a nationwide scale has been hampered.

"Under our agreement at Moscow, the two military commands are to form a Joint Soviet-American Commission to solve immediate economic and administrative problems. They will make recommendations to the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China for the formulation of a Korean Provisional Democratic Government. They will also make proposals to these Governments regarding a four-power trusteeship to prepare Korea for its independence within five years.

"The Joing Soviet-American Commission, working with the Korean Provisional Democratic Government, may find it possible to dispense with a trusteeship. It is our goal to hasten the day when Korea will become an independent member of the Society of Nations."

6. The United States-Soviet Joint Conference, which met from January 16 to February 5, 1946, was convened in accordance with the Moscow Agreement, which provided for consideration of urgent problems affecting both occupation areas and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the two occupation commands. Of the fifteen points on the official agenda, agreement was achieved on only seven items. These agreements provided for: rail, motor and water-borne transportation on a limited basis; uniform regulation of ports in both zones; establishment of joint control posts along the 38th parallel; limited movement of Korean citizens from one zone to the other; limited exchange of first-class mail; allocation of radio frequencies; and measures for future coordination between the two commands. Implementation of the agreements made has not been complete; in fact the only agreement known to have been carried out in full is that concerning exchange of first-class mails.

Because of fundamental differences in points of view, no decision could be reached on the supply of electric power, exchange of commodities, mutual payments for goods, repatriation of Japanese in northern Korea, telecommunication between zones, and partial or local changes ih the boundary between zones. The United States delegation based its discussions on the desirability of removing the barrier of the 38th parallel and considering the country as an economic and administrative unit. The Soviets, on the other hand, viewed this problem

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as one of exchange and coordination between two adjoining but separate zones of military responsibility.

7. The objective of SWNCC 176/18 (January 28, 1946) was to determine the policy for the guidance of General MacArthur in conducting negotiations with the Soviet Command in northern Korea regarding the initial powers and functions of the Joint Commission provided for in paragraph 2 of Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Agreement and regarding the formulation of plans for the creation of a Provisional Korean Government.

CINCAFPAC was directed to make arrangements for an early meeting of the Joint Commission at which the United States members were to regard the creation of a Provisional Korean Government as the first and most pressing political task. To facilitate such an end the United States Commander in Korea was to encourage the various political parties to reach fundamental agreement on political, social and economic policies.

The United States members were to suggest that the Joint Commission should select a group of representative democratic Korean leaders for the purpose of consultation with the Joint Commission in its preparation of proposals for the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government. Such leaders were to be chosen after full consultation with all democratic parties or through electoral processes. If the Joint Commission could not agree on such position, the United States and Soviet Commanders in Korea separately were to choose the members of the group from their respective zones—the number from each zone to be proportionate to the population or at least to the number of provinces in each zone. The group of Korean leaders were to be called on to formulate plans for a Provisional Korean Government, subject to modification by the Joint Commission. Such proposals were then to be for the Joint Commission to reach agreement on the creation of an advisory group of Korean leaders, the United States Commander in Korea was independently to form such a group to act in an advisory capacity to the United States members of the Joint Commission in matters relating to the creation of a Provisional Korean Government.

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8. Representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea began sessions of the Joint Commission on March 20, 1946. In the opening session, the Soviet Delegate, General Shtikov, stated that "the Soviet Union has a keen interest in Korea being a true democratic and independent country, friendly to the Soviet Union, so that in the future it will not become a base for attack on the Soviet Union."

From the beginning the Soviet position was that the Provisional Korean Government would be formed after consultation with those political parties and social organizations fully in favor of the Moscow Agreement. A month of negotiations resulted in a public statement on the part of the Joint Commission to the effect that those Korean parties and organizations would be consulted which supported the aims of the Moscow Agreement expressed in Paragraph (1) thereof, abided by decisions of the Joint Commission and Four Powers under paragraph (2), and cooperated with reference to paragraph (3).

In discussions with reference to the procedure for consulting parties, the Soviets insisted that should individuals selected by the parties be those who had expressed opposition to the Moscow Decision or had attacked any of the Allied powers, they would be declared ineligible for consultation with the Joint Commission. The United States delegation did not agree with this proposal since such exclusion would in effect have barred from consultation those Koreans who had participated in the "Representative Democratic Council of South Korea," a majority of whom had voiced opposition to trusteeship. The formation of the "Democratic Council" had been encouraged by the United States Command. The Soviet delegation adopted the position that because the United States delegation did not agree without qualification that the Moscow Agreement makes a five-year trusteeship for Korea mandatory, and because the United States Command did not prohibit further discussion of the subject by Koreans, the United States was not living up to the Moscow Decision.

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It became evident that no progress could be made, and the United States delegation moved for consideration of measures for the elimination of the 38th parallel. The Soviet delegation responded to the effect that the problem involved there would be solved with the creation of a Provisional Government. The United States delegation, on May 8, moved for adjournment sine die; the Soviet delegation agreed.

9. In a press conference on May 17, Acting Secretary Acheson stated when asked if any communication had passed between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the deadlock of the Joint Commission in Korea, that no such communication had passed on government level and that the Commission had simply adjourned and had not dissolved since it had no authority to dissolve. He added that the United States representatives on the Joint Commission are ready at any time to resume negotiations for fulfillment of the Moscow decision as soon as the Soviet delegation to the Commission is ready to acknowledge that freedom of expression will be safeguarded throughout Korea in implementation of the Moscow decision. The State Department has been kept fully informed by General John R. Hodge of all phases of negotiations and fully concurs in position General Hodge has taken, Mr. Acheson said.

10. Representative Democratic Council

In order to create an advisory body representative of the various political parties in southern Korea, the United States Command set up the Representative Democratic Council which held its first meeting on February 14, 1946. The twenty-eight members of the Council signed a statement pledging themselves to assist General Hodge in his efforts to create a provisional government. Sygman Rhee became Chairman of the Council, Kim Kui Sik--Vice Chairman, and Kim Koo--Secretary General.

The leader of the People's Party, Lyuh Woon Hyung, did not attend, although he signed the agreement and his name appeared on the list of members. Lyuh's absence stemmed first from the fact that the "Propaganda Minister" of the defunct "Provisional Government,"

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in a face-saving statement, had conveyed the impression that the new organization was an offshoot of the former "Provisional Government" and that Lyuh had merely been invited to participate rather than that he had been included from the outset as an original member; and secondly, from Communist opposition within Lyuh's party to the Council.

Thus, the Representative Democratic Council did not succeed in unifying the political parties; rather it stimulated their alignment into two camps. The Right and Center parties united behind the Representative Democratic Council under the leadership of Syngman Rhee, and the Left was entirely excluded. As a result, the Representative Democratic Council contains all the well known conservative and moderate leaders, and membership of any working council would probably include Syngman Rhee, Kim Koo and Kim Kiu Sik.

The Communist controlled Korean People's Republic, People's Party, Independence Alliance and Communist Party united in a Democratic People's Front under Pak Heun Yung and Lyuh Woon Hyung and continued to refuse to participate in the Council.

The position of the two parties became more and more diametrically opposed. The right wing in general supported military government and opposed the trusteeship principle, while the leftist groups became increasingly critical of the United States. On March 18, 1946, Syngman Rhee resigned as chairman of the Representative Democratic Council, offering ill health as the reason. However, the Council refused to accept his resignation and granted him a leave of absence to which he agreed. He had recently been under attack from the leftist press as allegedly having promised important Korean mining concessions to a New York firm when he became president of Korea.

Meanwhile, the Representative Democratic Council issued its platform, paralleling the pronouncement of Rhee on February 28; personal rights, radical land reform, planned economy and progressive taxation were the basic concepts.

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Since the Representative Democratic Council is packed with conservative elements, it cannot be considered representative of the political parties of southern Korea as a whole.

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APPENDIX "B"

DISCUSSION

1. The major current statements of United States policy with regard to Korea are SWNCC 176/8 and SWNCC 176/18. These two documents no longer fully meet the needs of the situation in Korea. The former was designed as guidance for the initial stages of the occupation of southern Korea prior to the assumed early unification of the United States and Soviet zones and the creation of a Korean Government or a Trusteeship. The latter document was designed as guidance in the negotiations with the Soviet authorities over the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government as a preliminary step in the unification of Korea and the creation of a Trusteeship or an independent Korean Government, as called for in the Moscow Agreement.

When the Joint Commission adjourned sine die on 8 May 1946, negotiations looking toward the creation of a Provisional Korean Government came to a halt. It obviously will be extremely difficult to reopen these negotiations and push them to a successful conclusion. Thus, the United States authorities in southern Korea are faced with the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the present unnatural division of Korea and the postponement of all plans for the creation of a Trusteeship or independent Korean Government. It is necessary, therefore, at this time to reexamine United States policy with regard to Korea in order to determine what are our basic objectives there and how under present circumstances these may best be attained.

2. The fundamental United States objective with regard to Korea, simply stated, is the independence of Korea. This the United States has promised in the Cairo Declaration and subsequent statements. Korean independence is important not only for the sake of the Koreans themselves but also as a means of strengthening political stability throughout the Far East, for the domination of Korea

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by either Japan or the Soviet Union would further endanger Chinese control of Manchuria and would thus lessen the prospect of the creation of a strong and stable China, without which there can be no permanent political stability in the Far East. If we are to establish a self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations, we must also assist the Koreans to establish the sound economy and adequate educational system essential to an independent state. To be consistent with our own principles of freedom and liberty, we must also be prepared to insure that the National Korean Government we establish is a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people.

3. The United States occupation of southern Korea is for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of these basic objectives. At present, the occupation greatly aids this end, and, without it, there would be little hope of achieving our objectives. This, no doubt, will continue to be the situation as long as the Soviet occupation of northern Korea is continued. The United States occupation of southern Korea, therefore, should be maintained as long as it contributes to the attainment of basic United States objectives with regard to Korea.

4. As a result of the joint occupation of Korea by United States and Soviet forces, basic United States objectives with regard to Korea can only be attained through agreement with the Soviet Union. In fact, the policy problems raised by Korea assume added significance because they entail the necessity of agreement with the Soviet Union and thus become part of the much more vital problem of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. While the United States should hold firm to its basic objectives with regard to Korea, it should be recognized that an amicable agreement with the Soviet Union over Korea is to be desired not only as a means of achieving our objectives there but also as a factor facilitating a Far Eastern and general understanding with the Soviet Union.

5. If an agreement over Korea is to be reached with the Soviet

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Union, it is imperative that the United States strictly observe the Moscow Agreement. The United States Government, therefore, in attempting to achieve its objectives in Korea should work within the frameword of the Moscow Agreement and to this end should do all in its power to achieve the fulfillment of the terms of the Agreement and in particular the attainment of Korea independence within a maximum period of five years.

6. A satisfactory agreement over Korea with the Soviet Union can only be made if, in the future, common ground for agreement can be found where none now exists or if the Soviet authorities are persuaded to modify their present position by the force of Korean public opinion ranging itself in support of United States policies as opposed to Soviet policies in Korea. In other words, the way to resolve the present impasse in our favor would seem to be to adopt a course of action in southern Korea which would win such active popular support for United States principles and practices as to force the Soviet Union to modify its present stand and at the same time would make an understanding easier by developing common ground for agreement with the Soviet Union.

7. Measures which would win great popular Korean support are:

a. To broaden the basic for Korean participation in the administration of southern Korea by utilizing Koreans from all political groups in as many positions of responsibility as possible in the local and provincial administrations, and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole;

b. To embark on a broad program of popular elections; and

c. To institute a broad program of constructive economic and education reforms looking towards the creation of conditions favorable to the development of a strong and lasting democratic system in Korea.

These measures, while helping to prepare Koreans for the duties and responsibilities envisaged in the Moscow Agreement and in basic United States objectives, should prove to be extremely popular with

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with the Koreans and should do much to strengthen democratic tendencies within the country. Popular elections should be used wherever possible for the selections of Koreans to occupy key posts in local, provincial and zone administrations and also to select an advisory legislative body. For non-elective posts, it would be advisable to choose Koreans insofar as possible from all political groups, with a view to giving Korean leaders of all shades of political opinion a vested interest in the administration of southern Korea and thus winning their support for United States policies. In holding elections, it may prove to be advisable to try local elections before attempting provincial elections and to postpone elections for the zone administration until after successful provincial elections have been held.

Since elections are to be held primarily to educate Koreans in the ways of democracy, it would be advisable to insure that all major political groups participate in all elections. Such a policy might at times make it desirable to postpone elections temporarily, but it is felt that in some cases this might be preferable to holding elections under conditions which would only serve to widen political cleavages within southern Korea and make eventual agreement with the Soviet Union more difficult. It is believed that, because of popular pressure, it would be difficult for any major party to postpone elections for long by boycotting them.

The establishment of an advisory legislative body should facilitate the carrying out of a broad program of constructive political, economic, and education reforms, which should prove to be popular with the Koreans and essential to the creation of conditions under which a strong and lasting democratic system can be developed in Korea. The advisory legislative body, which should supersede the present Representative Democratic Council of southern Korea, should have the duty of formulating and presenting to the United States Commander draft laws to be used at his discretion as a basis for these reforms. The advisory legislative body should be encouraged to assist in

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for this purpose. A broad pro-

formulating the general program and to take the lead in initiating draft legislative for its implementation. Since such a reform program can only be successful if supported by the Korean people and since Korean support is essential to the attainment of United States objectives in Korea, it would be advisable to have all major reforms initiated, if possible, by the advisory legislative body and it should be the general rule to undertake no major reform without the support of that body.

8. It would be desirable to utilize to the fullest all mass media of information in order to insure that the above measures have the maximum effect in winning public support for the United States position and United States policies as opposed to the Soviet position and policies.

9. While winning Korean support for United States policies, it should not be forgotten that the creation of a broader basis for agreement with the Soviet Union is equally important. The measures outlined in paragraph 7 above should prove to be equally valuable for this purpose. A broad program for constructive economic and educational reforms would probably contain many features which would be acceptable to the Soviet authorities and might help to create greater confidence among them in our aims and methods. The inclusion of Koreans from all political groups in our administrations in southern Korea and the holding of popular elections also should afford new ground for agreement. In particular, the holding of elections to choose an advisory legislative body should enable us to create a Korean leadership in the south which is more truly representative of all Korean political opinion than is the leadership of the present Representative Democratic Council of southern Korea, which includes no leftists of any kind. Such a new leadership should prove to be not only stronger but also more acceptable to the Soviet Union than the present Council and, therefore, a factor strengthening rather than weakening the possibility of agreement with the Soviet Union. For these reasons the United States Commander should seek the cooperation of representatives of all political groups in the administration of southern Korea and should not bar any Korean from an appointive or elective post because of his political affiliation.

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10. Agreement not only between the Soviet and United States authorities but also between the various factions in southern Korea would also be greatly facilitated if certain personalities who have been the storm centers of recent political controversy in Korea were to retire temporarily from the political scene. There is reason to interpret the collapse of negotiations in the Joint Commission as the result of a clash between United States insistence upon respect for the principle of freedom of speech and Soviet determination to prevent certain avowedly anti-Soviet Korean leaders from participation in a Provisional Korean Government. These leaders constitute a group of older emigre Koreans who have returned to Korea since the capitulation of Japan. They are not thought to be completely representative of Korean political opinion, nor are they felt to be essential to the establishment of Korean democracy or the attainment of United States objectives in Korea. On the other hand, their presence on the political scene greatly increases the difficulty of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union. For these reasons, it can be concluded that the attainment of United States objectives in Korea is on the whole hampered rather than aided by their participation in Korean politics.

The holding of elections referred to in the preceding paragraph would probable either force these returned Korean leaders to share their leadership with more liberal Koreans or else make them a minority opposition group in the southern Korea regime. It would, however, be still better if these men were to retire altogether and permit other less controversial figures to replace them as the representatives of rightist and centrist opinion in southern Korea. Such a step would probably greatly facilitate the achievement of a satisfactory agreement with the Soviet Union without weakening the United States position in the slightest. The United States Commander, therefore, would as a general policy encourage the selection for important posts of leaders who remained in Korea throughout the period of Japanese rule and should in no way oppose the voluntary retirement

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from politics of Korean leaders who have returned to Korea since the Japanese capitulation.

11. The various measures outlined above are not ends in themselves but are means of achieving basic United States objectives in Korea through agreement with the Soviet Union on the basis of the Moscow Agreement. These measures are meant to facilitate but not to delay such an agreement. The Commander of United States Forces in Korea, therefore, while initiating these various measures, should not lose sight of the intention of this government to bring the negotiations of the Joint Commission to a successful conclusion as soon as possible through the creation of the Provisional Korean Government provided for in the Moscow Agreement. To this end, he and the United States representatives on the Joint Commission should be prepared to resume negotiations with the Soviet representatives at any time and should, in particular, be ready to exploit in these negotiations any favorable reaction on the part of the Korean people or the Soviet representatives to conditions resulting from the implementation of these measures as the basis for agreement regarding the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government. The United States Commander should not only be receptive to any Soviet suggestion that negotiations be resumed but he should also be prepared to take the initiative in their resumption when he had reason to believe that there exists a basis for agreement within the Commission without compromising the principle that freedom of expression must be safeguarded throughout Korea.

12. When negotiations are resumed, the United States representatives on the Joint Commission should look to SWNCC 176/18 for guidance, but they should also consider the following additional suggestions as possible formulae which might be acceptable to the Soviet representatives but which would in no way compromise the principle of freedom of expression:

(1) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in

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order to select the group of representative democratic Korean leaders called for in paragraph 4 d (1) of SWNCC 176/18;

(2) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the key members of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government

(3) To accept for consultative purposes the advisory legislative body mentioned in paragraph 7 above as representative of all democratic parties and social organizations in southern Korea; or

(4) To use members of such an advisory legislative body for key positions in a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government.

13. The civilian recruitment program now being operated by the War Department to furnish Military Government in Korea with civilian personnel has had limited success. Notwithstanding the attractive salaries offered for positions in Korea, well qualified United States civilian personnel hesitate to accept employment. Chief among the drawbacks are said to be the present prohibition against families accompanying the employees to Korea and lack of adequate facilities there for the families, including housing, schooling, medical care and limitations on supplies ordinarily required by an American household.

In the face of demobilization affecting the stength of military government personnel, it is felt that every means should be taken to strengthen the civilian recruitment program. Since the positions for which personnel are required demand experience and technical knowledge not now ordinarily found among Koreans, and since American possessing the necessary qualities are reluctant to leave their families for extended periods, it would appear that the only course would be to make adequate provisions for the families of such personnel.

It is conceivable that Koreans will raise objections to a

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program of this sort. The anticipation of such objections, however, should not outweigh the beneficial effects that might reasonably be expected to follow from a well planned and executed program of recuirtment. New construction and the avoidance of creating an added burden on civilian supplies through imports providing for the needs of United States civilians would help to forestall criticism. Hotel accomodations and restaurant service to provide for visitors with duties limited in time are regarded as a necessary service in order to facilitate the work of survey missions and consultants.

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SECRET

POLICY FOR KOREA

THE PROBLEM

1. The problem is to determine the basic objectives of the United States with regard to Korea and how best to achieve these objectives through further negotiations in the Joint Commission and through unilateral action in southern Korea, pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government.

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

2. See Appendix "A".

DISCUSSION

3. See Appendix "B".

CONCLUSIONS

4. It is concluded that:

a. The basic objectives of the United States with regard to Korea as a whole are:

(1) To establish a self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations;

(2) To insure that the national government so established shall be a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people; and

(3) To assist the Koreans in establishing the sound economy and adequate educational system necessary for an independent democratic state.

b. It is the intention of the United States Government to achieve its objectives in Korea within the framework of the Moscow Agreement and to this end to do all in its power to achieve the fulfillment of the terms of the Agreement and in particular the attainment of Korean independence at the earliest possible date.

c. The military occupation of Southern Korea is for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of basic United States

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objectives in Korea and shall continue as long as it contributes to this end.

d. With a view to preparing Koreans for early independence and winning popular Korean support for United States policies and thus strengthening the United States position in future negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea, pending the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government, shall broaden the basis for Korean participation in the administration of Southern Korea. Insofar as the following can be accomplished without impairing the maintenant of the necessary military control, he shall:

(1) Utilize qualified Koreans in as many posts of responsibility as possible in the local and provincial administrations and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole:

(a) Using popular electoral processes for the selection of Koreans to occupy key posts in local and provincial administrations and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole;

(b) For all appointive posts, selecting Koreans insofar as possible from all political groups; and

(2) Establish through broad electoral processes an advisory legislative body which shall supersede the present Representative Democratic Council of Southern Korea and shall have the duty of formulating and presenting to the United States Commander draft laws to be used at his discretion as a basis for political, economic and social reforms in the southern zone, pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government. The Commander of the United States Forces in Korea shall put into effect such draft laws except when they are inconsistent with basic United States objectives or the Moscow Agreement.

In the implementation of paragraphs (1)(a) and (2) above, the United States Commander shall make every effort to insure that all

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major political groups participate in all elections.

e. As a further measure to win popular Korean support for United States policies and thus strengthen the United States position in future negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea shall take steps to institute a broad program of constructive economic and educational reforms for Southern Korea looking toward the creation of conditions favorable to the development of a strong and lasting democratic system in Korea. The advisory legislative body, when constituted, shall be encouraged to assist in formulating this program and to take the lead in initiating draft legislation for its implementation. All major reforms shall, if possible, be initiated by the advisory legislative body, and no major reform shall be undertaken without consultation with this body and, preferably after obtaining its support. Further instructions regarding specific features of such an economic and educational reform program will be provided by the United States Government for the guidance of the United States Commander.

f. In implementing paragraphs d and e above, the Commander of the United States Forces in Korea shall continue to permit full freedom of expression to all political groups and shall seek the cooperation of representatives of all groups in the administration of southern Korea. No Korean shall be barred from an appointive or elective post because of his political affiliations. As a general policy, however, the United States Commander shall encourage the selection of leaders who remained in Korea throughout the period of Japanese rule and shall in no way oppose the voluntary retirement from politics of Korean leaders who have returned to Korea since the Japanese capitulation.

g. The public information program shall be utilized to the fullest to further Korean understanding of and support for United States policies in Korea.

h. While implementing paragraphs d and e above, the Commander of United States Forces in Korea should not lose sight of the intention of this government to establish, as soon as possible, a nation-wide

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Provisional Korean Government, in accordance with the terms of the Moscow Agreement. To this end, the United States Commander, while standing firm on the principle that freedom of expression must be safeguarded throughout Korea, shall be prepared to instruct the United States representatives on the Joint Commission to resume negotiations with the Soviet representatives at any time and shall propose the resumption of negotiations whenever there is reason to believe that there may be a basis for agreement within the Commission without compromising United States principles. In particular, he shall be ready to exploit any favorable reaction on the part of the Korean people or the Soviet representatives on the Joint Commission to conditions resulting from the implementation of paragraphs d and e above as the basis for agreement regarding the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government. When negotiations are resumed, the United States representatives shall look to SWNCC 176/18 for guidance and shall also consider the present impasse in the Joint Commission:

(1) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the group of representative democratic Korean leaders called for in paragraph 4 d (1) of SWNCC 176/18;

(2) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the key numbers of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government;

(3) To accept for consultative purposes the advisory legislative body called for in paragraph d (2) above as representative of all democratic parties and social organizations in southern Korea; and

(4) To use numbers of such an advisory legislative body for key positions in a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government.

i. Pending the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government, the United States Commander in Korea shall continue to strive for the coordination of economic and administrative matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, insofar as this can be done without prejudicing

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the attainment of basic United States objectives.

j. For the purpose of attracting the well-qualified personnel essential to the effective operation of the United States occupation in southern Korea, a substantial program shall be initiated to provide acceptable living accomodations for the families of United States personnel. In addition to providing living accommodations by utilizing and remodeling former Japanese owned property, new construction should be undertaken. Other facilities, such as schools, hospitals, and household supplies shall be made available to all United States personnel and their families. Accomodations shall also be provided for personnel on specialized duty requiring only brief visits.

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APPENDIX "A"

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

1. The United States, the United Kingdom, and China stated in the Cairo Declaration on December 1, 1943, that they

> "Mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

In the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945 the same Powers declared that:

> "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor islands as we determine."

2. In oral statements to Mr. Hopkins at Yalta in February 1945 and at Moscow on November 12, 1945, Stalin agreed with the United States suggestion that a Four-Power trusteeship involving the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Great Britain, and China would be a desirable solution to the problem of the immediate future of Korea.

3. SWNCC 176/8 (October 13, 1945) was the basic initial directive to the Commander in Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, for the administration of civil affairs in those areas of Korea occupied by United States Forces. It defined the authority which CINCAFPAC possessed and the politics which were to guide CINCAFPAC in the administration of civil affairs in Korea in the initial period after Japanese surrender prior to the establishment of a trusteeship. The political section outlined in basic objectives of the military occupation of Korea, the establishment of the Civil Affairs Administration and the political and administrative reorganization; the procedures to be followed in regard to demilitarization, arrest and internment, prisoners of war, United Nations Nationals, Neutrals and other persons; and the actions of the Command relative to political activity, education, arts and archives.

The section on economics defined the objectives and methods of economic control; procedures regarding armament production, agriculture, industry and internal commerce, public health, international economic transactions and restitution of property; and the methods of achieving adequate civilian supply and relief. The financial

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section defined the action to be taken regarding the control of banks, issuance of money, payment of pensions, freezing of certain assets, and foreign exchange transactions.

4. Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Agreement of December 27, 1945, reads as follows:

"III. Korea. 1. With a view to the reestablishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions for developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.

"2. In order to assist the formation of a Provisional Korean Government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures, there shall be established a joint commission consisting of representatives of the United States Command in Southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea. In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organizations. The recommendations worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom and the United States prior to final decision by the two Governments represented on the Joint Commission.

"3. It shall be the task of the Joint Commission with the participation of the Provisional Korean Democratic Government and of the Korean democratic organizations to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea.

"The proposals of the Joint Commission shall be submitted, following consultations with the Provisional Korean Government for the joint consideration of the Governments of the United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and China for the working out of an agreement concerning a four-power trusteeship of Korea for a period of up to five years.

"4. For the consideration of urgent problems affecting both southern and northern Korea and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the United States Command in southern Korea and the Soviet Command in northern Korea, a conference of the representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea shall be convened within a period of two weeks."

5. Mr. Byrnes in his radio address on 30 December 1945 commented on the Korean Section of the Moscow Agreement as follows:

"The administration of Korea has been a trying problem since the surrender of Japan. For the purposes of military operations the occupation of Korea was divided north and south of Latitude 38 into Soviet and American areas. The continuation of this division after surrender has been unsatisfactory. The movement of persons and goods and the

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functioning of public services on a nationwide scale has been hampered.

"Under our agreement at Moscow, the two military commands are to form a Joint Soviet-American Commission to solve immediate economic and administrative problems. They will make recommendations to the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China for the formulation of a Korean Provisional Democratic Government. They will also make proposals to these Governments regarding a four-power trusteeship to prepare Korea for its independence within five years.

"The Joing Soviet-American Commission, working with the Korean Provisional Democratic Government, may find it possible to dispense with a trusteeship. It is our goal to hasten the day when Korea will become an independent member of the Society of Nations."

6. The United States-Soviet Joint Conference, which met from January 16 to February 5, 1946, was convened in accordance with the Moscow Agreement, which provided for consideration of urgent problems affecting both occupation areas and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the two occupation commands. Of the fifteen points on the official agenda, agreement was achieved on only seven items. These agreements provided for: rail, motor and water-borne transportation on a limited basis; uniform regulation of ports in both zones; establishment of joint control posts along the 38th parallel; limited movement of Korean citizens from one zone to the other; limited exchange of first-class mail; allocation of radio frequencies; and measures for future coordination between the two commands. Implementation of the agreements made has not been complete; in fact the only agreement known to have been carried out in full is that concerning exchange of first-class mails.

Because of fundamental differences in points of view, no decision could be reached on the supply of electric power, exchange of commodities, mutual payments for goods, repatriation of Japanese in northern Korea, telecommunication between zones, and partial or local changes ih the boundary between zones. The United States delegation based its discussions on the desirability of removing the barrier of the 38th parallel and considering the country as an economic and administrative unit. The Soviets, on the other hand, viewed this problem

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as one of exchange and coordination between two adjoining but separate zones of military responsibility.

7. The objective of SWNCC 176/18 (January 28, 1946) was to determine the policy for the guidance of General MacArthur in conducting negotiations with the Soviet Command in northern Korea regarding the initial powers and functions of the Joint Commission provided for in paragraph 2 of Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Agreement and regarding the formulation of plans for the creation of a Provisional Korean Government.

CINCAFPAC was directed to make arrangements for an early meeting of the Joint Commission at which the United States members were to regard the creation of a Provisional Korean Government as the first and most pressing political task. To facilitate such an end the United States Commander in Korea was to encourage the various political parties to reach fundamental agreement on political, social and economic policies.

The United States members were to suggest that the Joint Commission should select a group of representative democratic Korean leaders for the purpose of consultation with the Joint Commission in its preparation of proposals for the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government. Such leaders were to be chosen after full consultation with all democratic parties or through electoral processes. If the Joint Commission could not agree on such position, the United States and Soviet Commanders in Korea separately were to choose the members of the group from their respective zones—the number from each zone to be proportionate to the population or at least to the number of provinces in each zone. The group of Korean leaders were to be called on to formulate plans for a Provisional Korean Government, subject to modification by the Joint Commission. Such proposals were then to be for the Joint Commission to reach agreement on the creation of an advisory group of Korean leaders, the United States Commander in Korea was independently to form such a group to act in an advisory capacity to the United States members of the Joint Commission in matters relating to the creation of a Provisional Korean Government.

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8. Representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea began sessions of the Joint Commission on March 20, 1946. In the opening session, the Soviet Delegate, General Shtikov, stated that "the Soviet Union has a keen interest in Korea being a true democratic and independent country, friendly to the Soviet Union, so that in the future it will not become a base for attack on the Soviet Union."

From the beginning the Soviet position was that the Provisional Korean Government would be formed after consultation with those political parties and social organizations fully in favor of the Moscow Agreement. A month of negotiations resulted in a public statement on the part of the Joint Commission to the effect that those Korean parties and organizations would be consulted which supported the aims of the Moscow Agreement expressed in Paragraph (1) thereof, abided by decisions of the Joint Commission and Four Powers under paragraph (2), and cooperated with reference to paragraph (3).

In discussions with reference to the procedure for consulting parties, the Soviets insisted that should individuals selected by the parties be those who had expressed opposition to the Moscow Decision or had attacked any of the Allied powers, they would be declared ineligible for consultation with the Joint Commission. The United States delegation did not agree with this proposal since such exclusion would in effect have barred from consultation those Koreans who had participated in the "Representative Democratic Council of South Korea," a majority of whom had voiced opposition to trusteeship. The formation of the "Democratic Council" had been encouraged by the United States Command. The Soviet delegation adopted the position that because the United States delegation did not agree without qualification that the Moscow Agreement makes a five-year trusteeship for Korea mandatory, and because the United States Command did not prohibit further discussion of the subject by Koreans, the United States was not living up to the Moscow Decision.

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It became evident that no progress could be made, and the United States delegation moved for consideration of measures for the elimination of the 38th parallel. The Soviet delegation responded to the effect that the problem involved there would be solved with the creation of a Provisional Government. The United States delegation, on May 8, moved for adjournment sine die; the Soviet delegation agreed.

9. In a press conference on May 17, Acting Secretary Acheson stated when asked if any communication had passed between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the deadlock of the Joint Commission in Korea, that no such communication had passed on government level and that the Commission had simply adjourned and had not dissolved since it had no authority to dissolve. He added that the United States representatives on the Joint Commission are ready at any time to resume negotiations for fulfillment of the Moscow decision as soon as the Soviet delegation to the Commission is ready to acknowledge that freedom of expression will be safeguarded throughout Korea in implementation of the Moscow decision. The State Department has been kept fully informed by General John R. Hodge of all phases of negotiations and fully concurs in position General Hodge has taken, Mr. Acheson said.

10. Representative Democratic Council

In order to create an advisory body representative of the various political parties in southern Korea, the United States Command set up the Representative Democratic Council which held its first meeting on February 14, 1946. The twenty-eight members of the Council signed a statement pledging themselves to assist General Hodge in his efforts to create a provisional government. Sygman Rhee became Chairman of the Council, Kim Kui Sik--Vice Chairman, and Kim Koo--Secretary General.

The leader of the People's Party, Lyuh Woon Hyung, did not attend, although he signed the agreement and his name appeared on the list of members. Lyuh's absence stemmed first from the fact that the "Propaganda Minister" of the defunct "Provisional Government,"

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in a face-saving statement, had conveyed the impression that the new organization was an offshoot of the former "Provisional Government" and that Lyuh had merely been invited to participate rather than that he had been included from the outset as an original member; and secondly, from Communist opposition within Lyuh's party to the Council.

Thus, the Representative Democratic Council did not succeed in unifying the political parties; rather it stimulated their alignment into two camps. The Right and Center parties united behind the Representative Democratic Council under the leadership of Syngman Rhee, and the Left was entirely excluded. As a result, the Representative Democratic Council contains all the well known conservative and moderate leaders, and membership of any working council would probably include Syngman Rhee, Kim Koo and Kim Kiu Sik.

The Communist controlled Korean People's Republic, People's Party, Independence Alliance and Communist Party united in a Democratic People's Front under Pak Heun Yung and Lyuh Woon Hyung and continued to refuse to participate in the Council.

The position of the two parties became more and more diametrically opposed. The right wing in general supported military government and opposed the trusteeship principle, while the leftist groups became increasingly critical of the United States. On March 18, 1946, Syngman Rhee resigned as chairman of the Representative Democratic Council, offering ill health as the reason. However, the Council refused to accept his resignation and granted him a leave of absence to which he agreed. He had recently been under attack from the leftist press as allegedly having promised important Korean mining concessions to a New York firm when he became president of Korea.

Meanwhile, the Representative Democratic Council issued its platform, paralleling the pronouncement of Rhee on February 28; personal rights, radical land reform, planned economy and progressive taxation were the basic concepts.

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Since the Representative Democratic Council is packed with conservative elements, it cannot be considered representative of the political parties of southern Korea as a whole.

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APPENDIX "B"

DISCUSSION

1. The major current statements of United States policy with regard to Korea are SWNCC 176/8 and SWNCC 176/18. These two documents no longer fully meet the needs of the situation in Korea. The former was designed as guidance for the initial stages of the occupation of southern Korea prior to the assumed early unification of the United States and Soviet zones and the creation of a Korean Government or a Trusteeship. The latter document was designed as guidance in the negotiations with the Soviet authorities over the establishment of a Provisional Korean Government as a preliminary step in the unification of Korea and the creation of a Trusteeship or an independent Korean Government, as called for in the Moscow Agreement.

When the Joint Commission adjourned sine die on 8 May 1946, negotiations looking toward the creation of a Provisional Korean Government came to a halt. It obviously will be extremely difficult to reopen these negotiations and push them to a successful conclusion. Thus, the United States authorities in southern Korea are faced with the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the present unnatural division of Korea and the postponement of all plans for the creation of a Trusteeship or independent Korean Government. It is necessary, therefore, at this time to reexamine United States policy with regard to Korea in order to determine what are our basic objectives there and how under present circumstances these may best be attained.

2. The fundamental United States objective with regard to Korea, simply stated, is the independence of Korea. This the United States has promised in the Cairo Declaration and subsequent statements. Korean independence is important not only for the sake of the Koreans themselves but also as a means of strengthening political stability throughout the Far East, for the domination of Korea

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by either Japan or the Soviet Union would further endanger Chinese control of Manchuria and would thus lessen the prospect of the creation of a strong and stable China, without which there can be no permanent political stability in the Far East. If we are to establish a self-governing Korea, independent of foreign control and eligible for membership in the United Nations, we must also assist the Koreans to establish the sound economy and adequate educational system essential to an independent state. To be consistent with our own principles of freedom and liberty, we must also be prepared to insure that the National Korean Government we establish is a democratic government fully representative of the freely expressed will of the Korean people.

3. The United States occupation of southern Korea is for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of these basic objectives. At present, the occupation greatly aids this end, and, without it, there would be little hope of achieving our objectives. This, no doubt, will continue to be the situation as long as the Soviet occupation of northern Korea is continued. The United States occupation of southern Korea, therefore, should be maintained as long as it contributes to the attainment of basic United States objectives with regard to Korea.

4. As a result of the joint occupation of Korea by United States and Soviet forces, basic United States objectives with regard to Korea can only be attained through agreement with the Soviet Union. In fact, the policy problems raised by Korea assume added significance because they entail the necessity of agreement with the Soviet Union and thus become part of the much more vital problem of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. While the United States should hold firm to its basic objectives with regard to Korea, it should be recognized that an amicable agreement with the Soviet Union over Korea is to be desired not only as a means of achieving our objectives there but also as a factor facilitating a Far Eastern and general understanding with the Soviet Union.

5. If an agreement over Korea is to be reached with the Soviet

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Union, it is imperative that the United States strictly observe the Moscow Agreement. The United States Government, therefore, in attempting to achieve its objectives in Korea should work within the frameword of the Moscow Agreement and to this end should do all in its power to achieve the fulfillment of the terms of the Agreement and in particular the attainment of Korea independence within a maximum period of five years.

6. A satisfactory agreement over Korea with the Soviet Union can only be made if, in the future, common ground for agreement can be found where none now exists or if the Soviet authorities are persuaded to modify their present position by the force of Korean public opinion ranging itself in support of United States policies as opposed to Soviet policies in Korea. In other words, the way to resolve the present impasse in our favor would seem to be to adopt a course of action in southern Korea which would win such active popular support for United States principles and practices as to force the Soviet Union to modify its present stand and at the same time would make an understanding easier by developing common ground for agreement with the Soviet Union.

7. Measures which would win great popular Korean support are:

a. To broaden the basic for Korean participation in the administration of southern Korea by utilizing Koreans from all political groups in as many positions of responsibility as possible in the local and provincial administrations, and in the administration of the United States zone as a whole;

b. To embark on a broad program of popular elections; and

c. To institute a broad program of constructive economic and education reforms looking towards the creation of conditions favorable to the development of a strong and lasting democratic system in Korea.

These measures, while helping to prepare Koreans for the duties and responsibilities envisaged in the Moscow Agreement and in basic United States objectives, should prove to be extremely popular with

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with the Koreans and should do much to strengthen democratic tendencies within the country. Popular elections should be used wherever possible for the selections of Koreans to occupy key posts in local, provincial and zone administrations and also to select an advisory legislative body. For non-elective posts, it would be advisable to choose Koreans insofar as possible from all political groups, with a view to giving Korean leaders of all shades of political opinion a vested interest in the administration of southern Korea and thus winning their support for United States policies. In holding elections, it may prove to be advisable to try local elections before attempting provincial elections and to postpone elections for the zone administration until after successful provincial elections have been held.

Since elections are to be held primarily to educate Koreans in the ways of democracy, it would be advisable to insure that all major political groups participate in all elections. Such a policy might at times make it desirable to postpone elections temporarily, but it is felt that in some cases this might be preferable to holding elections under conditions which would only serve to widen political cleavages within southern Korea and make eventual agreement with the Soviet Union more difficult. It is believed that, because of popular pressure, it would be difficult for any major party to postpone elections for long by boycotting them.

The establishment of an advisory legislative body should facilitate the carrying out of a broad program of constructive political, economic, and education reforms, which should prove to be popular with the Koreans and essential to the creation of conditions under which a strong and lasting democratic system can be developed in Korea. The advisory legislative body, which should supersede the present Representative Democratic Council of southern Korea, should have the duty of formulating and presenting to the United States Commander draft laws to be used at his discretion as a basis for these reforms. The advisory legislative body should be encouraged to assist in

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formulating the general program and to take the lead in initiating draft legislative for its implementation. Since such a reform program can only be successful if supported by the Korean people and since Korean support is essential to the attainment of United States objectives in Korea, it would be advisable to have all major reforms initiated, if possible, by the advisory legislative body and it should be the general rule to undertake no major reform without the support of that body.

8. It would be desirable to utilize to the fullest all mass media of information in order to insure that the above measures have the maximum effect in winning public support for the United States position and United States policies as opposed to the Soviet position and policies.

9. While winning Korean support for United States policies, it should not be forgotten that the creation of a broader basis for agreement with the Soviet Union is equally important. The measures outlined in paragraph 7 above should prove to be equally valuable for this purpose. A broad program for constructive economic and educational reforms would probably contain many features which would be acceptable to the Soviet authorities and might help to create greater confidence among them in our aims and methods. The inclusion of Koreans from all political groups in our administrations in southern Korea and the holding of popular elections also should afford new ground for agreement. In particular, the holding of elections to choose an advisory legislative body should enable us to create a Korean leadership in the south which is more truly representative of all Korean political opinion than is the leadership of the present Representative Democratic Council of southern Korea, which includes no leftists of any kind. Such a new leadership should prove to be not only stronger but also more acceptable to the Soviet Union than the present Council and, therefore, a factor strengthening rather than weakening the possibility of agreement with the Soviet Union. For these reasons the United States Commander should seek the cooperation of representatives of all political groups in the administration of southern Korea and should not bar any Korean from an appointive or elective post because of his political affiliation.

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10. Agreement not only between the Soviet and United States authorities but also between the various factions in southern Korea would also be greatly facilitated if certain personalities who have been the storm centers of recent political controversy in Korea were to retire temporarily from the political scene. There is reason to interpret the collapse of negotiations in the Joint Commission as the result of a clash between United States insistence upon respect for the principle of freedom of speech and Soviet determination to prevent certain avowedly anti-Soviet Korean leaders from participation in a Provisional Korean Government. These leaders constitute a group of older emigre Koreans who have returned to Korea since the capitulation of Japan. They are not thought to be completely representative of Korean political opinion, nor are they felt to be essential to the establishment of Korean democracy or the attainment of United States objectives in Korea. On the other hand, their presence on the political scene greatly increases the difficulty of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union. For these seasons, it can be concluded that the attainment of United States objectives in Korea is on the whole hampered rather than aided by their participation in Korean politics.

The holding of elections referred to in the preceding paragraph would probable either force these returned Korean leaders to share their leadership with more liberal Koreans or else make them a minority opposition group in the southern Korea regime. It would, however, be still better if these men were to retire altogether and permit other less controversial figures to replace them as the representatives of rightist and centrist opinion in southern Korea. Such a step would probably greatly facilitate the achievement of a satisfactory agreement with the Soviet Union without weakening the United States position in the slightest. The United States Commander, therefore, would as a general policy encourage the selection for important posts of leaders who remained in Korea throughout the period of Japanese rule and should in no way oppose the voluntary retirement

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from politics of Korean leaders who have returned to Korea since the Japanese capitulation.

11. The various measures outlined above are not ends in themselves but are means of achieving basic United States objectives in Korea through agreement with the Soviet Union on the basis of the Moscow Agreement. These measures are meant to facilitate but not to delay such an agreement. The Commander of United States Forces in Korea, therefore, while initiating these various measures, should not lose sight of the intention of this government to bring the negotiations of the Joint Commission to a successful conclusion as soon as possible through the creation of the Provisional Korean Government provided for in the Moscow Agreement. To this end, he and the United States representatives on the Joint Commission should be prepared to resume negotiations with the Soviet representatives at any time and should, in particular, be ready to exploit in these negotiations any favorable reaction on the part of the Korean people or the Soviet representatives to conditions resulting from the implementation of these measures as the basis for agreement regarding the establishment of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government. The United States Commander should not only be receptive to any Soviet suggestion that negotiations be resumed but he should also be prepared to take the initiative in their resumption when he had reason to believe that there exists a basis for agreement within the Commission without compromising the principle that freedom of expression must be safeguarded throughout Korea.

12. When negotiations are resumed, the United States representatives on the Joint Commission should look to SWNCC 176/18 for guidance, but they should also consider the following additional suggestions as possible formulae which might be acceptable to the Soviet representatives but which would in no way compromise the principle of freedom of expression:

(1) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in

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order to select the group of representative democratic Korean leaders called for in paragraph 4 d (1) of SWNCC 176/18;

(2) To hold nation-wide elections of a type consistent with United States concepts of democracy in order to select the key members of a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government

(3) To accept for consultative purposes the advisory legislative body mentioned in paragraph 7 above as representative of all democratic parties and social organizations in southern Korea; or

(4) To use members of such an advisory legislative body for key positions in a nation-wide Provisional Korean Government.

13. The civilian recruitment program now being operated by the War Department to furnish Military Government in Korea with civilian personnel has had limited success. Notwithstanding the attractive salaries offered for positions in Korea, well qualified United States civilian personnel hesitate to accept employment. Chief among the drawbacks are said to be the present prohibition against families accompanying the employees to Korea and lack of adequate facilities there for the families, including housing, schooling, medical care and limitations on supplies ordinarily required by an American household.

In the face of demobilization affecting the stength of military government personnel, it is felt that every means should be taken to strengthen the civilian recruitment program. Since the positions for which personnel are required demand experience and technical knowledge not now ordinarily found among Koreans, and since American possessing the necessary qualities are reluctant to leave their families for extended periods, it would appear that the only course would be to make adequate provisions for the families of such personnel.

It is conceivable that Koreans will raise objections to a

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program of this sort. The anticipation of such objections, however, should not outweigh the beneficial effects that might reasonably be expected to follow from a well planned and executed program of recuirtment. New construction and the avoidance of creating an added burden on civilian supplies through imports providing for the needs of United States civilians would help to forestall criticism. Hotel accomodations and restaurant service to provide for visitors with duties limited in time are regarded as a necessary service in order to facilitate the work of survey missions and consultants.

US - USSR Joint Commission
(Documents)

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HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Seoul, Korea

U.S. - U.S.S.R. AGREEMENT

SECTION I.

Pursuant to the agreement to carry out Paragraph 4 of the Moscow Decision of conference of the Foreign Ministers, to wit:

"For the organization of unified Korean democratic provisional government assistance and help will be rendered by the appropriate bodies of both countries, United States and Soviet Union, in consultation with the Provisional Korean Government and also with democratic parties and social organizations of Korea. Proposals for the measures to be worked out by the Joint Commission will be submitted for the consideration of both governments of United States and Soviet Union. The Joint Commission will be composed of representatives of the high commands of the United States and Soviet armies in Korea. The first proposals will be presented within two weeks by the Joint Commission for consideration by the governments of United States, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China and United Kingdom."

SECTION II.

The following must be accomplished initially to coordinate rail and road traffic as in a logistic line-of-communication:

1. Reestablish the railroads of North and South Korea as a single operating unit under complete control of the central organization located in Seoul.

2. Insure continued delivery of required electric power to all of Korea, under control of the organization established in Sec 1.

3. Reestablish telephone and telegraph communication as a single operating unit under complete control of the central organization in Seoul.

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4. Permit transportation of bituminous coal and agricultural products from Manchuria to South Korea.

5. Adjust the boundary of the U.S. and Soviet zones of military responsibility by:

The transfer to the Soviet Military Commander of that portion of Kwangsi Province lying south of 38° parallel.

The transfer to the U.S. Military Commander that portion of Hopeh Province lying north of 38° parallel.

Adjustment of the boundary in Fukien Province to conform to certain provincial sub-division boundaries.

6. Remove all trade restrictions along the 38° parallel.

7. Permit establishment of U.S.-Soviet control posts along the boundary of U.S. and Soviet zones of military responsibility.

8. Permit passage between zones of U.S. and Soviet military responsibility under a system of controlled permits for:

a. Persons who are:
1. Returning to their homes for permanent occupancy.
2. Engaged in commerce.
3. On Government business.
4. On special missions.
5. Covered by special agreement.
b. Producer and consumer goods.
c. Mail and all types of communication.

9. Adopt uniform fiscal policies in respect to methods of circulating financial institutions; restrictions and rates of foreign exchange, inter-zone deposit transfers and trading profits, banking, and commodities; adopt Bank of Chosen currency as standard for entire country and eliminate all other currency.

10. Establish uniform regulation of ports and of waterborne commerce between North and South Korea.

11. Resume normal flow of producer and consumer goods to stimulate commerce and industry.

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12. Permit communication by home offices of commercial organizations with their branches in North or South Korea.

13. Reestablish mail service by honoring stamps being used in either area.

14. Prepare mutually agreeable plans for the settlement of displaced persons.

15. Reestablish the central broadcasting network over all of Korea.

16. Restore newspaper circulation to all of Korea.

17. Prohibit the removal of capital goods from Korea.

18. Exchange liaison groups which shall have unrestricted travel.

19. Permit a representative of the interested government to inspect and verify the evacuation or destruction of enemy-owned capital goods in Korea.

20. Create a committee of sub-committees to work out details of above-mentioned items.

Political

[illegible] consistent with security and efficient operation, allow all restrictions to free intercourse between North and South Korea, thus uniting Korea as an integrated economic unit.

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[illegible]

4. Позволить перевозки смолистого угля / [illegible]/ и агрикультурных продуктов из [illegible] в [illegible] морей.

5. Урегулировать границу [illegible] и Советскую зону Военной ответственности на след.:

Перевести в Советский Военный Штаб ту часть [illegible] которая лежит на юге [illegible] параллели.

Перевести в [illegible] Военный Штаб ту часть [illegible] Провинции которая лежит на [illegible] параллели.

Урегулировать границу в [illegible] Провинции так чтобы соответствовала административным местным границам и местным под-отделам этой границы.

6. [illegible] все военные [illegible] вдоль [illegible] параллели.

7. Установить [illegible] и Советские контрольные точки вдоль границы [illegible] и Советской зоны Военной ответственности.

8. Разрешить проезд между зонами [illegible] и Советской Военной ответственности на основании системы - контрольных пунктов для:

а. [illegible] которые:
   1. Возвращаются домой для постоянного жительства.
   2. Занимаются коммерцией.
   3. По государственным делам.
   4. По специальным миссиям.
   5. Удостоверяющие лица которые исполняют специальные соглашения.
б. Производственные и потребительные товары.
в. [illegible] и все типы поездок.

9. Установить однообразную систему годовых планов в отношении [illegible] заведывающие Финансовыми институциями, ограничений [illegible] иностранной валюты, внутри-государственных вкладывающих переводах и торговые кредиты, обмен, и товаров; установить денежную валюту [illegible] как стандарт для всей страны и уничтожить все другие денежные знаки.

10. Установить однообразную регуляцию портов и [illegible] коммерцию между [illegible] и [illegible] морей.

11. Возобновить нормальный ход производственных и потребительных товаров для стимуляции коммерции и индустрии.

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Задачи

1). Разрешить коммуникацию домашних контор коммерческих организаций с нижними отделами в "верхнюю" и "нижнюю" зоны.

2). Возложить контроль за этим мероприятием на [illegible] "Смит" [illegible].

3). Приготовить особую [illegible] для [illegible] [illegible] лиц.

4). [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

5). [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

6). [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

7). [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

8). [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

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Members of Russian Delegation

Col-Gen Shtikov	Chief of Sov Del. Formerly Army Cmdr on 3 Front
Gen-Maj Shanin, Gregori Ivanovich	Ch of Staff to Gen Shtikov
Gen-Maj Romanyenko, Nikolai Nikolayevich	Mil Gov of N Korea
Extraordinary Minister-Plenipotentiary Derevyanko, Kuzma Nikolayevich	Pol advisor to delegation. Was Sov delegate to UNC, Seoul Jr. 4-star rank
Adviser Kolesnikov	Pol advisor to 24 Army. Was stationed Sov Embassy, Tokyo. Speaks English.
Maj-Gen Kutikov	
Adviser Krasin	
" Shtykov	
" Lavrov	
Lt-Col Orlikov	
Lt-Col Lukyanov	
Maj-Gen Shabalin	
Lt-Col Kuznetsov	

Others in Group

Alyoshin, Alexander Sergeyevich	Consul-General
Kolesnik, Anatole Ivanovich	1st Vice-Consul; speaks a little English.
Konstantinov, Ivan Ivanovich	2nd Vice-Consul; speaks a little English.
Orlikov	1st Sec Security
Peslov, Alexandr Sergeyevich	2nd Sec " English int
Peslova, Mme Ekaterina	Engl Int and Secty
Volkov	Jap int

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Major General H. V. Arnold, USA
Major General S. T. Spalding, USA
Brigadier General A. L. Ritchie, USA
Mr. A. L. Henningsen, Consul-General
Colonel A. F. [illegible], USA
Colonel F. H. [illegible], USA
Colonel J. C. [illegible], USA
Mr. A. I. Emmons, Vice Consul
Lt. Col. T. J. Ferlily, INF
Lt. Col. A. J. Cornelson, Inf
Major S. J. [illegible], AUS
Captain J. [illegible] Moore, USA
1st Lt. [illegible] Gilman, AUS

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	SOVIET DELEGATION	UNITED STATES DELEGATION
1	Col-Gen Shtikov ✓	Maj Gen A. V. Arnold ✓
2	Gen-Maj Shunin ✓	Maj Gen A. L. Lerch ✓
3	Gen-Maj Kovtunyenko ✓	Maj Gen S. P. Spalding ✓
4	Mr. Ostrapkin ✓	Brig Gen W. L. Ritchie
5	Mr. Zalasonov ✓	Mr. H. A. Lemmingthoff ✓
6	Col Kutuzov ✓	Col R. W. Booth ✓
7	Mr. Yanushkin ✓	Col F. S. Britton
8	Mr. Starodumov	Col J. [illegible] Underwood
9	Mr. Tarrov ✓	Mr. A. L. Sweets
10	Lt Col Zazharov ✓	Lt Col R. J. Herlihy
11	Lt Col Markulyenko ✓	Lt Col A. V. Ercelson
12	Capt Odnaledkov	Maj R. J. Woodall
13	Lt Krupnikov	Capt W. R. Moore
		1st Lt F. H. Gilman ✓

Consulate personnel

1 Kolyanski, Alexander Sergeyevich

2 Kiselev, Anatole Ivanovich

3 Konstantinov, Ivan Mikhailovich

4 Maslov, Alexandr Sergeyevich

5 Maslova, Olga Sharovna

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SUBJECTS

[illegible] during the conference of representatives of American and Soviet Commands in Korea.

1. Agenda of conference.

2. [illegible] with regard to conditions for releasing the electric energy from Southern Korea to southern Korea.

3. [illegible] of the delivery from S. Korea to N. Korea of cotton (raw), raw materials for light industry, textile [illegible] with spares, spare parts for industrial equipment, etc.

4. [illegible] to mail via reciprocal communications between zones.

5. [illegible] to evacuation of Japanese nationals from [illegible] to Japan.

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В О П Р О С Ы

...Л ОБСУЖДЕНИЯ НА СОВЕЩАНИИ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЕЙ
АМЕРИКАНСКОГО И СОВЕТСКОГО КОМАНДОВАНИЙ В КОРЕЕ.

1. Порядок работы совещания.
2. Об условиях отпуска электроэнергии из Северной Кореи в Южную.
3. О поставках из Южной Кореи в Северную продовольствия /рис/, сырья для легкой промышленности, текстильных и пожевенных товаров, зап. частей к промышленному оборудованию и др.
4. О железнодорожном и автогрузовом сообщениях между двумя зонами.
5. Об эвакуации японских беженцев из Северной Кореи в Японию.

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SPEECH OF COL. GEN. SHTIKOV, at opening of
US-Soviet Commission 16 January 1946

"My dear General -

"Permit me to express my deep thanks for the warm and gracious welcome accorded by you to myself and my party.

"I greet the Korean people, liberated by the valiant forces of the Red Army and the army of our ally, the United States of America from long years of oppression by Japanese imperialists.

"I hope that our conference convoked in accordance with the decision adopted at the meeting of the three foreign ministers in Moscow will through our mutual and friendly efforts successfully fulfill its assigned task.

This will be our first joint step in deciding upon measures for the establishment of a permanent coordination in administrative-economic matters between the American command in Southern Korea and the Soviet command in Northern Korea, so essential for the readjustment of normal economic life in Korea.

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МОЙ ДОРОГОЙ ГЕНЕРАЛ,

РАЗРЕШИТЕ ИСКРЕННЕ ПОБЛАГОДАРИТЬ ВАС ЗА ТЕПЛЫЙ И ЛЮБЕЗНЫЙ ПРИЕ
ОКАЗАННЫЙ ВАМИ МНЕ И СОПРОВОЖДАЮЩИМ МЕНЯ ЛИЦАМ.

Я ПРИВЕТСТВУЮ КОРЕЙСКИЙ НАРОД, ОСВОБОЖДЕННЫЙ ДОБЛЕСТНЫМИ ВО
МИ КРАСНОЙ АРМИИ И АРМИИ НАШЕГО СОЮЗНИКА-СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТОВ АМЕ
ОТ МНОГОЛЕТНЕГО УГНЕТЕНИЯ ЯПОНСКИХ ИМПЕРИАЛИСТОВ.

Я НАДЕЮСЬ, ЧТО НАШЕ СОВЕЩАНИЕ, СОЗВАННОЕ В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С РЕШЕ
НИЕМ, ПРИНЯТЫМ НА СОВЕЩАНИИ ТРЕХ МИНИСТРОВ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ В МОСКВЕ
ОБЩИМИ И ДРУЖНЫМИ УСИЛИЯМИ УСПЕШНО ВЫПОЛНИТ ПОРУЧЕННУЮ ЗАДАЧУ.

ЭТО БУДЕТ НАШИМ ПЕРВЫМ СОВМЕСТНЫМ ШАГОМ В ДЕЛЕ РАЗРЕШЕНИЯ
МЕРОПРИЯТИЙ ПО УСТАНОВЛЕНИЮ В АДМИНИСТРАТИВНО-ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОЙ ОБЛА
ПОСТОЯННОЙ КООРДИНАЦИИ МЕЖДУ АМЕРИКАНСКИМ КОМАНДОВАНИЕМ В ЮЖ
КОРЕЕ И СОВЕТСКИМ КОМАНДОВАНИЕМ В СЕВЕРНОЙ КОРЕЕ, СТОЛЬ НЕОБХОДИ
ДЛЯ НАЛАЖИВАНИЯ НОРМАЛЬНОЙ ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОЙ ЖИЗНИ КОРЕИ.

Текст выступления Представителя Советского Командования в Корее генерал-полковника Т Е Н К О В А на открытии Совещания Представителей Советского и Американского Командования в Корее.

16 января 1946 года.

Город Сеул.

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LIEUTENANT GENERAL HODGE'S OPENING SPEECH AT

SOVIET - U.S. CONFERENCES AT SEOUL KOREA

It is my great privilege today to open this important series of international conferences and to welcome to Seoul Colonel-General Shtikov and other distinguished officers of his party as representatives of Colonel-General Chistiakov, commander of the Soviet 25th Army. These representatives of the Commanding General of the armed forces of the Soviet Union in northern Korea are here to discuss with representatives of the United States Army Forces in southern Korea certain urgent administrative and economic problems in regard to the welfare and well being of Korea as a whole. The present conversations are being held in conformity with the last paragraph of the Korean section of the Moscow Communique, which was agreed upon by representatives of our respective governments in December 1945, and which has been published in this area.

It is my hope, and that of my government as well, that these present conversations will result in an agreement which will, in the administrative and economic spheres, bring to an end the trials and difficulties of the Korean nation brought about by over thirty-five years of Japanese oppression and misrule.

Conlonel-General Shtikov! - I have designated Major General Archibald V. Arnold as my representative in the discussions which are to be held. I have appointed, in addition, a number of other officers to comprise the United States delegation, with whom I trust, you and your officers will shortly become well acquainted.

In opening these important sessions, I wish to assure you, both personally and officially, that I feel it a great honor to welcome as guests, representatives of your great nation that fought so valiantly and steadfastly against our common enemies. It is my sincere belief that our great victories on the battlefields of the world will be followed by complete cooperation and collaboration around the council tables of great nations, resulting in continuance of world peace, and that our conferences here will solve the pressing problems of the Korean people.

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ЕЧЬ ГЕН. ХОДЖА ПРИ ОТКРЫТИИ СОВЕЩАНИЯ В ГОР. СЕУЛЕ.

16 Января 1946 Года. Время - 1300

Мое самое большое удовольствие сегодня открыть эту важную интернациональную конференцию и приветствовать в Сеул Генерал-Полковника Штыкова и всех других достойных офицеров в его составе как представителей Ген-Полк. Чистякова главного командующего 25 Армии Советского Союза. Эти представители ~~xxx~~ главнокомандующего военных сил Советского Союза в Северной Кореи находящиеся здесь чтобы обсуждать с представителями Армии Соед. Штатов Северной Америки в Южной Корее некоторые важные административные и экономические проблемы в отношении благополучия, благосостояния как одное целое. Настоящее совещание находящееся в соответствии с последним параграфом Корейской секции Московского коммуникэ которое согласовано представителями наших уважаемых государств 19 Декабря 1945, и которое было опубликовано в этом районе.

Моя искренняя надежда, также и моего государства, что эти совещания будут причиной согласия, которое поможет в сферах администрации и экономики привести к концу страдания и трудности Корейской нации пр[illegible] Японией более чем 35 лет опресней и безправием.

Ген-Полк. Штыков! Я назначил Генерал-Майора Арчибольда В. Арнольда как моего представителя в переговорах которые будут обсуждатся. Я назначил в добавок несколько других офицеров для состава С.Ш. Сев. Америки делегации с которой я надеюсь Вы и Ваши офицеры скоро познакомятся.

В открытии этих важных сесий Я желаю уверить Вас, как лично так и официально, что Я чувствую великую честь принять Вас как гостей и представителей Вашей великой нации которая воевала так победоносно и настойчиво против наших взаимных врагов. Это моя искренняя уверенность, что наши огромные победы на поле битвы помогут нашей взаимной кооперации и об'единения вокруг нашего стола двух великих наций возстановивших всемирный мир и, что наша конференция может разрешить здесь необходимые проблемы Корейской нации.

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

17 January 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 16 JANUARY 1946

The first meeting of the Joint U.S. - Soviet Conference, called in accordance with paragraph 4, Section III, Korea, of the Communique of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, began at 1300 hours in the National Capitol in Seoul, Korea.

Present were Lieutenant General John R. Hodge, Major General A.V.Arnold, Major General A.E.Lerch, Mr. H.H.Benninghoff, Colonel R. Booth, Colonel F.H.Britton, Colonel J.C.Underwood, Lt.Colonel W.J. Reilly, Lt.Colonel [illegible] Cornelson representing the American delegation, and Colonel General Shtikov, Minister S.I.Tsarapkin, Major General G.I.Shanin, Major General N.A.Romanyenko, Adviser Kolesnikov, Colonel Batuzov, Mr. A.S.Polyanski, Mr. A.S.Maslov, Mrs. O.S.Maslova representing the Soviet Delegation.

General Hodge and Shtikov addressed those present, and their speeches were rendered into American and Korean and English and Korean respectively. They also formally introduced the members of their delegations, and the meeting was closed to the public.

In closed meeting, the following decisions were reached:

1) That representatives would meet daily at 1300 hours, General Arnold and General Shtikov would alternate as chairman; sub-committees would meet in the mornings.

2) A sub-committee consisting of Major General Shanin, Colonel Batuzov, Colonel Booth and Colonel Underwood was appointed to draw up recommendations for consideration by the Conference.

3) It was agreed that decisions of the Conference would not be final until confirmed by signature of the United States and Soviet commanders in Korea.

4)That no information regarding the proceedings of the Conference would be released to the press except as a joint release by General Arnold and General Shtikov.

General Arnold, as chairman, formally adjourned the meeting at 1335 hours.

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chairman

~~S E C R E T~~

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FWD/Bdm NARS, Date MAR 2 1 1977

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~~С Е К Р Е Т Н Ы Й~~

ШТАБ
С.Ш. - СОВЕТСКОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ
СЕУЛ, КОРЕЯ

17 Января 1946

ПРОТОКОЛ СОБРАНИЯ 16 ЯНВАРЯ 1946

Первое общее собрание С.Ш. - Советской Конференции созвано согласно с параграфом 4, Секция 3, Корея, Московского Коммунико Иностранных Министров, началось 1300 часов в Национальной Столице в Сеуле, Корея.

Присутсвовали Лейт-Генерал Джан Р. Хадж, Майор-Генерал А.В. Арнольд, Майор-Генерал А.Л. Лерч, Господин Х.В. Беннингхоф, Полковник Р.Г. Бут, Полковник Ф.Г. Бриттон, Полковник Ж.К.Андервуд, Подполковник В.Ж. Херлихи, Подполковник А.Ж. Корнелсон, представители Американской делегации, и Ген-Полковник Штыков, Министер С.А. Царапкин, Ген-Майор Г. И. Шанин, Ген-Майор А.А. Ромяненко, Советник Баласанов, Полк. Бутузов, Господин А.С. Полянский, Господин А.С. Маслов, Госпожа С.С. Маслова, представители Советской делегации.

Генералы Хадж и Штыков приветствовали присутствующих и речи их были переданы на Русском, Корейском, и Английском языках. Потом они официально представили членов своих делегаций и собрание было закрыто для публики.

В закрытом собрании было решено следующее:

1. Что представителт будут совещатся ежедневно в 1300 часов; что Ген. Арнольд и Ген. Штыков будут преседательствовать по очереди; что под-коммитеты будут совещатся по утрам.

2. Под-коммитет составленный Ген-Майором Шанин, Полковником Бутузов, Полковником Бут, и полковником Андервуд был назначен приготовить общую агенду для разсуждения конференции.

3. Согласились, что решения конференции не будут окончательными пока не будут подтверждены подписьями коммандиров Американских и Советскх войск в Кореи.

4. Что за исключением общего выпуска сведений Ген. Арнольд и Ген. Штыков не какие сведения относительно процедур конференции не будут выданы прессе.

Ген. Арнольд, как преседатель, официально закрыл собрание 1535 часов.

А. В. АРНОЛЬД
Майор-Генерал С. Ш. А.
Председатель

Т.Ф. ШТЫКОВ
Генерал-Полковник
Глава Советской Делегации

~~С Е К Р Е Т Н Ы Й~~

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ПЕРЕЧЕНЬ ВОПРОСОВ

для обсуждения на Совещании Представителей Советского и Американского Командования в Корее.

1/ 2/. Об условиях отпуска электроэнергии из Северной Кореи в Южную.

2/11/ О поставках из Южной Кореи в Северную продовольствия (рис), сырья для легкой промышленности, текстильных и кожевенных товаров, зап.частей к промышленному оборудованию и т.д.

3/1/. О железнодорожном и автогрузовом сообщениях между двумя зонами.

4/14/. Об эвакуации японских беженцев из Северной Кореи в Японию (а также корейских жителей из одной части Кореи в другую).

5/7/. Об установлении обоюдных Американо-Советских контрольных постов вдоль границы Американской и Советской зоны военной ответственности.

6/8/. О порядке передвижения граждан из одной зоны в другую.

7/10/. Об установлении единого регулирования ~~движения~~ товаров через порты Северной и Южной Кореи.

8/13/. О возобновлении почтовой связи для обмена личной корреспонденцией без бандеролей (посылок).

9/04/. О транспортировке угля через территорию Северной Кореи в Южную Корею (уголь будет приобретен американским командованием вне территории Северной Кореи).

10/3/. Об установлении телефонной и телеграфной связи между Северной и Южной Кореей (для и з у ч е н и я).

11/9. Об установлении единой финансовой политики на территории всей Кореи (для и з у ч е н и я).

12/12/. Об установлении регулярной связи между конторами торговых организаций (для и з у ч е н и я).

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ВОПРОСЫ, ПОДЛЕЖАЩИЕ СПЕЦИАЛЬНОМУ РЕШЕНИЮ 2-х ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЕЙ КОМАНДОВАНИЯ ДЛЯ ВКЛЮЧЕНИЯ В ПОВЕСТКУ ДНЯ СОВЕЩАНИЯ:

13/15/. О широковещании. Уточнить - о каких именно волнах радиовещания должна быть достигнута договоренность между Командованием.

14/5/. О частичном местном изменении границы вдоль 38 параллели.

15/16/. Об обмене газетами на территории всей Кореи.

16/17/. О запрещении из'ятия (вывоза) капитальных предметов (оборудования) из Кореи.

17/18. Об обмене группами связи между Командованием Северной и Южной Кореи.

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JOINT AGENDA

17 January 1945

Order of discussion to be formed by The Commanding Generals.

USSR 1 Conditions of supplying electric power to Southern Korea from Northern Korea.

US 2 Same

--

USSR 2 Delivery to Northern Korea from Southern Korea of certain commodities and raw materials, including rice and textiles.

US 11 Within scope of US 11

--

USSR 3 Railroad transportation between the two zones.

US 1 Same

--

USSR 4 Movement of approximately 100,000 Japanese in the category of displaced persons from Northern Korea to Japan. Also, relocation of Koreans.

US 14 Within the scope of US 14.

--

USSR 5 Establishment of joint USSR-US ontrol posts.

US 7 Same.

--

USSR 6 Movement of civilians between North and South.

US 8 Included in scope of US 8.

--

USSR 7 Regulation of ports and shipping.

US 8 Same

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USSR 8 — Movement of mail except parcels between zones

US 13 — Included within scope of US 13

-- -- --

USSR 9 — USSR objected on grounds subject is impractical, but agreed to discuss

US 4

--

USSR 10 — Commanding Generals to determine whether subject will be discussed.

US 3

--

USSR 11 — USSR agreed to include in discussions to obtain American point of view as a basis for future solution.

US 9

--

USSR 12 — USSR agreed to discuss in relation to specific organizations.

US 12

--

USSR 13 — USSR will discuss the assignment of different frequencies to the two zones.

US 15

--

USSR 14 — Commanding Generals will determine whether authority exists for boundary discussion.

US 5

--

USSR 15 — Commanding Generals will decide whether subject is within scope of Par. 4 of Moscow Communique.

US 16

--

USSR 16 — Commanding Generals will decide whether subject is within scope of discussions.

US 17

--

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USSR 17 US 18	Commanding Generals will decide whether subject is within scope of discussions.

--

US 19	It was agreed that subject is within scope of US 8.

--

US 20	It was agreed that appointment of sub-committees will be incident to discussion of other questions.

--

US 6	Stricken from agenda at request of USSR on grounds no border fortifications exist.

CROSS INDEX TO
USSR AGENDA

US	USSR	US	USSR
1	3	11	2
2	1	12	12
3	10	13	8
4	9	14	4
5	14	15	13
6	Stricken	16	15
7	5	17	16
8&19	6	18	17
9	11	19&8	6
10	7	20	Appointment of sub-committees, agreed.

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NOTE: USSR subjects Nos. 1 to 8 inclusive are original agenda questions to be decided at current sessions.

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

JOINT PRESS RELEASE

AT THE INITIAL MEETING IT WAS AGREED THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD MEET DAILY FROM 1300 HOURS TO 1600 HOURS; THAT SUBCOMMITTEES WOULD PREPARE STUDIES OF AGENDA ITEMS; THAT THE SENIOR OFFICER OF THE U.S. AND OF THE U.S.S.R. DELEGATIONS WOULD ALTERNATE DAILY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE OF THE CONFERENCE.

JANUARY 17

CHAIRMAN: TERENTEE FEDICH SHTIKOV, COLONEL-GENERAL, U.S.S.R.

BUSINESS: ELEVEN ITEMS OF A JOINT AGENDA WERE DISCUSSED AND ACCEPTED.

JANUARY 18

CHAIRMAN: ARCHIBALD V. ARNOLD, MAJOR GENERAL, U.S.A.

BUSINESS: FOUR ITEMS OF A JOINT AGENDA WERE DISCUSSED AND ACCEPTED. FOR DETAILED STUDY BY SUB-COMMITTEES THE ITEMS OF THE AGENDA WERE GROUPED UNDER ECONOMIC, ADMINISTRATIVE, TRANSPORTATION AND GENERAL HEADS. THE NEXT FORMAL MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE ON MONDAY JANUARY 21 AT 1300 HOURS.

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S E C R E T

HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

JOINT AGENDA

1. Conditions of supplying Electric Power to Southern Korea from Northern Korea.

2. Permit commerce in commodities such as rice, raw materials, fuel, industrial equipment and chemicals between North and South Korea.

3. Railroad and motor transportation between the two zones and Coastwise Shipping between ports of Northern and Southern Korea.

4. Establish uniform regulation of the ports and of coastal waterborne commerce between Northern and Southern Korean ports.

5. a. Establish a uniform financial policy throughout the territory of all of Korea.

b. Establish a uniform financial system.

6. Movement of approximately 100,000 Japanese in the category of displaced persons from Northern Korea to Japan.

7. Establishment of joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. control posts along the boundary of zones of U.S.-U.S.S.R. military responsibility.

8. Movement of Korean citizens from one zone to the other.

9. Movement of mail except parcels between zones.

10. Transportation of coal and agricultural products through the territory of North Korea into South Korea (Coal and agricultural products will be obtained by U.S. outside of the territory of North Korea).

11. Reestablish telephone and telegraph communication between North and South Korea.

12. a. Mutual payment for goods which are delivered from one zone to the other.

12. b. Question of establishing a uniform financial system (for future study)

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~~СЕКРЕТНО~~

ПОВЕСТКА ДНЯ

Совещания Представителей Советского Военного и Американского Военного Командования в Корее.

1. Об условиях отпуска электроэнергии из Северной Кореи в Южную.

2. Об обмене между Северной и Южной Кореей продовольственным (рис), сырьем, топливом, промышленным оборудованием и химическими продуктами.

3. О железнодорожном и автогрузовом сообщениях между двумя зонами, а также о каботажном судоходстве между портами Северной и Южной Кореи.

4. Об установлении единообразных правил регулирования в портах Северной и Южной Кореи.

5. а. О взаимных расчетах за поставки из Южной зоны Кореи в Северную и наоборот.

5 б. Об установлении единообразной финансовой системы для всей Кореи (этот пункт включен для дальнейшего изучения).

6. Об эвакуации японских беженцев из Северной зоны Кореи в Японию.

7. Об установлении обоюдных Советско-Американских контрольных постов вдоль границы Советской и Американской зон военной ответственности.

8. О порядке передвижения корейских граждан из одной зоны в другую.

9. О возобновлении почтовой связи для обмена корреспонденции между зонами, исключая бандероли и посылки.

10. О транспортировке угля и сельско-хозяйственных продуктов из Маньчжурии в Южную Корею через Северную зону Кореи (этот пункт оставлен открытым).

11. Об установлении телефонной и телеграфной связи между Южной и Северной зонами Кореи (этот пункт включен в порядке изучения).

12. Об установлении регулярной связи между почтово-торговых организаций (этот пункт включен в порядке изучения).

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By [illegible] NARS, Date MAR 31 1977

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13. О распределении часов и радиоволн для широковещания между радиостанциями Северной и Южной Кореи.

14. О частичном и местном исправлении границы между двумя зонами Советского-Американского Командования вдоль 38-ой параллели.

Представители Советского Военного Командования обязуются довести это предложение Американского Военного Командования до сведения Высшего Советского Военного Командования и вернуться к обсуждению вопроса о включении этого пункта в повестку дня по получении указаний со стороны Высшего Командования.

15. О выработке мероприятий по дальнейшей координации между Командующим Советскими Войсками в Северной зоне Кореи и Командующим Американскими войсками в Южной зоне Кореи (по административно-экономическим вопросам).

Советская Делегация:

Генерал-майор (Шанин)

Американская делегация:

Полковник (Б у з)

19 января 1946 года.
Сеул, Корея.

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ПЕРЕЧЕНЬ ВОПРОСОВ

для обсуждения на Совещании Представителей Американского и Советского Командования в Корее.

1. Об условиях отпуска электроэнергии из Северной Кореи в Южную.

2. О поставках из Южной Кореи в Северную продовольствия (рис), сырья для легкой промышленности, текстильных и кожевенных товаров, зап.частей к промышленному оборудованию и др.

3. О железнодорожном и автогрузовом сообщениях между двумя зонами.

4. Об эвакуации японских беженцев из Северной Кореи в Японию.

5. Об установлении обоюдных Американо-Советских контрольных постов вдоль границы Американской и Советской зоны военной ответственности.

6. О порядке передвижения граждан из одной зоны в другую.

7. Об установлении единого регулирования движения товаров через порты Северной и Южной Кореи.

8. О возобновлении почтовой связи для обмена личной корреспонденцией без бандеролей.

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SECRET

HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

19 January 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 18 JANUARY 1946

The third meeting of the Joint U.S. - Soviet Conference, in session at Seoul, Korea, was called to order by Major General A.V. Arnold, Chairman, at 1300 hours on 18 January 1946.

Present were Major General Arnold, Mr. H.M.Benninghoff, Colonel R.H.Booth, Colonel F.L.Britton, Colonel J.L.Underwood, Lt.Colonel W.J.Herlihy, Lt.Colonel A.J.Cornelson, Major G.F.Enders representing the American delegation, and Col.General T.F.Shtikov, Minister S.K. Tsaraykin, Major General G.I.Shanin, Major General A.A.Romanyenko, Adviser Balasanov, Adviser Lavrov, Colonel Sutuzov, and Lt. Colonel Karkulyenko representing the Soviet delegation.

The meeting resumed discussion of the joint agenda presented at the previous meeting, and the following questions were accepted or revised as follows:

14. In regard to the establishment of regular communications between the offices of leading organizations (for study).

15. To verify the distribution of frequencies and wave lengths for broadcasting stations in Northern and Southern Korea.

16. In regard to partial and local changes of boundaries along the 38th parallel .Representatives of Soviet Command will bring this question before their high command and they will return to the discussion about the inclusion of this question into the agenda after having received instructions from their high command.

17. To work out measures for the future coordination between the Commander of the Soviet Troops in North Korea and the Commander of the American troops in South Korea (on the administrative-economic questions).

It was agreed that no meeting would be held until the afternoon of Monday, January 21, at which time certain sub-committees would report on the results of their work. The following sub-committees were nominated, and assigned questions of the agenda for study:

Economic committee - questions 1, 2, 5a. Chairmen Major General Shanin, Colonel Underwood.

Transportation committee - questions 3, 4. Chairmen Major General Romanyenko, Lt. Colonel Cornelson.

Administrative committee - questions 6,7,8,9,11,13. Chairmen Lt. Colonel Herlihy, Adviser Balasanov.

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General Committee - questions 10, 12, 14, 15, 5b. Chairman Colonel Booth; Soviet Delegation did not name a chairman.

General Arnold adjourned the meeting at 1630 hours.

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chairman

T.F.Shtikov
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

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E - Underwood T - Cornelson A - Herlihy G - Booth

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inclusion of this question into the agenda after having received instructions from their high command.

X 15. To work out measures for the future coordination between the Commander of the Soviet Troops in North Korea and the Commander of the American Troops in South Korea (on the administrative-economic questions).

Lieutenant General, [illegible]
Chief of the [illegible] Delegation

Colonel General, [illegible]
Chief of the [illegible] Delegation

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ORGANIZATIONS WITH MAIN OFFICE SOUTH OF 38°

Main Office in South, Branches in North

I. Banks and other Financial Companies.

1. Chosen Bank.
2. Chosen Industrial Bank.
3. Cho Heung Bank.
4. Chosen Commercial Bank.
5. Chosen Trust Company.
6. Chosen Saving Bank.
7. Chosen Financial Association.
8. Chosen Mutual Financial Company.

II. Life and Fire Insurance Companies.

1. Nippon Life Insurance Company.
2. Myung Chi Life Insurance Company.
3. Chun Dai Chun Life Insurance Company.
4. Sam Jung Life Insurance Company.
5. Nippon Ching Pyung Life Insurance Company.
6. Tae Chun Life Insurance Company.
7. Ahn Chun Life Insurance Company.
8. Chosen Life Insurance Company.
9. Je Il Life Insurance Company.
10. Chosen Fire Insurance Company.

III. Department Stores and other Wholesale or Retailing Companies.

1. Whashin Department Store.
2. Chung Ja Ok Department Store.
3. Han Il Department Store.

IV. Textile.

1. Kyong Sung Spinning Company.
2. Chosen Spinning Company.
3. Tong Yang Yarn Manufacturing Co.
4. Tae Kook Textile Company.
5. Kanebo Company.
6. Nippon Spinning Company.
7. Tong Yauk Myun Wha Company.

V. Food.

1. Tsujimoto.
2. Yashikawa.
3. Nippon Flour Manufacturing Company.
4. Il Seung Kong Sha (Bean Oil)
5. Myung Chi Commercial Company.
6. Take Naga Canning Company.

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7. Nippon Fishery Company.
8. Hayashi Kane Company.
9. Nakatera Company.
10. Saito Brewery Company.
11. Korean Commodity Company.

VI. Mining and Others.

1. Kobayashi Mining Company.
2. Nippon Mining Company.
3. Tai Tong Mining Company.
4. TaiTong Mining Company.
5. Nippon Jitso Mining Company.
6. Kanai Mining Company.
7. Yalu River Electric Company.
8. Chosen Petroleum Company.
9. Chosen Electric Company.
10. New Korea Company.

VII. Other Leading Japanese Companies.

1. Mitsubissi
2. Mitsui
3. Sumitomo
4. Nippon Jitso.
5. Koshuha
6. Chosen Shipyard.
7. Mikuni Coal Company.

VIII. Insecticide and Fungicide Factories.

1. None with Branches in North.

IX. Fertilizer Factories.

1. Chosen Ilsan Chemistry Company
   Main Ofc: Seoul, Kyongi-Do
   Branch Ofc: Chinnampo, P'yongnam, Mando

X. Forestry Department Companies.

1. Korean Timber Control Company
   Main Ofc: Seoul
   Branch Ofcs: All provincial capitols North and South of 38°.

2. Korean Forestry Combined Association.
   Main Ofc: Seoul
   Branch Ofcs: All provincial capitols North and South of 38°.

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(Continued)

XI. Missionary Organizations Having Property and Interests North of 38°.

1. Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
   Hq: 156 5th Ave, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.
   Local Hq: Yonoji dong, Seoul.
   Location of Property:
   1. Sorai Beach, Kumipo, Changyun County, Whang Hai Province.
   2. Chairyung, Whang Hai Province.
   3. Pyengyang City, S. Pyengan Province.
   4. Syenchun, N. Pyengan Province.
   5. Kangkai, N. Pyengyan Province.

   also other small miscellaneous properties.

2. Methodist Episcopal Church of America.
   Hq: 150 5th Ave, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.
   Local Hq: Seoul.
   Location of Property:
   1. Haiju, Whang Hai Province.
   2. Pyengyang City, S. Pyengan Province.
   3. Yengbyen, N. Pyengan Province.
   4. Wonsan, Kangwon Province.
   5. Chulwon, Kangwon Province.

   also other small miscellaneous properties.

3. The Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of America.
   (popularly called "The Maryknoll Society").
   Hq: Ossining, N.Y., U.S.A.
   Local Hq: The Catholic Cathedral, Myungchi jung, Seoul
   Properties widely scattered in both North and South Pyengan Provinces.

4. The Seventh Day Adventist Mission.
   Hq: Battle Creek, Mich., U.S.A.
   Local Hq: Seoul.
   Property in both North and South Pyengan Provinces.

5. United Church of Canada.
   Hq: Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
   Property located at:
   Wonsan, Kangwon Province
   Hamheung, S. Hamkyung Province
   and other points in N. and S. Hamkyung Province.

6. Whachin po Beach Assn.
   Hq: Seoul.
   Property located at:
   Whachinpo, Kangwon Province.

7. Society for Propagation of Gospel (Church of England).
   Hq: London, England
   Local Hq: Pro-cathedral, Seoul.
   Property scattered in Whangai, and N. and S. Pyengan Provinces.

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

ROSTER

Representatives of Soviet Command at joint conference with representatives of American Command, in accordance with paragraph 4 of the triministerial decision regarding Korea.

1. Senior Representative	- Colonel General Shtikov, Terenty Famitch
2. Member of Conference	- Major General Shanin, Gregory Ivanovitch
3. Member of Conference	- Major General Romanyenko, Andrei Alexeivitch
4. Political Advisor	- Tsaraptkin, Simeon Konstantinovitch
5. Political Advisor	- Malasanov, Gerasim Kartinovitch
6. Advisor	- Engineer Colonel Futusov, Victor Pavlovitch
7. Advisor	- Manukyan, Ashik Avetitch
8. Advisor	- Lavrov, Vasily Vailievitch
9. Technical Expert	- Lt.Colonel Karpulenko, Tikhov Ivanovitch
10. Technical Expert	- Lt. Colonel Zakharov, Grigory Alexandrovitch
11. Technical Expert	- Engineer Captain Odnoletkov, Boris Alekseyevitch
12. Technical Expert	- Senior Lt. Trubnikov, Pyotr Nikolayevitch
13. Technical Expert	- Senior Lt. Smirnov, Dimitry Nikolayevitch
14. Secretary	- Maslov, Alexander Sergeyevitch

/s/ Major General Shanin
18 January 1946

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С П И С О К

представителей Советского Командования на Совещании совместно с представителями Американского Командования, согласно пункта 4 решения трех министров о Корее.

1. Старший Представитель – генерал-полковник Шанин Терентий Фомич.
2. Член Совещания – Генерал-майор Шанин Григорий Иванович.
3. Член Совещания – Генерал-майор Романенко Андрей Алексеевич.
4. Политический Советник – Царапкин Семен Константинович
5. Политический Советник – Балясников Герасим Маркианович
6. Советник – Инженер-полковник Бутусов Виктор Павлович
7. Советник – Манукян Ашик Аветович
8. Советник – Лавров Василий Васильевич
9. Технический эксперт – подполковник КОРКУЛЕНКО Тихон Иванович.
10. Технический эксперт – подполковник ЗАХАРОВ Григорий Александрович.
11. Технический эксперт – инженер-капитан ОДНОЛЕТКОВ Борис Алексеевич.
12. Технический эксперт – Старший лейтенант Трубников Петр Николаевич
13. Технический эксперт – Старший лейтенант Смирнов Дмитрий Николаевич
14. Секретарь – Маслов Александр Сергеевич.

Генерал-майор (Шанин)

10 января 1945 года.

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ORGANIZATIONS WITH MAIN OFFICE

NORTH OF 38°

Main Office in North, Branches in South

1. Pooksun jeji Chemical Industry Corp.
   Main Ofc: Kilju
   Branch Ofc: Seoul

2. Jaitung Brewery Corp.
   Main Ofc: Pyong Yong
   Branch Ofc: Seoul

3. Corn Products Refining Co.
   Main Ofc: Pyong Yang
   Branch Ofc: Seoul

4. Asahi Electrical Industry Corp.
   Main Ofc: Pyong Yang
   Branch Ofc: Seoul

5. Chosen Sangong Corp.
   Main Ofc: Pyong Yang
   Branch Ofc: Seoul

6. Pooksun Consolidated Electric Corp.
   Main Ofc: Homhung
   Branch Ofc: Seoul

7. Pooksun Electrical Equipment Corp.
   Main Ofc: Chungchin
   Branch Ofc: Seoul

8. Chosen Onoda Cement Corp.
   Main Ofc: Seung-Ho-Ri (near Pyong Yang)
   Plant Location: Samchok, Kangwon Do

9. Osi Seisi (Paper Factory)
   Main Ofc: Japan
   Korean Controlling Ofc: Suiju
   Plant Location: (Alum, potassium chloride) Mokpo, Chula Namdo

10. Japanese Iron Manufacturing Co.
    Main Ofc: Chung Jin, Kankyo
    Branch Ofc: Seoul.

11. Japanese Nitrogen Fertilizer Co.
    Main Ofc: Hung Nam, Hong Yong Namdo.
    Branch Ofc: Seoul

12. Ilsung Co.
    Main Ofc: Shin Ye Chu, Pyongan Pukto
    Branch Ofc: Seoul

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(Continued)

13. Tae Tong A Spinning Company
14. Busa Wasa Spinning Company
15. Chosen Steel Mfg Co
16. Chosen Pyun Chik Company
17. Chosen Knitting Goods Company
18. Pyong Yang Umbrella Company
19. Puk Sun Paper Mfg Company
20. Nippon Corn Starch Company
21. Chosen Arechi
22. Puk Sun Oil Company

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Effective _____, the existing boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility will be adjusted to conform to the following boundary:

Beginning on the west coast of Korea, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between HWANGHAE Province and KYONGGI Province to the junction with the boundary of KANGWON Province. The new boundary shall then follow the present boundary between KYONGGI Province and KANGWON Province to the junction with the North boundary of CH'ORWON-dun in KANGWON Province. Within KANGWON Province, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between CH'ORWON-dun and KUMHWA-dun; thence along the present boundary between KUMHWA-dun and PYONGGANG-dun; thence along the present boundary between CH'ORWON-dun and YANGGU-dun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-dun and INJE-dun; thence along the present boundary between HONGCH'ON-dun and HWACH'ON-dun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCH'ANG-dun and IMNAN-dun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCH'ANG-dun and KANGNUNG-dun to the east coast of Korea. The provinces and dun boundaries referred to above shall be the administrative sub-division boundaries which existed on 15 August 1945.

The above new boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(a) All of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(b) All of KYONGGI Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(c) All of the following duns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]-GUN	KOSONG-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	YONGWOL-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	SUNGHWA-GUN
KANGNUNG-GUN	YANGGU-GUN
[illegible]	HONGCHON-GUN

(d) All of the following duns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]-GUN	CH'UNCHON-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	HWACH'ON-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	KIMHWA-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	ULCHIN-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	YONGWOL-GUN
HONGJU-GUN	

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HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Seoul, Korea

22 January 1946

MEMORANDUM:

TO : Colonel General Shtikov, Chief, Soviet Delegation.

It is proposed by the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, that the existing boundary between the U.S. and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility be adjusted to conform to the following boundary:

Beginning on the west coast of Korea, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between HWANGHAE Province and KONGGI Province to the junction with the boundary of KANGWON Province. The new boundary shall then follow the present boundary between KONGGI Province and KANGWON Province to the junction with the North boundary of CH'UNCHON-Gun in KANGWON Province. Within KANGWON Provinces, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HONGCH'ON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and YANGYANG-Gun; thence along the present boundary between KANGNUNG-Gun and YANGYANG-Gun to the east coast of Korea. The province and Gun boundaries referred to above shall be the administrative sub-division boundaries which existed on 15 August 1945.

The above new boundary between the U.S. and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(1) All of HWANGHAE Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility.

(2) All of KONGGI Province shall be within the U.S. Zone of Military Responsibility.

(3) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility:

TONGCH'ON-GUN	HOEYANG-GUN
P'YONGGANG-GUN	ICHON-GUN
CH'ORWON-GUN	KUMHWA-GUN
KOSONG-GUN	YANGGU-GUN
INJE-GUN	YANGYANG-GUN

(4) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the U.S. Zone of Military Responsibility:

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Memorandum to:

Colonel General Shtikov,
Chief, Soviet Delegation. (Continued) 22 January 1946

HWACH'ON-GUN
HONGCH'ON-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN
SAMCH'OK-GUN
CH'ORWON-GUN
WONJU-GUN
CH'UNCH'ON-GUN
[illegible]-GUN
KIMHWA-GUN
ULCHIN-GUN
YONGWOL-GUN

FOR THE COMMANDING GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA:

A. V. ARNOLD,
Major General, U.S.A.,
Chief, U.S. Delegation

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ffective _____, the existing boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility will be adjusted to conform to the following boundary:

Beginning on the west coast of Korea, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between HWANGHAE Province and KYONGGI Province to the junction with the boundary of KANGWON Province. The new boundary shall then follow the present boundary between KYONGGI Province and KANGWON Province to the junction with the North boundary of CH'ORWON-Gun in KANGWON Province. Within KANGWON Province, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between CH'UNGCH'ON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HONGCH'ON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and KANGNUNG-Gun; thence along the present boundary between KIMHWA-Gun and YANGYANG-Gun to the east coast of Korea. The provinces and Gun boundaries referred to above shall be the administrative sub-division boundaries which existed on 15 August 1945.

The above new boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(1) All of HWANGHAE Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility.

(2) All of KYONGGI Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(3) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]'CH'ON-GUN	HOENGSONG-GUN
[illegible]YANG-GUN	HONGCH'ON-GUN
CH'UNCHON-GUN	KUMHWA-GUN
KOSONG-GUN	YANGGU-GUN
INJE-GUN	YANGYANG-GUN

(4) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]'CH'ON-GUN	CH'UNCH'ON-GUN
[illegible]CH'ON-GUN	HWACH'ON-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN	KIMHWA-GUN
[illegible]K-GUN	ULCHIN-GUN
[illegible]H-GUN	YONGWOL-GUN

WONJU-GUN

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Effective _____, the existing boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility will be adjusted to conform to the following boundary:

Pertaining on the west coast of Korea, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between HWANGHAE Province and KOMGI Province to the junction with the boundary of KANGWON Province. The new boundary shall then follow the present boundary between KOMGI Province and KANGWON Province to the junction with the North boundary of CH'UNCH'ON-Gun in KANGWON Province. Within KANGWON Province, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between CH'UNCH'ON-Gun and KUMSONG-Gun; thence along the present boundary between KUMGANG-Gun and KUMSONG-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCH'ON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCH'ON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HONGCH'ON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and [illegible]-Gun; thence along the present boundary between KIMHWA-Gun and TANGYANG-Gun to the east coast of Korea. The province and Gun boundaries referred to above shall be the administrative sub-divisional boundaries which existed on 15 August 1945.

The above new boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(1) All of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(2) All of KYONGGI Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(3) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]CH'ON-GUN	KOSONG-GUN
[illegible]YANG-GUN	TONGHAE-GUN
[illegible]CHANG-GUN	KUMSONG-GUN
KUDONG-GUN	YANGGU-GUN
INJE-GUN	YANGYANG-GUN

(4) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]CH'ON-GUN	CH'UNCH'ON-GUN
HWACH'ON-GUN	HONGCHON-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN	KIMHWA-GUN
[illegible]NGCH'ON-GUN	WONSAN-GUN
CH'ANGDO-GUN	YONGWON-GUN

WONJU-GUN

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ffective _____, the existing boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility will be adjusted to conform to the following boundary:

Beginning on the west coast of Korea, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between HWANGHAE Province and KYONGGI Province to the junction with the boundary of KANGWON Province. The new boundary shall then follow the present boundary between KYONGGI Province and KANGWON Province to the junction with the North boundary of CH'ORWON-Gun in KANGWON Provinces. Within KANGWON Province, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and KIMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HONGCH'ON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCH'ANG-Gun and P'UNG-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCH'ANG-Gun and [illegible]-Gun; thence along the present boundary between KIMHWA-Gun and YANGYANG-Gun to the east coast of Korea. The province and Gun boundaries referred to above shall be the administrative sub-division boundaries which existed on 16 August 1945.

The above new boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(1) All of KANGWON Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility.

(2) All of KYONGGI Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(3) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]-GUN	KUMHWA-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	KUMSONG-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	KUMYANG-GUN
KUNGNAE-GUN	YANGGU-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	YONGYANG-GUN

(4) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]-GUN	CH'UNCH'ON-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	HONGCH'ON-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN	KIMHWA-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	TOKCHON-GUN
[illegible]-GUN	YANGGU-GUN

HWACH'ON-GUN

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HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Seoul, Korea

22 January 1946

MEMORANDUM:

TO : Colonel General Shtikov, Chief, Soviet Delegation.

The attached map (AMSL 551) of a section of Korea indicates in black the proposed readjusted boundary between the U.S. and USSR zones of Military Responsibility.

That portion shaded in red indicates that part of Korea South of 38° which will be transferred from the territorial jurisdiction of the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea to the jurisdiction of the Commanding General, Soviet Forces in Korea. That portion which is shaded in blue indicates that part of Korea North of 38° which will be transferred from the territorial jurisdiction of the Commanding General, Soviet Forces in Korea to the jurisdiction of the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea.

Detailed description is contained in Memorandum to General Shtikov, copy of which is attached.

FOR THE COMMANDING GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA:

A. V. ARNOLD,
Major General, U.S.A.,
Chief, U.S. Delegation

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KOREANS IN MILITARY GOVERNMENT WHOSE HOMES
ARE NORTH OF THE 38TH DEGREE PARELLEL

BUREAU OR SECTION	NAME	POSITION MAJOR	SECONDARY	HOME
Police Bureau	Kim, Soon Kun		Inspector of Police	Chachokmyun, Dai Tong Country South Pyung Ahn
	Chough, Eung, Chun		Chief, Police Communications	Sukmyon Kang Sun Country, South Pyung Ahn
	Choi, Neung Jin		Chief, Criminal Investigation	Pyung Yang
	Kim, Sen Choon		Ass't Chief, Criminal Investigation	Pyung Yang
Finance Bureau	Lee, Byung Suk		Chief, Banks Branch	Sinchungmyon Kangsukon Pyungan Namdo
Mining and Industry	Oh, Chungsoo	Director of Bureau		Pyung Yang Pyong An Namdo
	Lee, David	Chief, Labor Section		Sun Chun Pyon An Pook Do
	Lee, Shin Myong	Chief, Civil Works Section		Sinijn, Pyong An Pook Do
	Kim, Ho Yun		Chief, Process Foods Sub-Sect.	Ham Hung, Ham Kyung Namdo
	Chung, Inwook		Chief, Iron Min e Sub-Section	Chai Ryung, Whanghai Do
	Choy, Haksoo		Chief, Gold Mine Sub-Section	Hoon San, Pyong An Pook Do
	Kim, Sinsun		Union Registration Chief(Labor Sect)	Chang Yun, Whangai Do
	Yu, Chung Ho		Chief Industry Sub-Sect. (Auditihg)	Kung Hung, Ham Kyong Pook DO
	Kim, Eulkil		Chief, Mine Sub-Sect.(Auditing)	Kung Sung, Ham Kyong Pook Do

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BUREAU OR SECTION	NAME	POSITION MAJOR	SECONDARY	HOME
	Choy, Kyung Nyul		Chief Engineer, Public Works	Soon Chan Pyong An Namdo
	Whang, Chung Chul		Engineer, Public Works Section	Myung Chun, Ham Kyung Pook Do
	Park, Kilsoo		Engineer, Public Works Section	Shiniju, Pyong An Pook Do
	Lee, Poong Im		Chief, Processed Food Sub-Section(Industry)	Sariwon, Whanghai Do
	Hau, Yu Young		Engineer, Industry Section	Chinamdo, Pyong An Namdo
	Lee, Chong Il		Chief, Electrical Sub-Section	Whang Ju, Whanghai Do
Health & Welfare	Lee, Young Sal	Director of Bu.		Pyung An Namdo
	Cho, Duk Sung		Local Operation Secy.	Pyung An Namdo
	Ryang, Ke Jong		Medical Supply Secy.	Whang Hei Do
	Won, Tai Sang		Sanitation Secretary	Ham Kyung Bukdo
	Song, Chan Do		General Relief Secy.	Kang Wan Do
	Song, Byung Young		Welfare Institutions & Agencies Secretary	Ham Kyung Namdo
Justice	Choi, Byong Doo	Director of Civ Dept.		Pyong Yang
	Han, Kun Jo		Justice of the Supreme Court	Pyong Yang
	Ro, Chin Sul		Judge, Court of Review Seoul	Pyong Yang
	Kim, Il Mong		Chief Judge, District of Chunchon	Pyong Yang

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BUREAU OR SECTION	NAME	POSITION MAJOR	SECONDARY	HOME
	Kang Suk Bok		Judge, District Court of Kwang Ju	Chol Non
Foreign Affairs	Cyn, Hyo Sun	Chief, Administrative Affairs		Lyun Chun County, Kyong-gi Do
	Cho, Hyo Non		Sub./ Chief, Accounts Sect.	Haichu, Whang Hai
Civilian Personnel	Chyung, Yil Hyung	Head of Korean Civil Service		Ryong Kang Keon, South Pyong Yang
	Hyun, Kah Shin		Head of Appointment sub-Sect.	Buckchin, North Pyung Yang
Accounts	Chung, Sung Wha		Chief Clerk, Gen. Affairs Sub-Sect.	Pukjin Upp, Woon San, Pyung shn Puk Do
	Lee, Yong Joy		Ass't Chief Architectural Engineer	Sung Jin, Ham Kyung Puk-Do
Property Custodian	Pak, Chun Il		Ass't Chief of Section	Shineuichu, Pyung An Puk-Do
Public Information	Yun, Ha Yung	Head of Opinion Sect.		Eui Choo District, Pyung An Puk-Do
	Kim, Man Hyung	Head of Editor Sect.		Pyung Yang, Pyung An Namdo
	Lee, Keum Sung		Editor of Publications	Ryong Kang District, Pyung An Namdo
	Chin, Sung Chi		Editor of Publications	Ham Kyung Namdo
	Ahn, Tau Sun		Editor of Publications	Pyung Won District, Pyung An Nam do
	Kim, Ok Sun		Editor of Publications	"

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BUREAU OR SECTION	NAME	POSITION MAJOR	SECONDARY	HOME
Agricul & Commerce	Kil, Eak Sun	Chief Gen. Affairs Sect		Sun Chun Kun, Pyung An Pukdo
	Ough, Eak Eun	Chief, Agricultural Economics Section		Sun Chun Kun, Pyung An Pukdo
	Lee, Uong Young		Asst Secretary, Domestic Commerce Dept.	Puk Chung, Ham Kyung Pukdo
	Kim, Dong Sup		Chief, Forestry Experimental station	Hai Joo, Whang Hai Do
	Lee, Jung Chun		Chief, Forestry Administrative Sect.	Chungjen City, Ham Kyung Pukdo
	Lee, Jai Paik		Ass't to Chief of Bu.	Puk Chung Kun, South Ham Kyung Do
Communications	Kim, Soon Song		Head, Seoul Centr. Telegraph Office	Chong Jin Ham Kyung Pook Do
	Kim, Hun		Head of Seoul Local Comm. Bu.	So Wha, Kangwon Do
	Ri, Yong U		Head of Fusan Local Comm. Bu.	Mundun, Kangwon Do
General Affairs Sect.	Chyung, Kyo Hong	Chief of Gov't Counsel		Pyung Yang
	Nam, Heung Woo		Lawyer in Legal Research Division	Pyung Yang
	Pak, Chong Sik		Lawy. in Leg. Resch Div.	Sinke, Whang Hai Do
	Keh, Chang Up		Lawy. in Leg. Resch Div.	Haichoo, Whang Hai Do
	Choi, Dai Yong		Lawy. in Leg. Resch Div.	Munsan, Ham Kyung Do
	Lee, Suk, Myun		Lawy. in Leg. Resch. Div.	Hamheung, Ham Kyung Do
	Sin, In Ie		Lawy. in Leg. Resch. Div.	Ichun, Kangwan Do
	Lee, Ok Yo		Lawy. in Leg. Resch. Div.	Kimsung, Kangwan Do

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BUREAU OR SECTION	NAME	POSITION MAJOR	SECONDARY	HOME
Transportation	Won, Hwa Jung		Chief of Sub-Sect, Traff. & Oper. Sect	Jun Rok, Kangwon Do
	Jung, Hai Chik		Ass't Chief of Personnel Section	Chunwon, Kangwon Do
	Kim, Chon Sik		Chief of Sub-Section, Elec. Engr. Section	Chyung Jin, North Ham Kyong Do

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BEFORE BEGINNING THE DISCUSSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL ITEMS OF THE AGENDA I WISH TO PLACE IN THE RECORD OF THIS CONFERENCE WHICH IS MEETING PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE MOSCOW COMMUNIQUE THE OBJECTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THIS CONFERENCE MUST CONSIDER URGENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS TO INCLUDE DISTRIBUTION OF RICE AND COAL, UNIFICATION OF TRANSPORTATION, UNIFICATION OF COMMUNICATIONS, UNIFIED FINANCE, NEW CURRENCY AND INCREASED PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS.

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С Е К Р Е Т Н О

ПРЕЖДЕ ЧЕМ НАЧАТЬ ОБСУЖДЕНИЕ ОТДЕЛЬНЫХ ПУНКТОВ ПОВЕСТКИ ДНЯ, Я ЖЕЛЕЛ БЫ ВСТАВИТЬ В ПРОТОКОЛ ЭТОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ, КОТОРАЯ СОЗЫВАЕТСЯ СОГЛАСНО С 4-ЫМ ПАРАГРАФОМ МОСКОВСКОГО КОММУНИКЭ, ЦЕЛЬ СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТОВ.

ЭТА КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ ДОЛЖНА ПРИНЯТЬ ВО ВНИМАНИЕ КРАЙНИЕ ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ ЗАДАЧИ ВКЛЮЧАЯ РАСПРЕДЕЛЕНИЕ РИСА И УГЛЯ, ОБ'ЕДИНЕНИЕ ПУТЕЙ СООБЩЕНИЙ, ОБ'ЕДИНЕНИЕ СВЯЗИ., ОДНООБРАЗНУЮ ФИНАНСОВУЮ СИСТЕМУ, НОВУЮ ВАЛЮТУ И ПОВЫШЕНИЕ ПРОИЗВОДСТВА УПОТРЕБИТЕЛЬНЫХ ТОВАРОВ.

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PLAN

FOR THE

JOINT CONTROL OF THE ELECTRIC POWER SYSTEM

OF

KOREA

I. PURPOSE. For the maximum efficiency in the operation and maintenance of the electric system and for the fullest possible utilization of electric power, the electric power system of Korea will be directed by one single supervisory body.

II. THE PLAN

1. The electric power system in Korea will be organized as of 15 Aug 1945 and operated by Korean officials and technicians under the direction of a Joint Board of Directors composed of an equal number of Officers of the Soviet Military Command and the United States Army Military Government in Korea.

2. The Korean personnel of the electric power system and the Members and personnel of the Joint Board will be allowed unrestricted travel over the entire area of Korea for the purpose of efficiently operating the power system.

3. The Korean officials of the electric system will be allowed to purchase and transport materials for the operation and maintenance of the system, regardless of where in Korea the materials are produced, found, or used.

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Economics

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ANNEX A
QUESTION 1 OF JOINT AGENDA

SOUTHERN KOREA'S POWER REQUIREMENTS

1. Consumption for period 15 August 1945 to 31 December 1945, inclusive (submitted by USSR):

138,620,307 KWH

2. Requirements for 1946 (submitted by US):

Month	Peak	Average	KWH (in millions)
January	90,000	70,000	42
February	93,000	75,000	44
March	88,000	70,000	40
April	86,000	68,000	38
May	86,000	68,000	38
June	88,000	68,000	40
July	88,000	68,000	42
August	90,000	70,000	42
September	92,000	72,000	44
October	93,000	72,000	45
November	100,000	80,000	50
December	110,000	82,000	55

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ADDITIONS TO THE 1st ITEM OF AGENDA (USSR PRESENTATION) IN REGARD TO AGREEMENT OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY ISSUED FROM NORTHERN TO SOUTHERN KOREA

1. The Soviet Military Command agrees to supply electrical energy from North Korea to South Korea in the quantity requested by the American Military Command in Inclosure A.

2. The American Military Command will pay for electrical energy issued, or supplied, for 1946 and also from 15 August 1945 to 31 December 1945, inclusive, in accordance with governmental rates for electric current, based on 1 August 1945 prices charged for such electric current.

3. Simultaneously the American Command agrees to deliver electrical equipment and materials for electric stations and lines and also other goods and foodstuffs in accordance with the decisions of Par 2 of Conference Agenda, the value of such goods to be equivalent to the value of electrical energy supplied for the period 15 August 1945 through 1946 insofar as possible.

4. Accounts for electric current is accomplished in the following order:

a. The Soviet Military Command at the expiration of each month submits to the American Military Command accounts containing the amount of electric current issued for the elapsed month and designates its rates, costs, and payments.

b. The American Military Command verifies the report mentioned in Par 4 a from the standpoint of its conformity with the agreement of the present conference and submits the report to the bank for payment.

c. Payment for issued (supplied) electric energy will be made on the order of the non-cash "reciprocal accounts" basis in accordance with the decision of question 5 of the Joint Agenda.

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S E C R E T

(American) PROPOSAL FOR SOLUTION OF TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

To promote permanent coordination in transportation matters between the United States Command in Southern Korea and the Soviet Command in Northern Korea; and

To promote economic-administrative unification of the zones of military responsibility as a prelude to the re-establishment of Korea as an independent state;

It is agreed:

1. That the transportation system of all Korea be immediately reintegrated and restandardized on a basis of Korean national welfare and economy.

2. That the transportation system of all Korea be supervised and controlled by a joint transportation commission with headquarters in Seoul.

3. That the transportation system of all Korea be operated to the maximum practicable extent by Koreans, as determined by the joint transportation commission, and that the two commands (US and USSR) make available every assistance in training Koreans for the task of operating the system.

4. That the two commands (US and USSR) make available to the joint transportation commission all Korean transportation resources as may be located in their respective zones of military responsibility.

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S E C R E T

ADMINISTRATIVE SUB-COMMITTEE
Meeting of 21 January 46

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTION OF THE MOVEMENT OF KOREAN CIVILIANS BETWEEN THE TWO ZONES OF KOREA LOCATED NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE 38 TH PARALLEL.

1. To agree in principle to permit return of Korean civilians to former places of residence under the control of the Soviet and American Commands. Within a period of 60 days after publication, Korean citizens wishing to move from one zone to the other will be required to file with the local authorities depositions giving the necessary information.

2. To permit those Korean civilians engaged in all kinds of trading and commercial activities, and the goods concerned in these activities passage between the two zones upon issuance of permits by the Command of the zone of origin of the persons or goods.

3. To mutually permit movement by special permits from one zone to the other to Koreans whose trips are desirable either to the United States or Soviet Commands.

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SECRET

HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

23 Jan 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 23rd JANUARY 1946
No. 4

Meeting opened at 1300.

The Soviet representatives present at the meeting were: Col. General Shtikov, Minister S.K. Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, Major General Romanyenko, Advisor Balasanov, Engr-Colonel Butuzov, Advisor Manukian, Advisor Lavrov, Advisor Lt. Colonel Karkulyenko, Secretary Maslov, Interpreter O.Z. Maslova.

The American Delegation: Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Political Advisor Benninghoff, Colonel Booth, Colonel Britton, Colonel Underwood, Lt. Colonel Merlihy, Lt. Colonel Cornelson, 1st Lt. Gilman.

The Chairman of the meeting was Colonel General Shtikov.

At the meeting, the proposals of the Economic Subcommittee on item no. 2 of the Joint Agenda were discussed; Major General Shanin and Colonel Underwood reported to the conference their proposals on the question "Concerning the exchange between Northern and Southern Korea of foodstuffs (rice), raw materials, fuel, industrial equipment and chemical products." The following points were discussed and accepted:

1. With the purposes of putting into motion all industries of Korea, restoring the work of the railroads, and reviving the entire economic life of Korea, an exchange of goods between the Northern and Southern zones of Korea is organized.

2. The exchange of goods between Northern and Southern zones of Korea is organized in the form of mutual deliveries by the American and Soviet Military Commands.

5. Mutual deliveries are to be effected from the Northern zones of Korea and vice-versa, for an equivalent sum of money when possible.

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6. Mutual accounts for delivered products will be effected through the Bank of Chosen in Seoul and through the Main Northern Korea Bank in Heijo.

Item 3 of the proposals by the subcommittee, concerning deliveries during 1946 into the Northern zone of Korea of foodstuffs and manufactured goods (terms, nomenclature and quantity) and concerning the deliveries of manufactured products from the Northern to the Southern zones of Korea (terms, nomenclature and quantity) and item no. 4, concerning prices for foodstuffs, equipment and other deliveries are subject to supplementary clarification and reworking in the above subcommittee and should be presented for consideration at the Conference of Representatives on 25 January 1946.

Colonel General Shtikov, as President, officially closed the meeting at 1615.

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chairman

A.V.ARNOLD U.S.A.
Major General, U.S.A.
Chief of U.S. Delegation

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10. The American Command at the request of the Soviet Military Command agrees to deliver 300 trucks according to prices established in the mutual agreement on the exchange of goods.

11. Truck movement of cargo is to be effected on highways running through control points established as per special agreement.

12. Joint Transportation Committee

See 3 points.

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Секретно. Экз. № ....

О ЖЕЛЕЗНОДОРОЖНОМ, АВТОМОБИЛЬНОМ И КАБОТАЖНОМ ТРАНСПОРТЕ

Проект

1. Возобновляется движение железнодорожного, автогрузового и каботажного транспорта между Северной и Южной зонами Кореи.

2. Ответственность за осуществление мероприятий связанных с возобновлением движения транспорта лежит: по Северной части Кореи - на Советском Военном Командовании и по Южной части Кореи - на Американском Военном Командовании.

3. Возобновление движения транспорта должно обеспечить перевозки во исполнение Соглашения о товарообмене и перемещение населения.

4. Для учета передаваемого подвижного состава из одной зоны в другую обеспечение его своевременного возврата организуются обменные пункты на стыковых станциях.

5. Все платежи населения и учреждений за железно-дорожные и другие транспортные услуги производятся в Северной и Южной зонах Кореи по одинаковому взаимосогласованному тарифу. Платежи взимаются в пункте продажи услуг с последующими взаимными расчетами. Расчеты производятся через главный Северо-Корейский банк в г. Хейдзио и Чосен банк в Сеуле.

6. Американское военное Командование согласно поставить в рамках соглашения по товарообмену, запасные части и материал по прилагаемому списку и производить в месяц начиная с февраля капитальный ремонт 10-ти паровозов и средний ремонт 15-ти паровозов на ремонтных базах Южной Кореи.

7. В виду имевшего места перемещения при отступлении японской армии с Севера на Юг Кореи значительной части паровозов, товарных и пассажирских вагонов, из парка подвижного состава Корейских железных дорог, Американское Военное Командование дает согласие на передачу в течении февраля месяца ..... паровозов ..... товарных и пассажирских вагонов безвозмездно для эксплоатации на железных дорогах Северной Кореи.

8. Американское Военное Командование по просьбе Советского Командования соглашается поставить 1000 тонн рельс, скреплений, запасные части и материалы для ремонта средств связи.

9. Движение каботажных судов организуется на базе заблаговременных взаимных заявок по специальным разрешениям, предусматривающим сроки передвижения и порты посещения средствами каботажного плавания.

10. Американское Военное Командование по просьбе Военного Советского Командования соглашается поставить 300 грузовых автомашин, по ценам установленным в общем соглашении по товарообмену.

11. Автогрузовое движение производится по шоссейным дорогам через контрольные посты установленные особым соглашением.

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S E C R E T

HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

25 January 1946

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTION OF THE MOVEMENT OF KOREAN CIVILIANS BETWEEN THE TWO ZONES OF KOREA LOCATED NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE 38th PARALLEL.

1. To agree in principle to permit return of Korean civilians to former places of residence under the control of the Soviet and US Commands. Within a period of 60 days after publication, Korean citizens wishing to move from one zone to the other will be required to file with the local authorities depositions giving the necessary information. The Soviet and US Commands agree to expedite this movement from one zone to the other as far as possible.

2. The movement of Korean civilians from one zone to the other will be permitted within the transportation (and foodstuffs)*** capacities of the two zones on the basis of a list of those making application for travel in accordance with schedules established by the Soviet and US Commands. Besides transportation by railway, in accordance with the above, movement of Korean civilians will be permitted by any means of transport or on foot.

3. In view of the critical shortage of rice in North Korea, Korean citizens moving from the southern to the northern zone will have to be assisted by the US Command with adequate rice rations, under the existing ration, for a period of four or five months.

4. To also permit movement from one zone to the other zone of those Korean citizens engaged in all kinds of trading and commercial activities and those goods which are the object of this business. These movements will be authorized by special permission of the issuing Commands of those zones from which both people and goods originate, provided that this movement (of people and goods) meets with the approval of the Command of that zone to which the Korean citizen intends to move either with or without goods.

5. To mutually permit movements from one zone to the other zone of students of higher and middle schools during school terms and also of other Korean civilians whose trips are necessary for pressing personal and family needs. These trips to be in each case permitted by the mutual approval of the Soviet and US Commands.

6. To mutually permit movement by special permits from one zone to the other to Koreans whose trips are desirable either to the US or Soviet Commands.

NOTES: No.1 concurred in by both sides
No.2 concurred in by both sides ***US Proposal to replace no.3
No.3 Soviet proposal; to be referred to Economic sub-committee on US suggestion.
No.4 US view is that concurrence of US and Soviet Commands not necessary
No.5 concurred in by both sides, but considered to narrow by US
No.6 US proposal to widen No5

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~~СЕКРЕТНО~~

АДМИНИСТРАТИВНАЯ ПОД-КОМИССИЯ 26 ЯНВАРЯ 1946г

ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ АДМИНИСТРАТИВНОЙ ПОД-КОМИССИИ В ОТНОШЕНИИ ВОПРОСА О ПЕРЕДВИЖЕНИИ КОРЕЙСКИХ ГРАЖДАН МЕЖДУ ДВУМЯ ЗОНАМИ КОРЕИ, НАХОДЯЩИЕСЯ НА СЕВЕРЕ И ЮГЕ 38 ПАРАЛЕЛИ.

1. СОГЛАСИТЬСЯ В ПРИНЦИПЕ ЧТОБ РАЗРЕШИТЬ ВОЗВРАЩЕНИЕ КОРЕЙСКИХ ГРАЖДАН В БЫВШИЕ МЕСТА ЖИТЕЛЬСТВА ПОД КОНТРОЛЕМ СОВЕТСКОГО И АМЕРИКАНСКОГО КОМАНДОВАНИЯ. В ТЕЧЕНИИ 60 ДНЕВНОГО СРОКА ПОСЛЕ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ, КОРЕЙСКИЕ ГРАЖДАНЕ ЖЕЛАЮЩИЕ ПЕРЕЕХАТЬ С ОДНОЙ ЗОНЫ В ДРУГУЮ, ДОЛЖНЫ БУДУТ ПОДОВАТЬ СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО МЕСТНЫМ ВЛАСТЯМ УКАЗЫВАЮЩЕЕ НЕОБХОДИМЫЕ СВЕДЕНИЯ. СОВЕТСКОЕ И АМЕРИКАНСКОЕ КОМАНДОВАНИЕ СОГЛАШАЮТСЯ УСКОРИТЬ ПО ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ ЭТО ДВИЖЕНИЕ ИЗ ОДНОЙ ЗОНЫ В ДРУГУЮ.

2. ДВИЖЕНИЕ КОРЕЙСКИХ ГРАЖДАН ИЗ ОДНОЙ ЗОНЫ В ДРУГУЮ БУДЕТ РАЗРЕШЕНО В СОГЛАСИИ С ТРАНСПОРТНОЙ ВМЕСТИТЕЛЬНОСТЬЮ /ПРОДОВОЛЬСТВИЕМ/ ДВУХ ЗОН, НА БАЗИСЕ СПИСКА ЛИЦ ПОДАЮЩИХ ПРОШЕНИЯ ДЛЯ ПРОЕЗДА В СОГЛАСИИ С РАСПИСАНИЯМИ УСТАНОВЛЕННЫМИ СОВЕТСКИМ И АМЕРИКАНСКИМ КОМАНДОВАНИЕМ. КРОМЕ ТРАСПОРТА ПО ЖЕЛЕЗНОЙ ДОРОГЕ, В СОГЛАСИИ С ВЫШЕУКАЗАННЫМ, ДВИЖЕНИЕ КОРЕЙСКИХ ГРАЖДАН БУДЕТ РАЗРЕШЕНО ПО ЛЮБОМУ СПОСОБУ ПЕРЕДВИЖЕНИЯ, ИЛИ ПЕШКОМ.

3. В ВИДУ КРИТИЧЕСКОГО НЕДОСТАТКА РИСА В СЕВЕРНОЙ КОРЕЕ, КОРЕЙСКИЕ ГРАЖДАНЕ ПЕРЕДВИГАЮЩИЕСЯ ИЗ ЮЖНОЙ В СЕВЕРНУЮ ДОЛЖНЫ БУДУТ ПОЛУЧАТЬ ПОМОЩЬ ОТ АМЕРИКАНСКОГО КОМАНДОВАНИЯ ДОСТАТОЧНЫЙ РАЦИОНАМИ РИСА, ПО СУЩЕСТВУЮЩИМ РАЦИОНАМ В ПРОДОЛЖЕНИИ ЧЕТЫРЕХ ИЛИ ПЯТИ МЕСЯЦОВ.

4. ТАКЖЕ ЧТОБ РАЗРЕШИТЬ ПЕРЕДВИЖЕНИЕ ИЗ ОДНОЙ ЗОНЫ В ДРУГУЮ, ТЕХ КОРЕЙСКИХ ГРАЖДАН, КОТОРЫЕ ЗАНИМАЮТСЯ ВСЯКИМИ ТОРГОВЫМИ И КОМЕРЧИСКИМИ ОПЕРАЦИЯМИ И ТЕМИ ТОВАРАМИ, КОТОРЫЕ ЯВЛЯЮТСЯ В СТАВКИ В ЭТОМ ДЕЛЕ. ЭТИ ПЕРЕДВИЖЕНИЯ БУДУТ УДОСТОВЕРЕНЫ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫМ РАЗРЕШЕНИЕМ ВЫДАНЫМ КОМАНДУЮЩИМИ ТОЙ ЗОНЫ ОТКУДА КАК ЛЮДИ ТАК И ТОВАР ВОЗНИКЛИ, В СЛУЧАЕ ЕСЛИ ЭТО ПЕРЕДВИЖЕНИЕ /ЛЮДЕЙ И ТОВАРОВ/ БУДЕТ УДОВЛЕТВОРЯТЬ КОМАНДУЮЩЕГО ТОЙ ЗОНЫ В КОТОРУЮ КОРЕЙСКИЕ ГРАЖДАНЫ НАМЕРИВАЮТСЯ НАПРАВЛЯТСЯ С ТОВАРАМИ ИЛИ БЕЗ ТОВАРОВ.

5. ЧТОБЫ СОВМЕСТНО РАЗРЕШИТЬ ПЕРЕДВИЖЕНИЕ ИЗ ОДНОЙ ЗОНЫ В ДРУГУЮ СТУДЕНТОВ ВЫСШИХ И СРЕДНИХ ВО ВРЕМЯ УЧЕБНОГО ГОДА, И ТАКЖЕ ТЕМ КОРЕЙСКИМ ГРАЖДАНАМ ПОЕЗДКИ КОТОРЫХ, ЯВЛЯЮТСЯ НЕОБХОДИМЫМ ДЛЯ ВАЖНЫХ ЛИЧНЫХ И СЕМЕЙНЫХ НУЖД. ЭТИ ПОЕЗДКИ БУДУТ РАЗРЕШИНЫ, В КАЖДОМ СЛУЧАЕ, С ОБОЮДНЫМ РАЗРЕШЕНИЕМ СОВЕТСКОГО-АМЕРИКАСКОГО КОМАНДОВАНИЯ.

~~С Е К Р Е Т Н О~~

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State Dept Instr. 12 Apr and 8 July 1978
By FWB/BAW NARS, Date 3/31/77

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~~СЕКРЕТНО~~

3. ЧТОБЫ СОВМЕСТНО РАЗРЕШИТЬ ТЕМ КОРЕЙЦАМ, КОТОРЫЕ ПЕРЕДВИГАЮТСЯ ПО СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫМ СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВАМ ИЗ ОДНОЙ ЗОНЫ В ДРУГУЮ, ПОЕЗДКИ КОТОРЫХ ЯВЛЯЮТСЯ ЖЕЛАТЕЛЬНЫМИ ДЛЯ АМЕРИКАНСКОГО ИЛИ СОВЕТСКОГО КОМАНДОВАНИЯ.

ЗАМЕТКИ: №1 СОГЛАШЕНО ОБЕИМИ СТОРОНАМИ.

№2 СОГЛАШЕНО ОБЕИМИ СТОРОНАМИ. """ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ С.Ш. ЗАМЕНЯЕТ №3.

№3 СОВЕТСКОЕ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ; БУДЕТ ОТНОСИТСЯ ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОЙ ПОДКОМИССИЕЙ НА ОСНОВАНИИ АМЕРИКАНСКОГО ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ.

№4 С.Ш. ТОЧКА ЗРЕНИЯ В ТОМ, ЧТО ПОДТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ АМЕРИКАНСКОГО И СОВЕТСКОГО КОМАНДОВАНИЙ НЕОБХОДИМО.

№5 СОГЛАШЕНО ДРУГИМИ СТОРОНАМИ, НО РАССМАТРИВАЕТСЯ С.Г. СЛИШКОМ УЗКИМ.

№6 С.Ш. ПРЕДЛАГАЮТ РАЗРЕШИТЬ №5

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AT THE CONFERENCE YESTERDAY THERE WAS A CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO POPULATION FIGURES, AS TO NORMAL CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION OF FOODSTUFFS OF NORTH AND SOUTH ~~HE~~ KOREA AND OF IMPORTS INTO THE COUNTRY. I FEEL THAT IT IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT THAT WE REACH A WORKING AGREEMENT ON THESE BASIC FIGURES. BEFORE PROCEEDING FURTHER ON PARAGRAPH 2, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE INTERCHANGE OF FOODSTUFFS. TO THAT END I RECOMMEND THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL FOOD COMMITTEE OF TWO TO ESTABLISH FACTUAL FIGURES, ON WHICH TO BASE OUR DISCUSSION. I DESIGNATE COLONEL BOOTH.

IN REGARD TO THE SHIPMENT OF RICE FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH, THERE IS NOW A DEFICIT IN SOUTH KOREA. WE ARE TAKING STRINGENT MEASURES TO PREVENT UNAUTHORIZED EXPORT, TO SEIZE SURPLUS IN THE HANDS OF ANY INDIVIDUAL AND TO TIGHTEN UP ON THE RATION. WHAT THE RESULTS WILL BE, WE DO NOT YET KNOW, AND THEREFOR CAN NOT GIVE YOU A GUARANTEE. IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT NO EXPORT WILL BE AVAILABLE. IT IS NECESSARY THAT A REQUEST BE MADE NOW ON UNRRA FOR FOODSTUFFS FOR SOUTH KOREA, IN ORDER THAT THEIR ARRIVAL MAY BE IN TIME TO PREVENT STARVATION.

I AM JUST AS ANXIOUS AS YOU THAT THE FOOD SHORTAGE IN NORTHERN KOREA BE MET. IT IS REQUESTED THAT YOU GIVE ME A STATEMENT OF MINIMUM NEEDS THAT CAN NOT BE SUPPLIED EITHER FROM STOCKS ON HAND IN NORTH KOREA NOR BE OBTAINED FROM MANCHURIA OR OTHER SOURCES.

OUR JOINT FOOD SUBCOMMITTEE WILL THEN INTEGRATE THE NEEDS FOR ALL KOREA AND EACH OF US THROUGH OUR OWN CHANNELS WILL REQUEST SUPPLIES FROM UNRRA ~~TO MEET THE NEEDS OF BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA~~, SINCE KOREA AS A WHOLE IS NOT NOW NOR EVER HAS BEEN SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD STUFFS.

I PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING AGENDA FOR TODAY: ITEMS 3, 8, 6, 9, 1.

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С Е К Р Е Т Н О

[illegible] ВО ВРЕМЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ БЫЛО ДОСТАТОЧНО РАЗЛИЧНОЕ ПОНЯТИЕ О НОРМАХ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ КАК К НОРМАЛЬНОМУ ПОТРЕБЛЕНИЮ И ПРОИЗВОДСТВУ ПРОДОВОЛЬСТВИЯ В СЕВЕРНОЙ И ЮЖНОЙ КОРЕЕ ТАК И К ИМПОРТУ В СТРАНУ. Я ПОЛАГАЮ ЧТО ТЕПЕРЬ ОЧЕНЬ ВАЖНО ЧТОБЫ МЫ ПРИШЛИ К СОГЛАШЕНИЮ ПО ЭТИМ ОБОСНОВАТЕЛЬНЫМ ЦИФРАМ ПРЕЖДЕ ЧЕМ ПРОДОЛЖАТЬ ПО §2 В ОСОБЕННОСТИ В ОТНОШЕНИИ СВЯЗИ С ПРОДОВОЛЬСТВИЕМ. ДЛЯ ЭТОЙ ЦЕЛИ Я ПРЕДЛАГАЮ НАЗНАЧИТЬ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫЙ ПРОДОВОЛЬСТВЕННЫЙ КОМИТЕТ, ДРУЗЬЯ ОФИЦЕРОВ, ЧТОБЫ УСТАНОВИТЬ ЦИФРЫ, НА КОТОРЫХ БАЗИРОВАТЬ НАШИ СООБЩЕНИЯ. Я НАЗНАЧАЮ ПОЛКОВНИКА БУТ.

В ОТНОШЕНИИ ОТПРАВКИ РИСА С ЮГА НА СЕВЕР ЮЖНАЯ КОРЕЯ ПРОДАЕТСЯ ТЕПЕРЬ В ДОЛЬГОСРОЧНЫЙ ЗАЙМ. [illegible] ЧТОБЫ ПРЕДОСТАВИТЬ [illegible] ВЫБРАТЬ ЦИФРЫ [illegible] ЮГА И ОТПРАВИТЬ ИХ [illegible] ПО ВСЕЙ ВИДИМОСТИ ПОТРЕБУЕТСЯ ДЛЯ ЭТОГО [illegible] ЕГО.

Я [illegible] ПОЛАГАЮ ЧТО ЭТО [illegible] ЦИФРЫ ПОТРЕБЛЕНИЯ ВЫЗОВУТ [illegible] ЧТО МЫ ДОЛЖНЫ ОБСУДИТЬ ЭТИ ЦИФРЫ ПРЕЖДЕ ЧЕМ ПЕРЕЙТИ К ДРУГИМ ВОПРОСАМ.

[illegible] ПРЕДЛАГАЕТ [illegible] ЧТО ЭТОТ КОМИТЕТ [illegible] ЧТОБЫ ОН ПРЕДСТАВИЛ ЦИФРЫ ОТ "АНА" [illegible] ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ЦИФРЫ ПОТРЕБЛЕНИЯ.

[illegible] ВЫБРАНЫ ОФИЦЕРЫ ЭТОГО КОМИТЕТА: ПОЛК. С, В, Э, Б, 1.

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SUMMARY

6th MEETING OF ECONOMIC SUB-COMMITTEE, 1000-1210, 29 Jan 45

RE QUESTION 2, JOINT AGENDA (COMMODITIES EXCHANGE)

1. Reduction of imports to Southern Korea, to bring Yen volume into balance, was begun. When it was pointed out that this in turn would cause some reduction in the amounts of manufactured goods to be sent to Northern Korea, because it would be uneconomic to reopen certain plants for very limited production, the USSR delegate suggested that the balance need not be held to such narrow limits, that the discussion could continue on the basis of "nine or ten million yen worth of goods from Southern Korea and 18 or 20 million yen worth of goods from Northern Korea."

2. Upon this basis, cuts in the quantities of goods requested by Southern Korea were restored, and the list of goods Southern Korea can furnish was amplified substantially.

3. Some of the added production of Southern Korea was not committed for delivery until 1 December. The USSR representative, when it was pointed out that in some cases delivery might extend into 1947, said he understood.

4. Discussion of fertilizer from Northern Korea, a 40,000,000 Yen item, was postponed.

5. Need for additional specifications and price information on several items was discovered; sub-committee will handle later.

6. No discussion of electric power prices or amounts.

RE QUESTION 1, JOINT AGENDA (ELECTRIC POWER)

1. US representative reported he was ready to recommend acceptance of USSR proposals under this question provided a fifth item, agreeing to appointment of a "Joint Technical Committee" were added.

2. USSR delegate took the proposal under study without discussion.

RE QUESTION 5A, JOINT AGENDA (METHOD OF PAYMENT)

1. US submitted two-part proposal, the first part of which agrees roughly with the proposal previously submitted by the USSR, and the second part of which would provide the machinery for handling exchange matters incident to any private Korean trade that might develop from decisions of Question 5 of the Joint Agenda.

2. USSR representative took the US proposal under study without comment.

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S E C R E T

HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

27 January 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 25 JANUARY 1946

The meeting was called to order by Major General Arnold, chairman, at 1300 hours.

Present were Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Mr. H.W.Benninghoff, Colonel R.H.Booth, Colonel F.H.Britton, Colonel J.C.Underwood, Colonel W.J. Herlihy, Lt.Colonel A.J.Cornelson representing the American Delegation, and Col.General Shtikov, Extraordinary Minister S.K.Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, Major General Romanyenko, Advisor Balasanov, Engr-Colonel Butusov, Advisor Manukian,Advisor Lt.Colonel Karkulyenko, Secretary Maslov and Interpreter O.Z. Maslova representing the Soviet Delegation.

General Arnold opened the meeting by reading a prepared statement on the population, production, and consumption of rice in South Korea and recommended the appointment of a joint food committee to establish accurate figures. He then proposed that Joint Agenda items 3, 8, 6, 9 and 1 be considered at the meeting.

General Shtikov stated that the recommended committee action would delay the meetings and that for the exchange of materials from the North to the South there must be a mutual return of goods to the North, two-thirds of which must be foodstuffs.

The balance of the meeting was concerned with the discussion of the food situation. General Arnold presented figures indicating that both North and South are faced with a similar food problem. General Shtikov stated that the food situation in the North was serious, if not catastrophical, especially in the three most northerly provinces. Plans for requests on UNRRA were discussed.

General Arnold, as chairman, officially adjourned the meeting at 1634 hours.

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chairman

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

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29 January 1946

English text on points of agreement with reference to transportation in Korea.

1. Movement by rail, truck and coastwise transportation between the northern and southern zones of Korea is re-established.

2. The responsibility and control over transportation lies in the northern zone of Korea with the Soviet command and in the southern zone with the United States command.

3. The resumption of transport movement between the two zones should insure the transportation of goods and population in the framework of the agreement on the exchange of goods.

4. The United States command will do everything practicable to supply deficiencies in regard to transportation needs (railroad trains and vessels) in order to insure the complete transfer of freight from the northern zone of Korea to the southern zone of Korea.

5. For the accounting of rolling stock, transmitted from one zone to the other, and to secure its return in due time, exchange points will be established at suitable locations.

6. All payments for transportation service between the two zones will be made at the point of origin according to a uniform tariff mutually agreed upon, with subsequent settling of accounts.

7. The movement of vessels between the two zones will be coordinated ahead of time. The plans for sea transportation will be subject to the approval of the commanders of the two zones.

8. The movement of motor transportation will be effected on highways passing through control points established by special agreement.

9. A technical Joint Transportation Commission is created to secure coordination in regard to all problems of railroad, sea and truck transportation, and for the preparation of recommendations to both commanders concerning all problems which may arise in connection with the re-opening of transportation between the two zones. The commission will consist of six members, three from each side. The meetings of the commission will take place not less than once a month or upon the request of either zone commander. Meetings will be held alternately in Seoul and Heijo. The decisions of the commission will be in force in the two zones upon approval of the respective commanders.

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(Translated by It. P. W. Kogan, Russian Interpreter for General A. V. Arnold)

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN KOREA
Public Information Section
Seoul, Korea.

27 January 1946

Translation from Russian copy of "TASS" Report.

A number of Korean newspapers edited in southern Korea where the American military authorities exercise control, disseminate wrong statements in regards to the decision of the Moscow Conference of foreign ministers of United States, Soviet Union and Great Britian in regards to the Korean question.

These statements were describing the whole affair in the following manner: as if Soviet Union was determined the establishment of trusteeship in Korea, and United States held a different position. In order to refute these wrong statements and establish the truth, "TASS" was delegated to make the following statement.

The Korean question was introduced for discussion at the Moscow Conference of foreign ministers on the initiative the United States delegation, which introduced a project for decisions on Korea. In its project the government of United States expressed its desire for the establishment of a single administration under the command of two military commanders acting together on all Korean national interests, i.e., the questions in regard to currency, trade, transport, etc. It was also pointed out that the Koreans will be united, as far as possible, into a single administration as administrators, consultants and advisors for Military Commanders.

In this project it was also pointed out that a single administration is proposed as a stepping stone to a non-military administrative governing of Korea on a wide basis, and establishing an independent Korean government. And that the trusteeship of four governments will insure the most appropriate aparatus for establishing an independent Korea. It was also proposed that the interested governments would study as fast as possible the question of establishing a single administration in Korea on the basis of agreement for trusteeship.

In the American project it was further proposed that the agreement should consider the administrative organ (United States, United Kingdom, China and Russia) acting for the United Nations and the people of Korea. This administrative organ must realize such executive, legislative and judicial power which may be necessary for the effective governing of Korea, until the time that the independent Korean government will be established. The powers and functions of the administrative organ will be realized through the high Commisar or executive Soviet, composed of the representatives of the governments of the administrative organ. It was further proposed in the American project that the high Commisar or Executive Soviet would insure as quickly as possible the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, and to establish the legislative organ elected by the people system of Korea, all this is to be done with an idea in mind of establishing an independent Korean government within a period of five years, if necessary, such a period can be prolonged for five more years, as by agreement of the four governments represented in the administrative organ after the American project was received, the Soviet delegation presented for the study

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of the three ministers its project for Korea. After the American delegation acquainted itself with the Soviet project it withdrew its project from the study and accepted the Soviet project with minor changes. The delegation of Great Britian also agreed with it.

As a result of this, the Soviet project was the basis of discussion of Korea by the Moscow Conference of the three ministers. The discussion of the three ministers on Korea, which was accepted by the Moscow Conference, was published 28 December 1945 and differs in the following points from the American project.

1. In the American project it was proposed to create a single Korean administrative under the command of two military commenders who would have to realize the governing of Korea before the establishment of a trusteeship. The participation of Koreans in the administrative organs of the military commanders was permitted only as administrators, consultants and advisors. The establishment of a national Korean government during that period was not at all considered by the American project. In the discussion of the conference of three ministers according to the proposal of the Soviet government, the methods for the solving of the urgent administrative and economic questions concerning north and south Korea were submitted, and, as it is known, the conference which is taking place at present in Seoul between the representatives of the Soviet and American military commanders in Korea, is the beginning of the carrying out of the decisions, at the same time decision recognizes the urgency for the establishment of a Provisional Democratic Korean Government which corresponds to existing national demands of the Korean people, and to help for a quick liquidation of destructive results of long Japanese oppression of Korea.

2. The American project proposed that for the establishment of trusteeship in administrative organ of four powers (United States, Russia, Great Britien and China) which will relize its responsibilities and functions through the high commiser and Executive Soviet, composed of the representatives of the above named governments be established. This administrative organ of the American project had to realize legislative, executive and judical powers during the period of trusteeship in Korea. However, during that time the American project did not consider the establishment of a National Korean Government. The decision accepted by the Moscow Conference of three ministers according to the project of the Soviet Government is absolutely different.

This decision not only does not postpone the establishment of a national Korean government, but just the opposite, takes into consideration the rendering of help for establishing a Provisional Korean Government by the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States. With this idea it was decided to create a Joint Soviet-American Commission which must help to speed up the establishment of the Korean government by consulting with Korean Democratic parties and public organizations. In this manner the trusteeship of four governments in Korea would have to be realized through the Korean Provisional Government and its organs which will insure the national interests of the Korean people.

3. In the American project it was proposed a trusteeship for Korea for five years and it was understood that such a trusteeship could be continued for five more years. In the decision accepted, according to the project of the Soviet government, the period of trusteeship was only for five years and the continuation of trusteeship for a longer period was excluded.

And so, the above mentioned statements of the Korean newspapers distort the actual state of affairs and misconstrue the actual opinion of the Soviet government. It seems that the Korean newspapers fell prey to incorrect and not bonna fide information.

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HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN KOREA
Public Information Section
Seoul, Korea

26 January 1946

(Translation of Central News Agency Release of General Shtikov's Press Conference With Korean Correspondents at 1100 on 26 January)

SOVIET UNION INSISTS FOR LIBERATION OF KOREA

True Picture of the Three Minister's Conference Reported by "TASS"

General Shtikov Interviews Reporters

A dark shadow was casted over Koreans unification movement since a purposely misleading information was released here on December 28 concerning the decisions made in the Moscow Conference.

General Shtikov, the representative to the Joint Conference held here since January 16, interviewed the Korean correspondents for the first time in room 3, Chosen Hotel, at 1100 today.

In order to show the clear picture of the Moscow Conference, he released the "TASS" report together with his own statement. Present there with him were: Minister Plenipotentiary Tserapkin, Colonel Butuzov * and Captain Choi, Korean Captain.

GENERAL SHTIKOV'S STATEMENT

By the request of many Korean correspondents and in order to check the misled comments and reports on the decisions in Moscow Conference and show them the true picture and meaning of the Conference, I am going to give you the reports made by Russian News Agency (The "TASS") here. This report explains very clearly and accurately the true story on the Moscow Conference.

I noticed that the Korean papers publish misinterpretations and wrong articles on Russian policies in regard to Korea. That's why I was convinced that it was very necessary to release to you the "TASS" report.

I don't think it is necessary for me to explain to you that it is the Russian policy to see that any liberated nation gets enough sympathy and to help them to get independence as soon as possible.

This report from "TASS" will show you the correct course under the present situation. I believe that you will let the Korean people know the true standing of Russia in regard to the Korean problems.

* Korean translation not certain on this name.

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"TACC" REPORT

Many Korean papers under the supervision of American Military Government spread the wrong information concerning the Moscow Conference.

These reports tell the people that Russians insisted to establish "over-see" system in Korea while the United States took the attitude just opposite. In order to answer this kind of mis-led information and show the truth, the "TACC" was told to give the following explanation.

The problems concerning Korea were presented by the Three Minister's Conference by the representative of United States. In other words, United States delegates presented their decisions on Korea. It explained that it was necessary for the two Commanders of American and Russian (forces) to set up a sort of unified administrative system by which all the problems concerning the currency, commerce, transportation and other problems could be coordinated.

It further said that Koreans will act only as agents in administrative line and as cooperators or advisors under the two commanders. And it also explained that this kind of unified administration should be for the purpose of preparing Korea for non-military administration. It suggested that the two parties should confer as soon as possible to establish the unified administration based on the agreements concerning the "over-see" system of four powers.

In the plan United States proposed the Four Power administration which will act under the name of Korean people, prepare necessary laws in administering Korea. The Supreme Plenipotenciary Committee will conduct the administration with the help from the executive committee composed of the representatives of the Four Powers.

This kind of administration is to continue for five years with the purpose of preparing Korea for complete independence. But if it is necessary, with the agreement of the Four Powers, could postpone it for another period which will be less than five years.

After studying the proposed plan of United States, Russia presented her proposition. United States delegates, after studying Russian plan, abandoned their idea and accepted Russian proposition with very little changes. British delegates agreed to it too.

The decisions made on Korea in the Three Minister's Conference is quite different from the original plan proposed by United States in the many important respects.

First United States proposed that we should set up an administrative body with the two commanders as the head-men before we set up the "over-see" system whereby Koreans can join the administrative body only as agents, helpers or advisors. Nothing was suggested concerning the establishment of the Provisional Government.

By the Russian proposition, plans how to solve the urgent economical and administrative problems of Korea south and north was suggested. And the public knows, right now, the Joint Conference which is being held in Seoul have made good start in solving these urgent problems.

At the same time, this decision recognizes the urgency of establishing the Provisional Korean Democratic Government which will suit to the matured national demand of Korean people and also that we should help each other in eliminating all the Japanese destructive influences still remaining in Korea after a long regime.

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Second, United States proposed to form an administrative body with two commanders as head-men and representatives of Four Powers as the executive committee. United States suggested that all the administrative, legal and judiciary powers should be vested to this body but nothing was suggested to establish a provisional government during this period.

But the final decision made in Moscow Conference is very different from the plan United States suggested because Russians presented plans which not only opposed in postponing the establishment of the provisional government but Russian and America will work together in establishing the provisional government.

For the purposes mentioned above, the Joint Commission was formed and this Joint Commission will surely help in establishing the provisional government and will consult with all the democratic parties and social organizations. By this way, the four power's "over-see" system will be established and function through the Korean Provisional Government and its organizations. It will assure the national interests of Korean people.

Third, according to the United States plan, five years "over-sees" system will be established and could postpone it for another five years if necessary. It means that we could have ten years "over-sees" system over Korea. But the Moscow Conference decided to adopt the five year "over-sees" system which Russia proposed. And American plan was not accepted.

The reports on the Korean papers are nothing but crooked interpretations of the true intention of Russia and accurate picture of Moscow Conference.

The Korean paper became victims of conscienceless, misleading information.

(Translated by Jimmy Kim, Office of Public Information, Public Information Section)

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ALL THE WORLD IS WATCHING KOREA. HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME THE TWO GREAT NATIONS ARE COMBINED IN THE SOLUTION OF A DIFFICULT PROBLEM, THAT OF BUILDING A NATION. THE SUCCESS OF THIS EFFORT WILL HAVE FAR* REACHING INFLUENCE ON THE PEACE OF THE WORLD. IF WE CAN DEMONSTRATE HERE IN KOREA THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER, THEN THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD WILL HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE.

BY JOINT AGREEMENT REACHED AT MOSCOW, THE INDE* PENDENCE OF KOREA IS GURANTEED. THE COMMUNIQUE PROVIDES AN INTERIM PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AS A PREPARATORY PHASE FOR INDEPENDENCE. THIS CONFERENCE IS TO LAY THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION FOR THIS GOVERNMENT. THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS HAS A VITAL INFLUENCE ON THE CONFIDENCE OTHER NATIONS WILL HAVE IN OUR ABILITY TO COOPERATE TO MAINTAIN THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE WORLD.

BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR WORK WE MUST REALIZE THE NECESSITY OF TAKING THE BROAD VIEW. WORKING TOGETHER WE ARE CONSTRUCTING THE KOREAN NATION AND WE HAVE TO UTILIZE TO THE FULLEST THE MATERIALS WHICH WE FIND IN KOREA. THERE IS NO UNIFORM PATTERN IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THESE MATERIALS. IF WE ARE EARNEST IN OUR EFFORTS WE WILL TAKE THEM WHERE WE FIND THEM AND UTILIZE THEM AS WE CAN TO PRODUCE THE GREATEST DEVELOPMENT TOWARD OUR OBJECTIVE, A WELL INTEGRATED KOREAN NATION.

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THE TWO ZONES ARE COMPLEMENTARY, AND IF RESOURCES ARE C
COMBINED, THE GREATEST PROGRESS CAN BE MADE TOWARD THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF KOREA. BOTH NATIONS ARE WORKING UNSELFISHLY FOR THE KOREANS AND THE INTERCHANGE OF RESOURCES IS VITAL TO ANY PERMANENT PROGRESS.

SO FAR IN THE CONFERENCE WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THE TRANSFER OF RESOURCES BY THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN COMMANDS. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY THAT THE KOREANS BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO HELP THEMSELVES BY BEING ENCOURAGED TO TRADE ACROSS THE BORDER IN MATERIALS WHICH WILL STIMULATE INDUSTRY AND GIVE EMPLOYMENT. I THINK THIS COMMERCE IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE KOREAN PEOPLE OF BOTH ZONES. THEREFOR I RECOMMEND THE EARLY DISCUSSION OF THOSE ITEMS OF THE AGENDA WHICH WILL MAKE THIS COMMERCE POSSIBLE. I REFER TO SUCH ITEMS AS TRANSPORTATION, PAYMENT FOR GOODS, MOVEMENT OF KOREANS AND THEIR GOODS, TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMMUNICATIONS, AND MAIL.

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~~S E C R E T~~

HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

29 January 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 28 JANUARY 1946

Colonel General Shtikov as chairman opened the Conference at 1300.

Following members of Soviet Delegation were present at the Conference: Col. General Shtikov, Minister Extraordinary Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, Major General Romanyenko, Advisor Balasanov, Engr-Colonel Butusov, Advisor Manukian, Advisor Lavrov, Secretary Maslov.

Members of the American Delegation present were: Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Political Advisor Benninghoof, Colonel Booth, Colonel Britton, Colonel Underwood, Colonel Herlihy, Lt.Colonel Cornelson.

Points 3 and 4 of the proposal of the Soviet Delegation in regards to question #2 of the Joint Agenda were discussed at the Conference (reference Minutes of 23 January 1946). It was decided that this point should be turned over to the subcommittee, so that the latter could determine the final total value of mutual deliveries of American and Soviet Commands.

Colonel General Shtikov closed the meeting at 1600.

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chairman

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chief of U.S. Delegation

~~S E C R E T~~

All copies to Shtikov 31/Jan/46

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State Dept letter 12 Apr and 8 July 1976
FwB letter NARS, Date MAR 31 1977

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~~SECRET~~ 30 January 1946

English text on points of agreement with reference to transportation in Korea.

1. Movement by rail, truck and coastwise transportation between the northern and southern zones of Korea is re-established.
2. The responsibility and control over transportation lies in the northern zone of Korea with the Soviet command and in the southern zone with the United States command.
3. The resumption of transport movement between the two zones should insure the transportation of goods and population in the framework of the agreement on the exchange of goods.
4. The United States command will do everything practicable to supply deficiencies in regard to transportation needs (railroad trains and vessels) in order to insure the complete transfer of freight from the northern zone of Korea to the southern zone of Korea.
5. For the accounting of rolling stock, transmitted from one zone to the other, and to secure its return in due time, exchange points will be established at suitable locations.
6. All payments for transportation service between the two zones will be made at the point of origin according to a uniform tariff mutually agreed upon, with subsequent settling of accounts.
7. The movement of vessels between the two zones will be coordinated ahead of time. The plans for sea transportation will be subject to the approval of the commanders of the two zones.

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8. The movement of motor transportation will be effected on highways passing through control points established by special agreement.

9. A technical Joint Transportation Commission is created to secure coordination in regard to all problems of railroad, sea and truck transportation, and for the preparation of recommendations to both commanders concerning all problems which may arise in connection with the re-opening of transportation between the two zones. The commission will consist of six members, three from each zone. The meetings of the commission will take place not less than once a month or upon the request of either zone commander. Meetings will be held alternately in Seoul and Heijo. The decisions of the commission will be in force in the two zones upon approval of the respective commanders.

10. In order to insure the production of average and major repairs and production of spare parts for repairs of locomotives, the American and Soviet commands in Korea, each in their respective zone, will undertake all possible measures to bring about the maximum standards which existed on 1 Aug 45 in the locomotive repair shops in: Wonsan, Seoul, Fusan, Inchon, and Heijo; and to renew:

a. ~~xx~~ The repair of locomotives of the railroads of North and South Korea in the proportion which existed on the schedules of August 1, 1945.

b. The Soviet and United States commands will have as an objective the manufacture of the required number of spare parts for the repair of locomotives of the railroads of both zones of Korea

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and will distribute them between the shops of the two zones in the proportion that existed on 1 August 1945.

11. Within thirty days after the approval of the present agreement by both commands, the American command in South Korea agrees to deliver one hundred (100) passenger cars to the Soviet command in North Korea.

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HEADQUARTERS MILITARY GOVERNMENT
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Railway Bureau

OPERATION OF RAILWAYS IN THE WHOLE OF KOREA

PLAN A

1. The entire railroad system of Korea to be operated under the present central and regional organization set-up, by Korean personnel, supervised by Americans exclusively, with headquarters at Seoul.

2. This plan is by far the most desirable, in that it assures uniformity of operating practises and procedures and permits control to be exercised directly and through normal channels, enabling the most efficient utilization of power, cars, and all facilities.

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HEADQUARTERS MILITARY GOVERNMENT
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Railway Bureau

OPERATION OF RAILWAYS IN THE WHOLE OF KOREA

PLAN B

1. The entire railroad system to be operated by Korean personnel, retaining the present central and regional organization set-up, supervised by a joint allied commission, with headquarters at Seoul.

2. The commission to function only on matters of general policy, traffic interchange with bordering countries, and transportation problems affecting the national interest.

3. For efficiency, jurisdiction over actual operation of the railroad to be retained by the Bureau of Transportation, supervised as at present by Americans.

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Unless the commission functions as outlined above, the commission control plan (joint control) has the disadvantage of requiring agreement between various groups on all matters, thus hampering prompt action on important points. First, agreement must be reached on what is to be done and then on how to do it.

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HEADQUARTERS MILITARY GOVERNMENT
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Railway Bureau

OPERATION OF RAILWAYS IN THE WHOLE OF KOREA

PLAN C

1. The railroad to be operated in separate northern and southern sectors, as at present, with interchange of traffic between the two zones. Railroad limiting boundaries of operation of northern and southern sectors to be at established division points where yard and engine house facilities are available.

a. On the Pusan - Shingishu Main Line, point of interchange to be Sinmak, located 72 kilometers north of 38 degree parallel.

b. On Keijo - Yujo Line, point of interchange to be Bokkui, located 70 kilometers north of 38 degree parallel.

2. The northern sector to control and operate these terminal points and to agree to make up trains and turn engines for the south, making necessary light turning repairs to engines in accordance with standard operating procedure. Crews from the south to be allowed living quarters on same basis as crews running in from the north. Record to be maintained on freight and passenger cars interchanged at these points and definite agreement that the number of cars handled in interchange be kept balanced. Present assignment of motive power and rolling stock to remain in effect.

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HEADQUARTERS MILITARY GOVERNMENT
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Railway Bureau

OPERATION OF RAILWAYS IN THE WHOLE OF KOREA

PLAN D

Based on zone operation as at present without free interchange of traffic:

1. Agreement to allow 1 to 5 trains per day to move from south into northern territory for purpose of handling certain essential commodities. Trains not to go beyond Sinmak on Main Line nor beyond Bokkui on Keijo - Yujo Line.

2. Trains to use power and crews from south, northern lines to furnish pilots. Equipment for loading to be furnished from and returned to south.

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SUMMARY

6th MEETING OF ECONOMIC SUB-COMMITTEE, 1000-1210, 29 Jan 45

RE QUESTION 2, JOINT AGENDA (COMMODITIES EXCHANGE)

1. Reduction of imports to Southern Korea, to bring Yen volume into balance, was begun. When it was pointed out that this in turn would cause some reduction in the amounts of manufactured goods to be sent to Northern Korea, because it would be uneconomic to reopen certain plants for very limited production, the USSR delegate suggested that the balance need not be held to such narrow limits, that the discussion could continue on the basis of "nine or ten million yen worth of goods from Southern Korea and 15 or 20 million yen worth of goods from Northern Korea."

2. Upon this basis, cuts in the quantities of goods requested by Southern Korea were restored, and the list of goods Southern Korea can furnish was amplified substantially.

3. Some of the added production of Southern Korea was not committed for delivery until 1 December. The USSR representative, when it was pointed out that in some cases delivery might extend into 1947, said he understood.

4. Discussion of fertilizer from Northern Korea, a 40,000,000 Yen item, was postponed.

5. Need for additional specifications and price information on several items was discovered; sub-committee will handle later.

6. No discussion of electric power prices or amounts.

RE QUESTION 1, JOINT AGENDA (ELECTRIC POWER)

1. US representative reported he was ready to recommend acceptance of USSR proposals under this question provided a fifth item, agreeing to appointment of a "Joint Technical Committee" were added.

2. USSR delegate took the proposal under study without discussion.

RE QUESTION 5A, JOINT AGENDA (METHOD OF PAYMENT)

1. US submitted two-part proposal, the first part of which agrees roughly with the proposal previously submitted by the USSR, and the second part of which would provide the machinery for handling exchange matters incident to any private Korean trade that might develop from decisions of Question 5 of the Joint Agenda.

2. USSR representative took the US proposal under study without comment.

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

26 January 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 25 JANUARY 1946
#6

The Conference opened at 1300.

The members of the Soviet Delegation present at the Conference were: Col.General Shtikov, Minister Extraordinary Tsaraphin, Major General Shanin, Major General Romanyenko, Advisor Balasanov, Agr-Colonel Butusov, Advisor Manukian, Advisor Lavrov, Advisor Lt.Colonel Markulyenko, Secretary Maslov.

From the American Delegation: Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Political Advisor Benninghoff, Colonel Booth, Colonel Britton, Colonel Underwood, Colonel Merlihy, Lt.Colonel Cornelson, Major Enders.

Chairman of the Conference was Col.General Shtikov. The following questions were discussed during the conference:

1) Question #2 of Joint Agenda. It was decided to return to the discussion of this question once again on 26 January 1946, so that the American side could prepare an answer: what quantity of rice and at what periods it could deliver it to the Soviet Command of Northern Korea for distribution to the population.

2) Question #3 of the Joint Agenda. The following four points of this question were accepted from the proposals of Major General Romanyenko:

1. Movement by rail, truck and shoreline transport between the Northern and Southern zones of Korea are to be established.

2. The responsibility for the realization of those measures, related to the establishment of transportation falls on the Soviet Military Command in Northern Korea and in Southern Korea, on the American Military Command.

3. Reestablishment of transportation ought to insure shipments in fulfillment of the agreements concerning the exchange of goods and movement of the population.

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4. All payments for railroad and other transportation services by people and institutions are to be effected in North and South zones of Korea according to a uniform tariff mutually agreed upon. Payments are to be collected at the point where service is rendered with subsequent mutual settling of accounts.

Agreement was reached to intrust the Transportation Subcommittee, under the direction of Major General Romanyenko and Lt. Colonel Cornelson to work out mutual proposals on Question number 3 of the Joint Agenda by 28 January 1946.

Col. General Shtikov, as chairman, closed the meeting at 1715 hours.

T. F. SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chairman

A. V. ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chief of U.S. Delegation

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#13

RADIO BROADCASTING

2. In order to regulate radio broadcasting in Korea it is agreed by the representatives of the Soviet and U.S. Commands that if one of the Commands wishes to make a change in established wave lengths or power output in one or another radio station in it's own zone, then for each individual case it will confer with the other Command and come to a decision regarding the change.

Complete Agreement

The American and Soviet military commands agree to allot radio frequencies on which radio broadcasts to the attached ~~list~~ enclosure marked enclosure number one shall be operated and the power output.

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RADIO BROADCASTING STATIONS WITHIN THE SOVIET ZONE OF MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY

LOCATION	FREQUENCY	POWER
CHONJIN	1100 kc	300 watts
CHONJIN	850 "	10 kilowatts
SONGJIN	1000 "	50 watts
SONGJIN	1000 "	50 "
HAMHUNG	1050 "	250 "
HAMHUNG	780 "	250 "
KOGEN	860 "	30 "
WONSAN	660 "	50 "
WONSAN	600 "	50 "
SINUIJU	900 "	50 "
PYANGYANG	1090 "	500 "
PYANGYANG	820 "	500 "
CHIMMANPO	530 "	350 "
CHIMMANPO	580 "	350 "
[redacted]	[redacted] "	[redacted] "
HAEJU	800 "	50 "

RADIO BROADCASTING STATIONS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES ZONE OF MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY

LOCATION	FREQUENCY	POWER
SEOUL	970 kc	50 kilowatts
SEOUL	2510 "	3 "
CHONJU	600 "	50 watts
TAEJON	880 "	50 "
IRI	570 "	.5 kilowatts
KWANGJU	780 "	.3 "
PUSAN	650 "	.3 "
TAEGU	800 "	.3 "
MASAN	600 "	50 watts
YONGAM	600 "	30 "
KANGNUNG	650 "	30 "
CHUNCHON	600 "	50 "

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#7

1 February 1946

SUBJECT: Control Posts.

1. The controlposts must be established for regulation of movement of Korean civilians and goods from one zone to another.

2. The Soviet and American Military Commands will establish controlposts in the territory of own military responsibility. American and Soviet Controlposts must be located as near as possible to each other and in no case more than 2 kilometers apart. The communications between these posts will be maintained by telephone or messenger.

3. The operation of these controlposts will be under the joint control of the Soviet and American Commands.

3. The location of these posts will be made on the basis of a special agreement between the two Commands after a decision of item # 14 is reached.

Complete Agreement

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ITEM 2 -- JOINT AGENDA

The Economic Sub-Committee recommends the following:

1. In order to put in action the whole industry of Korea, to organize the work of the railways and to revive the entire economic life of Korea, the exchange of goods is organized between the Northern and Southern Zones of Korea.

2. The exchange of goods between the Northern and Southern Zones of Korea is to be organized in the form of mutual deliveries of goods and commodities by the United States and Soviet Military Commands, respectively.

3. a. The United States Military Command in Southern Korea agrees to deliver to Northern Korea of industrial products and commodities according to the nomenclature, amounts and shipping schedules set forth in Inclosure 1 to Item 2 of the Joint Agenda. These deliveries will be made during the year 1946.

b. The Soviet Command agrees to deliveries of industrial products and commodities to Southern Korea according to the nomenclature, amounts and shipping schedules set forth in Inclosure 2 to Item 2 of the Joint Agenda. These deliveries will be made during the year 1946.

4. All payments for foodstuffs, equipment, electrical energy, industrial products and materials, mutually delivered from Northern Korea to Southern Korea and vice versa, will be made according to governmental prices in Yen which existed on the 1st of August 1945 in Korea, as set forth in Inclosures 1 and 2 to Item 2 of the Joint Agenda.

5. The mutual deliveries of goods will be made from the Northern Zone of Korea to the Southern Zone and vice versa on the basis of equal sums of money, the difference not to exceed ten percent.

6. Mutual payment for delivered goods shall be made through the Bank of Chosen in Seoul and the Main Northern Korean Bank in Heijo, as decided under Item 5 A of the Conference Agenda.

7. Such agreement will remain in effect unless modified or cancelled by mutual agreement of high commanders of the two zones.

8. a. In case it is found possible by the United States Military Command in Southern Korea to deliver goods or foodstuffs not shown on Inclosure 1 to Item 2 of the Joint Agenda, payment will be by exchange of goods based on 1 August 1945 prices. In case goods are delivered and payment therefor does not involve a mutual exchange of goods, payment will be in Yen on the basis of production costs.

b. If the deliveries from the Northern Zone to the Southern Zone exceed the Southern Zone deliveries to the Northern Zone by more than ten percent in Yen value, the payment for coal, if required by the South, will be made on the basis of actual cost not to exceed 200 Yen per metric ton at the mines.

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PROCEEDINGS OF JOINT SUB-COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO DISCUSS

ITEMS #1, #2 and #3A of THE JOINT AGENDA

Convened in Room 133, National Capitol, at 0930 21 January 1946.

Present:

For the USSR: Major General Shanin
Lt. Col. Korkulenko
Mr. Manuhkin, Adviser
Mr. Lavrov, Adviser
Sr. Lt. Trubnikov
Sr. Lt. Smirnov
Capt. Erikalova

For the USA: Colonel Underwood
Lt. Col. Jones
Capt. Moore
Capt. Rennel

1. US representative made plain at the outset of the session that he was not authorized to make final commitments or decisions, only to submit recommendations to General Arnold. USSR representative said he understood that situation.

2. USSR representative asked for a review of the situation regarding Question #1 of the Joint Agenda. It was agreed that Item #1 under Question #1 had been fully discussed and was ready for recommendation. Regarding Item #2, US representative said he could not agree on a recommendation because the rates had ~~been~~ not been established. He suggested that rates (for delivery of electric power) for the period 15 August 1945 through 31 December 1945 be at the rates prevailing at the time American troops occupied Korea, since no adjustment was made during that period, and that the discussion be concerned with the period beginning 1 January 1945. The USSR representative thereupon proposed that Items #2, #3 and #4 be tabled temporarily and the sub-committee proceed to consideration of Question #2 of the Joint Agenda.

3. The USSR delegate proposed that the discussions be broad enough (regarding exchange of commodities) to include the ~~taking~~ bringing from Japan of essential items that cannot be produced internally. The US representative reported that a study along that line was being made but its discussion by the sub-committee was beyond the scope of the Moscow Communique.

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USSR PROPOSALS RE QUESTION 2

4. The USSR representative then presented, in Russian, a series of items for discussion under Question #2 of the Joint Agenda. Rough translation follows:

In regard to exchange between southern and northern zones of Korea, agricultural products (rice), raw materials, fuel, equipment and chemical products.

Item 1. In order to put in action the whole industry of Korea, to organize the work of the railways and to revise the entire economic life of Korea , the exchange of goods is organized between Northern and Southern Zones of Korea.

Item 2. The exchange of goods between the Northern and Southern Zones of Korea is being organized in the form of mutual delivery of American and Soviet Military Commands, respectively.

Item 3. The American Military Command in Southern Korea agrees to deliveries to Northern Korea of foodstuffs and industrial products in the sum _____during 1946 according to the nomenclature and in the quantities agreed to by inclosure _____.

The Soviet Command agrees to deliveries of industrial products for the Southern Zone of Korea according to the nomenclature and in quantities agreed upon in enclosure No._____in the sum of _____Yen during 1946.

Item 4. All payments for foodstuffs, equipment, electrical energy, industrial products and materials, mutually delivered from Northern zone of Korea to Southern Zone and vice versa, shall be made according to governmental prices in Yen which existed on the 1st of August 1945 in Korea.

Item 5. Mutual deliveries will be established from the Northern Zone of Korea to the Southern Zone and vice versa according to equal sums of money.

In those cases where goods requested by the Soviet Military Command will not be possible to deliver from present reserves from the Southern Zone of Korea, the American Military Command shall deliver them from other sources.

Item 6. Mutual payments for delivered goods shall be made through the Chosen Bank in the city of Seoul and through the Northern Korea Bank at Heijo.

5. The US representative proposed that the USSR items be taken under study and that the US provide a comparable list for USSR study. Agreed.

6. USSR submitted, in Russian, a list of items for discussion under Question 5B of the Joint Agenda. The US representative stated a preliminary reply would be given at 1600 this date, but subsequent translation of the Russian list showed the questions to be too technical for cursory discussion.

7. [illegible]

By NND DECLASSIFIED 760090 NARS, Date

INCLSURE 2, JOINT AGENDA ITEM 2
(GOODS TO BE MOVED TO SOUTHERN KOREA FROM NORTHERN KOREA)

ITEM	UNIT	AMT. TO BE SUPPLIED	UNIT PRICE 1 AUG 1945	TOTAL VALUE	DELIVERY TO BEGIN BY:
Ammonium Sulphate	Ton	200,000	¥ 200	¥ 40,000,000	1 March 1946
Nitric Acid	"	7,000	205	1,435,000	"
Ammonium Chloride	"	150	180	27,000	"
Tool Steel	"	300	1,100	330,000	"
Carbide	"	100	198	19,800	"
Caustic Soda	"	1,000	528	528,000	"
Sulphuric Acid	"	122	53	6,466	"
Calcium Carbonate	"	2,000	166	332,000	"
Acetone	"	50	4,000	200,000	"
Electrolytic Copper	"	500	2,000	1,000,000	1 July 1946
Aluminum (impure)	"	500	3,000	1,500,000	"
Electrolytic zinc	"	500	2,000	1,000,000	"
Electrolytic lead	"	500	1,500	750,000	"
Acetylene Black (C)	"	500	900	450,000	"
Electric Power (1945)	KWH	138,620,307	.02	2,772,406.14	15 August 1945
			OR .03	4,158,609.21	
Electric Power (1946)	"	520,000,000 (est.)	.02	10,400,000.00	1 January 1946
			OR .03	15,600,000.00	
Coal, anthracite, small-size	Ton	600,000			
Corn starch	"	1,200 (?)			
Salt	"	70,000 (?)			
Hides	"	1,200 (?)			
Poles, power line	Each	20,000			

¥ 89,000,000

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NARS, Date

INCLSURE 2. JOINT AGENDA ITEM 2
(GOODS TO BE MOVED TO SOUTHERN KOREA FROM NORTHERN KOREA)

ITEM	UNIT	AMT. TO BE SUPPLIED	UNIT PRICE 1 AUG 1945	TOTAL VALUE	DELIVERY TO BEGIN BY:
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Carbide	"	100	198	19,800	"
Caustic Soda	"	1,000	528	528,000	"
Sulphuric Acid	"	122	53	6,466	"
Calcium Carbonate	"	2,000	166	332,000	"
Acetone	"	50	4,000	200,000	"
Electrolytic Copper	"	500	2,000	1,000,000	1 July 1946
Aluminum (impure)	"	500	3,000	1,500,000	"
Electrolytic zinc	"	500	2,000	1,000,000	"
Electrolytic lead	"	500	1,500	750,000	"
Acetylene Black (C)	"	500	900	450,000	"
Electric Power (1945)	KWH	138,620,307	.02 OR .03	2,772,406.14 4,158,609.21	15 August 1945
Electric Power (1946)	"	520,000,000 (est.)	.02 OR .03	10,400,000.00 15,600,000.00	1 January 1946
Coal, anthracite, small-size	Ton	600,000			
Corn starch	"	1,200 (?)			
Salt	"	70,000 (?)			
Hides	"	1,200 (?)			
Poles, power line	Each	20,000			

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HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN KOREA
Bureau of Mining and Industry
Seoul, Korea

SCHEDULE OF SHIPMENTS AND RATES OF PAYMENT FROM SOUTH KOREA

No.	ITEM	Unit	Unit Price 1 Aug 1946	Total Planned Shipment 1946	Total Value Shipments 1946	Shipment to Begin by 1 Mar Units	1 Apr Units	1 Jul Units	1 Oct Units
1.	Cotton Yarn	Lb	₩ 1.56	185,000	288,600	15,000		75,000	75,000
2.	Cotton Cloth	Yd	1.38	1,400,000	1,932,000	400,000	200,000	400,000	400,000
3.	Cotton fishing nets	Lb	6.47	35,000	226,450			17,500	17,500
4.	Hemp rope and cord	Lb	2.20	86,000	189,200			43,000	43,000
	Post, single-phase transformers, 60 periods 3300/20, 100 volts:								
5.	Power 3 KVA	ea	94.50	50	4,725	50			
6.	Power 5 KVA	ea	129.00	60	7,740	60			
7.	Power 7.5 Kva	ea	172.50	100	17,250	60		40	
8.	Power 10 KVA	ea	211.00	90	18,990	60		30	
9.	Power 15 KVA	ea	281.50	15	4,222.50	15			
10.	Power 20 KVA	ea	352.00	15	5,280.00	15			
12.	Bare copper wire 25 mm	Ton)	12,100.00	60	726,000.00			60	
13.	Bare copper wire 35 mm	Ton:							
14.	Bare copper wire 50 mm	Ton)							

Metric

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...ipments and Rates of Payment from South Korea (Cont'd)

No.	ITEMS	Unit	Unit Price 1 Aug 1946	Total Planned Shipment 1946	Total Value Shipments 1946	Shipments to Begin By 1 Mar Units	1 Apr Units	1 Jul Units	1 Oct Units
15.	Light bulbs, Various sizes	average ea	3.00	1,000,000	3,000,000				1,000,000
16.	Pit Pump, 5-15, 0.2-0-5 M^3/mm	ea	1,600.00	20	32,000		20		
17.	Pit Pump, 20-30 HP, 0.3 to 0.6 M^3/mm head 50-200 M	ea	4,000.00	20	80,000		20		
18.	Pit Pump, 75 HP, 0.5 to 1.0 M^3/mm, head 80-260	ea	6,000.00	8	48,000		8		
19.	Pneumatic Striking Hammer	ea	500.00	1,500	750,000		1,000	500	
20.	Pneumatic Rock Drills	ea	700.00	15	10,500		15		
21.	Jaw Crushers	ea	10,000.00	20	200,000		20		
22.	Hammer Crushers	ea	12,500.00	20	250,000		20		
23.	Cone Crushers	ea	14,000.00	5	70,000		5		
24.	Winches, 100 Hp	ea	50,000.00	4	200,000		4		
25.	Spare Parts	Pc	?	20,000					
26.	Six ton trolley electric mine locomotive	ea	10,000.00	6	60,000				6
27.	Steel cable, 22-26 mm dia	Ton	700.00	150	105,000				150

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Schedule of Shipments and rates of Payment from South Korea (Cont'd)

No.	ITEM	Unit	Unit Price 1 Aug 1946	Total Planned Shipment 1946	Total Value Shipments 1946	Shipments to Begin By Units 1 Mar	Units 1 Apr	Units 1 Jul	Units 1 Oct
28.	Miners' Elec Battery Lamp	ea	24.70	2,500	37,050			1,500	1,000
	Electric Motors Standard:								
	HP Volts Phase								
29.	5 200 3	ea	482.00	2	964	2			
30.	7.5 200 3	ea	551.00	8	4,408	4	4		
31.	10 200 3	ea	722.00	4	2,888	4			
32.	15 200 3	ea	1,125.00	5	1,125	4	1		
33.	30 200 3	ea	1,930.00	1	1,930	1			
34.	40 200 (?) 3	ea	3,640.00	2	7,280	1	1		
35.	50 200 (?) 3	ea	4,320.00	2	8,640	1	1		
36.	Central Shaft Bushes Micasa	pc	140.00	120	16,800			120	
37.	Shaft Bushes for Chaining Micasa	pc	80.00	360	28,800			360	
38.	Central Shaft Bushes Pasici	pc	120.00	30	3,600			30	
39.	Shaft Bushes for Chaining Pasici	pc	80.00	80	6,400			80	
40.	Central shaft bushes Taboro	pc	100.00	40	4,000			40	
41.	Shaft bushes for chaining	pc	60.00	100	6,000			100	
42.	Central shaft bushes Mated	pc	140.00	10	1,400			10	

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Schedule of Shipments and rates of Payments from South Korea (Cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Unit Price 1 Aug 1946	Total Planned Shipment 1946	Total Value Shipments 1946	Shipments to Begin By 1 Mar Units	1 Apr Units	1 Jul Units	1 Oct Units
43.	Shaft Bushes for Chaining Matei	pc	20.00	30	600.00			30	
44.	Central shaft bushes Matani	pc	140.00	16	2,240.00			16	
45.	Shaft bushes for chaining Matani	pc	80.00	46	3,680.00			46	
46.	Central shaft bushes Tsure	pc	100.00	20	2,000.00			20	
47.	Shaft bushes for chaining Tsure	pc	60.00	40	2,400.00			40	
48.	Piston bushes Micasa	pc	100.00	120	12,000.00			120	
49.	Piston bushes Tacici	pc	100.00	30	3,000.00			30	
50.	Piston bushes Tiharo	pc	80.00	40	3,200.00			40	
51.	Piston bushes Matei	pc	100.00	10	1,000.00			10	
52.	Piston bushes Matei	pc	100.00	14	1,400.00			14	
53.	Piston bushes Tsure	pc	60.00	20	1,200.00			20	
54.	Locomotive box Micasa	pc	180.00	500	90,000.00			500	
55.	Locomotive box bearings Tacici	pc	180.00	80	14,400.00			80	
56.	Locomotive box bearings Tebaro	pc	160.00	100	16,000.00			100	

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Schedule of Shipments and rates of Payments from South Korea (cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Unit Price 1 Aug 1946	Total Planned Shipment 1946	Total Value Shipments 1946	Shipments to begin by 1 Mar Units	1 Apr Units	1 Jul Units	1 Oct Units
57.	Locomotive box bearings Matei	pc	180.00	30	5,400			30	
58.	Locomotive box bearings Matani	pc	180.00	46	8,280			46	
59.	Locomotive box bearings Ture	pc	100.00	60	6,000			60	
60.	Tender box bearings Micase	pc	40.00	280	11,200			280	
61.	Tender box bearings Tacici	pc	40.00	110	4,400			110	
62.	Tender box bearings Tehoro	pc	40.00	136	5,400			136	
63.	Tender box bearings Matei	pc	10.00	36	360			36	
64.	Tender box bearings Mateni	pc	60.00	60	3,600			60	
65.	Chimneys	pc	50.00	30	1,500			30	
66.	Chimneys	pc	50.00	180	9,000			180	
67.	Chimneys	pc	50.00	90	4,500			90	
68.	Machine Oil	Kg	.93	2500	2,325			2,500	
69.	Cylinder Oil	Kg	6.84	10,000	68,400			10,000	

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Schedule of Shipments and rates of Payments from South Korea (cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Unit Price 1 Aug 1946	Total Planned Shipment 1946	Total Value Shipments 1946	Shipments to begin by 1 Mar Units	1 Apr Units	1 Jul Units	1 Oct Units
70.	Coloured glass (Different)	Pc	15.00	1,000	15,000.00			1,000	
71.	Electric welding apparatus	pc	10.00	15	150.00			15	
72.	Acetylene gas tubes	Meter	10.00	200	2,000.00			200	
73.	Commutator cord CB 1 white	pc	3.00	600	1,800000			600	
74.	Commutator cord C.B. 1 Red	pc	3.00	600	1,800.00			600	
75.	Commutator cord C.B. 2 White	pc	3.00	600	1,800.00			600	
76.	Commutator cord C.B.2 Red	pc	3.00	600	1,800.00			600	
77.	Commutator cord M. B. 1 White	pc	3.00	400	1,200.00			400	
78.	Commutator Cord M. B. 1 Red	pc	3.00	400	1,200.00			400	
79.	Protectors M1403	pc	80.00	2000	160,000.00			2,000	
80.	4 Vein Cord for set	pc	3,00	400	1,200.00			400	
81.	2 Vein cord for receiver	pc	3.00	600	1,800.00			600	
82.	4 Vein cord for table Apparatus M-1	pc	3.00	600	1,800.00			300	

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Schedule of Shipments and rates of Payments from South Korea (cont'd)

No.	Item	Unit	Unit Price 1 Aug 1946	Total Planned Shipment 1946	Total Value Shipments 1946	Shipments to begin by 1 Mar Units	1 Apr Units	1 Jul Units	1 Oct Units
83.	3 Vein cord M-4	pc	3.00	1,200	3,600			1,200	
84.	4 Vein Cord M-2	pc	3.00	800	2,400			800	
85.	4 Vein cord for table apparatus	pc	3.00	800	2,400			800	
.	Indoor wire	Meter	15.00	4000	60,000			4,000	
87.	Wire	Meter	1.00	6,000	6,000			6,000	
88.	Telephone apparatus M.B.	Pc	250.00	500	125,000			500	
89.	Spikes	pc	.70	1,296,000	90,720			1,296,000	
90.	Belts	pc	.87	162,000	140,940			162,000	

Total ₹ 9,000,000

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FOOD SITUATION
S. OF 38° (KOREA)
(METRIC TONS)

10 JAN 1946

NAME OF FOOD	STOCKS ON HAND (EST)	1946 Est Production BY QUARTERS 1st	2nd	3rd	4th	EXPORTS * 1946 (QTS) 3rd	4th	NECESSARY IMPORTS BY QUARTERS (1946) 1st	2nd	3rd	4th
RICE	1.700.000	None	None	None	1.904.000	None	None		None		
BARLEY	None	"	332.000	576.000	None	"	"		"		
RYE	"	"	500	1.000	"	"	"		"		
WHEAT	"	"	40.000	46.000	"	"	"		"		
[illegible]LET	26.000	"	"	114.000	"	"	"		"		
BUCKWHEAT	17.000	"	"	22.500	"	"	"		"		
SORGHUM	2.000	"	"	None	1.700	"	"		"		
CORN	3.600	"	"	"	7.600	"	"		"		
OATS	None	"	"	3.700	None	"	"		"		
SOY BEANS	130.000	"	"	290.000	"	"	"		"		
OTHER BEANS	12.000	"	"	42.000	"	"	"		"		
SUGAR	—	—	None	—				7.500	7.500	7.500	7.500
FATS	20	None	5	50	50	None	None	18	18	18	18
OILS	230	2.030	2.040	1.540	2.440	"	"	40	40	40	40
SALT	—	—	—	—	—	"	"	75.000	25.000	?	?
COTTONSEEDOIL	—	—	—	—	—	100	100	—	—	—	—
RO[illegible]DERED MILK	—	—	—	—	—	None	None	4.500	4.500	4.500	4.500
C[illegible]DENSED	—	—	—	—	—	"	"				

Pres[illegible] por[illegible]

[illegible]

* Standard [illegible] consider[illegible] 0 calories w[illegible] [illegible] calories [illegible]

* [illegible]

鑛區所在地
登錄番號

殖產局長殿

鑛業權者又ハ鑛業代理人

鑛業用土地竝木材使用調査ノ件

左ノ通回答ス

備考	民有地	國有地	鑛業用材木ノ一ケ年ノ供給先及其ノ他ノ鑛業用土地ノ前項ニ記入シタルモノヲ除ク	使用セル土地ノ面積	地番、地目	地名	使用見込數量及其ノ他ノ鑛業用材木ノ一ケ年ノ供給先	面積	地番、地目	地名
一、本地所有者ト關係										
一、本地所有者ト關係										
一、本地所有者ト關係										

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FOOD SITUATION
ALL KOREA
IN METRIC TONS.

VO JAN 46

NAME OF FOOD	STOCKS ON HAND MT (EST.)	1946 EST PRODUCTION MT. BY QUARTERS 1ST	2ND	3rd	4th	ESTIMATED 1946 EXPORTS	NECESSARY IMPORTS BY QUARTER 1946 1ST	2ND	3rd	4th
RICE	2.310.000	None	None	None		None		None		
Barley	none	"	332.000	726.000	None	"		"		
RYE	"	"	500	3.000	"	"		"		
[illegible]EAT	"	"	40.000	181.000	"	"		"		
MILLET	234.000	"	None	626.000	"	"		"		
BUCKWHEAT	51.000	"	"	67.000	"	"		"		
SORGHUM	51.000	"	"	None	9.800	"		"		
CORN	76.000	"	"	"	72.000	"		"		
OATS	7.200	"	"	72.000	None	"		"		
SOYBEANS	286.000	"	"	592.000	"	"		"		
OTHER BEANS	78.000	"	"	138.000	"	"		"		
SUGAR	None	"	"	None	"	"	10.000	10.000	10.000	10.000
OILS	"	2.940	3.150	2.460	3.650	"	55	55	55	55
F[illegible]S	"	60	56	110	110	"	25	25	25	25
PROCESSED MICK	"	—	—		—	"	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000
SALT	"	—?	—?	—?	—?	"	100.000	100.000	100.000	100.000

[illegible]

Source: TFYMG 743 [illegible]

鑛區所在地
登錄番號

鑛業權者又ハ
鑛業代理人

殖産局長殿

鑛業用土地竝木材使用調査ノ件ニ付左ノ通回答ス。

通ノ名（使用セル土地ノ面積里名ヲ記入ノコト）	地番、地目	面積	國有地	民有地	地番、地目	名義	坑木其ノ他ノ鑛業用材木ノ使用見込數量及其ノ供給先	備考（借地ハ借地ノ條件賃貸ヲ受クタルモノナラバ其ノ關係ヲ記載スルコト）
1	1	1						
2	2	2						
3	3	3						
4	4	4						
5	5	5						
6	6	6						
7	7	7						
8	8	8						
9	9	9						
10	10	10						
11	11	11						
12	12	12						
13	13	13						
14	14	14						
15	15	15						
16	16	16						
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18	18	18						
19	19	19						
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21	21	21						
22	22	22						
23	23	23						
24	24	24						
25	25	25						
26	26	26						
27	27	27						

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AT THE CONFERENCE YESTERDAY THERE WAS A CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO POPULATION FIGURES, AS TO NORMAL CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION OF FOODSTUFFS OF NORTH AND SOUTH ~~HE~~ KOREA AND OF IMPORTS INTO THE COUNTRY. I FEEL THAT IT IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT THAT WE REACH A WORKING AGREEMENT ON THESE BASIC FIGURES. BEFORE PROCEEDING FURTHER ON PARAGRAPH 2, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE INTERCHANGE OF FOODSTUFFS. TO THAT END I RECOMMEND THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL FOOD COMMITTEE OF TWO TO ESTABLISH FACTUAL FIGURES, ON WHICH TO BASE OUR DISCUSSION. I DESIGNATE COLONEL BOOTH.

IN REGARD TO THE SHIPMENT OF RICE FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH, THERE IS NOW A DEFICIT IN SOUTH KOREA. WE ARE TAKING STRINGENT MEASURES TO PREVENT UNAUTHORIZED EXPORT, TO SEIZE SURPLUS IN THE HANDS OF ANY INDIVIDUAL AND TO TIGHTEN UP ON THE RATION. WHAT THE RESULTS WILL BE, WE DO NOT YET KNOW, AND THEREFOR CAN NOT GIVE YOU A GUARANTEE. IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT NO EXPORT WILL BE AVAILABLE. IT IS NECESSARY THAT A REQUEST BE MADE NOW ON UNRRA FOR FOODSTUFFS FOR SOUTH KOREA, IN ORDER THAT THEIR ARRIVAL MAY BE IN TIME TO PREVENT STARVATION.

I AM JUST AS ANXIOUS AS YOU THAT THE FOOD SHORTAGE IN NORTHERN KOREA BE MET. IT IS REQUESTED THAT YOU GIVE ME A STATEMENT OF MINIMUM NEEDS, by month if possible THAT CAN NOT BE SUPPLIED EITHER FROM STOCKS ON HAND IN NORTH KOREA NOR BE OBTAINED FROM MANCHURIA OR OTHER SOURCES.

OUR JOINT FOOD SUBCOMMITTEE WILL THEN INTEGRATE THE NEEDS FOR ALL KOREA AND EACH OF US THROUGH OUR OWN CHANNELS WILL REQUEST SUPPLIES FROM UNRRA ~~TO MEET THE NEEDS OF BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA~~, SINCE KOREA AS A WHOLE IS NOT NOW NOR EVER HAS BEEN SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD STUFFS.

I PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING AGENDA FOR TODAY: ITEMS 3, 8, 6, 9, 1.

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

STATEMENT MADE BY COL. GEN SHTIKOV
1 Feb 1946

In the process of discussion of questions by the Economic Subcommittee, as well as on general meetings of our Conference, a serious divergence of points of view of American and Soviet representatives on the question of exchange of goods as a whole became evident. In raising and discussing this question, the representatives of the Soviet Command took into consideration interests and requirements of the population of Southern and Northern Korea. With this point in view, the following most necessary goods which North Korea can supply Southern Korea were listed by the Economic Subcommittee: Electric power, coal, chemical fertilizers, steel, copper and other metals, and also salt, with a total value of 89,000,000 yen. The Soviet Command did not stop at any difficulties which could arise by reestablishing of work in industrial establishments, mines, and other establishments for the production of goods and materials which were necessary to deliver to South Korea. We did not fear these difficulties because we considered that all this is going for the benefit and interest of the Korean population of North Korea, and in the interest of the population of South Korea. For all these goods and materials the Soviet Command counted on receiving necessary industrial goods and parts which are manufactured in South Korea, as well as food, which is so necessary for the population of North Korea. Instead, the American Command during the meetings of the Subcommittee and meetings of the present Conference named an unsatisfactory amount of goods and materials for the sum of just 10,000,000 yen, and absolutely refused to deliver food for North Korea in exchange of goods which were to be delivered.

If we were to accept the proposals of the American Command on the exchange of goods, the Soviet Command will have to credit South Korea for the resources and labor of Korean citizens working in the industry of North Korea for the sum of 79,000,000 yen.

The representatives of the Soviet Command do not feel that they have the right to harm the interests of the citizens of North Korea and to credit Southern Korea at their expense.

I consider it expedient and necessary to exclude the following questions which were included in the agenda of the present conference:

1. The conditions of releasing electric power from Northern to Southern Korea.

2. About the exchange between North and South Korea of foodstuffs (rice), rawmaterials, fuel, industrial equipment and chemical products.

5a. About mutual settlement of accounts for the deliveries

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from Southern to Northern Korea and vice-versa.

The Representatives of the Soviet Command consider it possible to return to the study of this question only when the American Command will be able to guarantee the delivery from South Korea to Northern Korea, parts necessary for the industry and foodstuffs for the workers engaged in the industry (rice, barley, soy beans, beans etc). At the same time the amount of mutual deliveries should be approximately equal.

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[redacted] При обсуждении вопросов как в экономической подкомиссии, так и на общих заседаниях нашего совещания выяснилось серьезное расхождение точек зрений Советских и Американских представителей на вопрос товарообмена вцелом. При постановки и обсуждении данного вопроса представители Советского командования учитывали интересы и потребности населения, как Южной, так и Северной Кореи. С этой целью в экономической подкомиссии были названы столь необходимые товары, которые может поставить Северная Корея для Южной Кореи, а именно: электроэнергии, уголь, химическое удобрение сталь, медь и другие материалы, а также соль, что достигало сумму 45 миллионов иен. Притом Советское командование не останавливалось перед трудностями, которые могли бы возникнуть при возобновлении работы промышленных предприятий, шахт, рудников и других предприятий для производства товаров и материалов, которые необходимо было поставить в Южную Корею. Эти трудности нас не пугали, так как мы считали, что это идет на пользу и в интересах корейского населения Северной Кореи, так и в интересах населения Южной Кореи. За все эти поставляемые товары и материалы Советское командование расчитывало получить как необходимые промышленные товары и детали, которые производятся на Юге, а также столь необходимое для населения Северной Кореи продовольствие. Вместо этого Американское командование в экономической подкомиссии и на ~~последующих~~ заседаниях настоящего совещания назвало неудовлетворительное количество товаров и материалов на сумму составляющую всего лишь 10 миллионов иен, совершенно отказалось поставить для Северной Кореи в замен отпускаемых товаров продовольствие.

Таким образом, если идти на принятие предложения Американского командования по обмену товарами, то Советское командование должно кредитовать за счет ресурсов и труда корейских граждан работающих в промышленности Северной Кореи на сумму 79 миллионов иен.

Представители Советского командования не считают себя в праве ущемлять интересы граждан Северной Кореи и за их счет кредитовать Южную Корею. Считаю целесообразным и необходимым временно снять вопросы включенные в повестку дня настоящего совещания :

1. Об условиях отпуска электроэнергии из Северной Кореи в Южную.

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By NARS, Date

2. Об обмене между Северной и Южной Кореей продовольствием /рис/,сырьем,топливом, промышленном оборудованием и химическими продуктами.

5 а. О взаимных расчетах за поставки из Южной Кореи в Северную и наоборот.

Представители Советского командования считают возможным вновь возвратиться к обсуждению этого вопроса лишь только тогда, когда Американское командование сможет гарантировать поставку из Южной Кореи в Северную Корею необходимых деталей для промышленности и продуктов питания рабочим, занятым в промышленности /рис,ячмень,соя,бобы и пр./. При чем,,чтобы сумма обоюдных поставок была бы примерно эквивалентной.

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Секретно
Предложения по пункту 2
повестки дня Совещания.

ОБ ОБМЕНЕ МЕЖДУ ЮЖНОЙ И СЕВЕРНОЙ ЗОНАМИ КОРЕИ ПРОДОВОЛЬСТВИЕМ (РИС), СЫРЬЕМ, ТОПЛИВОМ, ОБОРУДОВАНИЕМ И ХИМИЧЕСКИМИ ПРОДУКТАМИ.

1. В целях пуска всей промышленности Кореи, налаживания работы железных дорог и оживления всей экономической жизни Кореи, организуется товарообмен между Северной и Южной зонами Кореи.

2. Товарообмен между Северной и Южной зонами Кореи организуется в форме взаимных поставок Американского и Советского Военного Командования.

3. Американское Военное Командование в Южной Корее соглашается поставить в течение 1946 года в Северную Зону Кореи продовольствия и промышленных товаров на сумму млн.иен, в сроки, по номенклатуре и в количестве согласно приложения № 1.

Советское Военное Командование соглашается в течение 1946 года поставить для Южной зоны Кореи промышленной продукции на сумму млн.иен в сроки, по номенклатуре и в количестве согласно приложения № 2.

4. Все расчеты за продовольствие, оборудование, электроэнергию, промышленную продукцию и материалы, взаимно поставляемые из Северной зоны Кореи в Южную и обратно, производятся по государственным ценам в иенах, существовавшим в Корее на 1 августа 1945 года.

5. Взаимные поставки производятся из Северной зоны Кореи в Южную и обратно, по возможности на эквивалентную сумму денег.

6. Взаимные расчеты за поставляемую продукцию будут производиться через Чосен-Банк в городе Сеуле и через Главный Северо-Корейский Банк в городе Хейдзио.

Приложения: № 1 - расчет на поставляемую продукцию из Южной зоны Кореи в Северную зону.

№ 2 - расчет на поставляемую продукцию из Северной зоны Кореи в Южную зону.

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Пункт 5-й повестки дня
Совещания.

О ВЗАИМНЫХ РАСЧЕТАХ

за сырье, промышленную продукцию и продовольствие, поставляемые из Северной Кореи в Южную и из Южной в Северную.

1. Все взаимные расчеты за поставляемую продукцию производятся через Чосен Банк в Сеуле и Главный Северо-Корейский Банк в гор. Хэйджо путем соответствующих операций по открываемым в этих банках специальным "счетам взаимных расчетов".

2. Устанавливается следующий порядок взаимных расчетов за поставки:

а) Периодически, но не реже двух раз в месяц, Командование каждой зоны составляет расчеты на отгруженную в счет поставок продукцию и предоставляет его командованию другой стороны для оплаты.

б) После получения указанных в пункте 2-а расчетов, Командование соответствующей зоны производит проверку представленных расчетов с точки зрения их соответствия условиям поставок и дает указания соответствующему банку об оплате принятых по расчетам сумм.

в) Оплата за поставленную продукцию производится в порядке безналичных расчетов путем перечисления соответствующих сумм по "счетам взаимных расчетов", указанных в пункте 1 банках.

3. Все спорные вопросы по поставкам и взаимным расчетам за поставленные в порядке решения настоящего Совещания товары разрешаются путем переговоров представителей каждого Командования.

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5 в.

ПЕРЕЧЕНЬ ВОПРОСОВ

для выяснения по финансам, кредиту и денежному обращению Кореи

1. Бюджет Кореи за 1938 и 1944 г.г. с выделением сведений об отдельных видах доходов и расходов, как по государственному, так и местным бюджетам.

2. Суммы поступлений отдельных видов налогов за 1938 г. и 1944 г.

3. Официальный текст и переводы законов об отдельных налогах (на русский и английский язык).

4. Суммы отдельных видов доходов, облагаемых налогами (суммы выплаченной за аренду платы, прибылей промышленных и торговых организаций, доходов землевладельцев и друг.) за 1944 г.

5. Стоимость отдельных видов имуществ, облагаемых налогами (промышленного оборудования, земельной собственности и друг.) за 1944 г.

6. Суммы оборота промышленных и торговых организаций (стоимость валовой продукции по отраслям промышленности, выручка торговых организаций и друг.) за 1944 г.

7. Количество акционерных компаний и размер их капитала, с выделением промышленных, торговых, кредитных и страховых компаний отдельно по японским и корейским компаниям.

8. Количество банков и сумма остатков вкладов на текущих счетах в этих банках за 1944 год.

В 1945 г. эти сведения необходимы на 1 августа и 31 декабря, с выделением данных о текущих счетах открытых японцами и корейцами.

9. Остаток вкладов в сберегательных кассах на 1 января 1945 года.

10. Размеры денег в обращении за 1938 и 1944 г.г., а также на 1 августа 1945 г., с выделением сведений по японским и корейским банкам.

11. Стоимость ценных бумаг японского государства и японских акционерных компаний, числящихся на балансе корейских банков на 1 января, августа и 31 декабря 1945 года.

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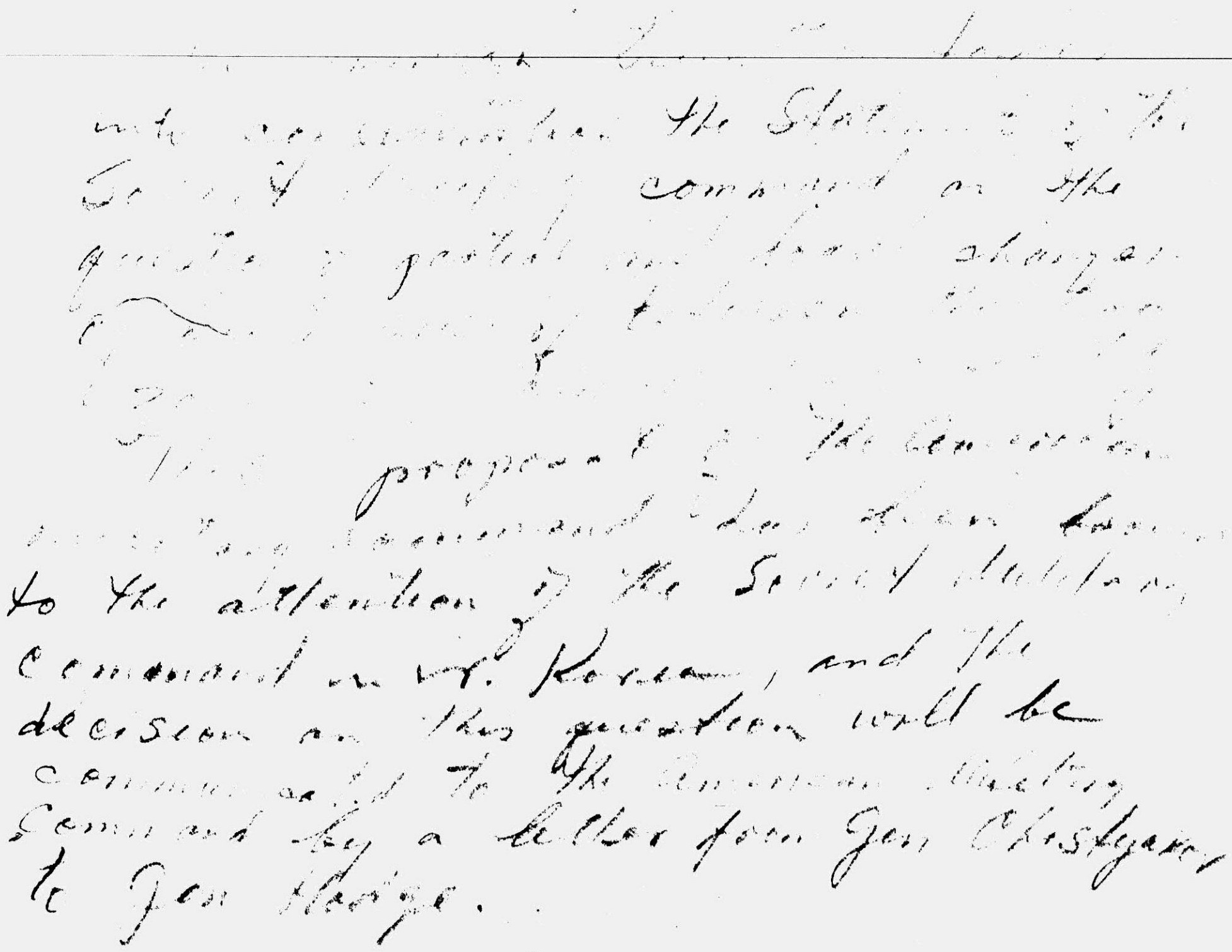
Американская делегация принимает к сведению заявление представителя Советского Военного Командования, что предложения Американского Военного Командования по вопросу о частичном и местном изменении границы между двумя зонами военной ответственности, доведено до сведения Советского Военного Командования в Северной Корее, и что ответ Советского Военного Командования по этому вопросу будет сообщен Американскому Военному Командованию генералом Чистяковым письмом на имя генерала Ходж.



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#15

~~S E C R E T~~

P R O P O S A L

Representative of the Soviet Military Command on item 15 of the Agenda. In regard to the measures of the future coordination between Soviet and U.S. Military Commands in Korea concerning administrative and economic problems.

1. For the purpose of establishing permanent coordination between Soviet And U.S. Military Commands in Korea concerning administrative and economic problems in the future, as deemed necessary by the request of either side special meetingsby the representatives of both Commands ~~XXXXXX~~ (Soviet and U.S.) in regard to the problems of their interest.

2. In regard to the submitted problems for discussion during the special meetings by the Military Commands of either side, appoint competent representatives and a necessary number of advisors and experts.

3. Resolutions of special meetings will be in force after the approval of the Soviet Military Command in North Korea, And the U.S. Military Command in South Korea.

4. Place and time of special meetings will be established upon agreement between the Soviet and U.S. Military Commands in Korea, in Seoul ~~and~~ Heijo respectively.

5. For permanent coordination of the Soviet Military Command in Heijo (Pengyang) with the U.S. Military Command in Seoul, Soviet Military Commands agree to keep in good order the telephone communications Pengyang-Seoul (to appoint and establish a Communications Officer on duty daily from 0900 to 1200 1300-1700) of two or three men

6. Both Commanders exchange small liaison groups to assist the Commanders in the coordination of matters which may arise.

~~S E C R E T~~

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State Dept Instr. 12 Apr and 8 July 1976
FWD/BAM NARS, Date 3/31/17

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10. [illegible]

11. [illegible]

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Сарыагаш

1 января 1940 г.

Райком ВКП(б) объявляет о [illegible]
[illegible] районной [illegible]
[illegible]
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(секрет

[illegible] февраля 1[illegible] г.

[illegible] по [illegible] об'единенного [illegible]
[illegible] Советской Армии [illegible]
[illegible] его использования в [illegible] войны, созванного
в соответствии с [illegible] Военно-Морских Сил, объединенным [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] 1. "[illegible] вопросы [illegible]
[illegible] Советской Армии [illegible] Советским Военно-Морским Силам (вопросы [illegible]
ми в [illegible] войне [illegible] Советским Военно-Морским Силам в [illegible] войне."

Тезисы [illegible]:

1. [illegible] Советской Армии [illegible]
между [illegible] Советской Армии [illegible]
[illegible] Советским Военно-Морским Силам (вопросы [illegible]
хозяйственным [illegible] в [illegible] войне, по
мере [illegible], по [illegible] одной из
сторон, [illegible] специально созданных [illegible]
[illegible] Советской Армии [illegible] Советским Военно-Морским Силам) и [illegible]
их [illegible].

2. [illegible] специальных [illegible], в том числе
об [illegible] вопросов, [illegible]
[illegible] Советской Армии [illegible] Советским Военно-Морским Силам,
[illegible] специальных [illegible]
и [illegible] Советской Армии [illegible].

3. [illegible] специальных [illegible] в [illegible]
в силу после [illegible] их [illegible]
[illegible] Советской Армии [illegible] Советским Военно-Морским Силам в [illegible] по-
рядке [illegible] Советской Армии [illegible] Советским Военно-Морским Силам
в [illegible] войне.

4. [illegible] специальных [illegible]
[illegible] Советской Армии [illegible] Советским Военно-Морским Силам в [illegible]
[illegible] в [illegible], в [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible].

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5. Для постоянной связи штаба Советских войск в Пхэньян со штабом Американских войск в Сеуле, Советское и Американское Командование соглашаются поддерживать в хорошем состоянии телефонную линию связи Пхэньян-Сеул и установить дежурство оперативных офицеров ежедневно с 9 до 12 часов и с 13 до 17 часов.

6. Оба Командования обменяются связными группами, 2-3 человек, чтобы помогать Командующим в координации вопросов, которые могут возникнуть.

Глава Советской Делегации
генерал-полковник Шитков

Глава Американской Делегации
генерал-майор Арнольд

Утверждаю:

Командующий Советскими войсками в Корее
гвардии генерал-полковник
Чистяков И.И.

Утверждаю:

Командующий Американскими войсками в Корее
генерал-лейтенант, США
Дж.Р. Уэйд.

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Проект

Секретно

СОВЕЩАНИЕ СОВЕТСКИХ И АМЕРИКАНСКИХ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЕЙ ВОЕННОГО КОМАНДОВАНИЯ В КОРЕЕ

Сеул, Корея
4 февраля 1946 г.

ПРОТОКОЛ ЗАСЕДАНИЯ 4 ФЕВРАЛЯ 1946 г.

№ 14.

Председательствует генерал-полковник Шыков.

Совещание открыто в 13.00.

На Совещании присутствовали от Советской Делегации: генерал-полковник Шыков Т.Ф., посланник Царапкин С.К., генерал-майор Панин Г.Л., генерал-майор Романенко А.А., советник Балабанов Г.М., инженер-полковник Бугусов В.П., советник Манукян А.А., советник Лавров В.В., советник подполковник Коркуленко Г.М., секретарь Маслов А.С.

От Американской Делегации присутствовали: генерал-майор А.В. Арнольд, генерал-майор Сполдинг, политический советник Х.Е.Беннингхоф, полковник Р.Х.Бут, полковник Б.Х.Бриггон, полковник Д.С.Ундербуд, полковник В.Дж.Хэрлихи, подполковник А.Дж.Корнельсон, подполковник Эндерс.

Председательствующий генерал-полковник Шыков открыл заседание предложением обзора решений по всем пунктам об'единенной повестки дня:

1. Об условиях отпуска электроэнергии из Северной Кореи в Южную;

2. Об обмене между Северной и Южной Кореей продовольствием (рис), сырьем, топливом, промышленным оборудованием и химическими продуктами;

3. О железнодорожном и авиагрузовом сообщениях между двумя зонами, а также о каботажном судоходстве между портами Северной и Южной Кореи;

4. Об установлении единообразных правил регулирования в портах Северной и Южной Кореи.

5. а. О взаимных расчетах за поставки из Южной зоны Кореи в Северную и наоборот;

5. б. Об установлении единообразной финансовой сис-

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темы для всей Кореи (этот пункт включен для дальнейшего изучения).

5. Об эвакуации японских беженцев из Северной зоны Кореи в Японию.

7. Об установлении обоюдных Советско-Американских контрольных постов вдоль границы Советской и Американской зон военной ответственности.

8. О порядке передвижения корейских граждан из одной зоны в другую.

9. О возобновлении почтовой связи для обмена корреспонденции между зонами, исключая бандероли и посылки.

10. О транспортировке угля и сельско-хозяйственных продуктов из Маньчжурии в южную Корею через Северную зону Кореи (этот пункт оставлен открытым).

11. Об установлении телефонной и телеграфной связи между южной и Северной зонами Кореи (этот пункт включен в порядок изучения).

12. Об установлении регулярной связи между конторами торговых организаций (этот пункт включен в порядок изучения).

13. О распределении частот и радиоволн для широковещания между радиостанциями Северной и Южной Кореи.

14. О частичном и местном исправлении границ между двумя зонами Советско-Американского Командования вдоль 38-ой параллели.

Представитель Советского Военного Командования обязуется довести все предложения Американского Военного Командования до сведения Высшего Советского Военного Командования и запросить к обсуждению вопроса о включении этого пункта в повестку дня по получении указаний со стороны Высшего Командования.

15. О выработке мероприятий по дальнейшей координации между Командующим Советскими войсками в Северной зоне Кореи и Командующим Американскими войсками в южной зоне Кореи (по административно-экономическим вопросам).

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В результате обзора об'единенной повестки дня и протокольных записей, установлено следующее:

1. Развернуые решения приняты по пунктам 3,7,8,9, 13 и 15.

Пункты 4,6, 12:

В протоколе Совещания № 12 за 1 февраля 1946 года по пункту № 4 принято следующее решение : "Ввиду того, что вопрос № 4 об'единенной повестки дня "Об установлении единообразных правил регулирования в портах Северной и Южной Кореи" не имеет срочности и перекрывается вопросом № 3, с обсуждения на настоящем Совещании снять".

В протоколе Совещания № 12 за 1 февраля 1946 года по пункту № 6 принято следующее решение : " 2. В связи с тем, что представители Американского Военного Командования не сочли для себя возможным принять на себя конкретные обязательства по мероприятиям, связанным с эвакуацией японских граждан из Северной Кореи в Японию, мотивируя тем, что этот вопрос входит в компетенцию Верховного Командования Союзных Держав в Японии, по предложению Советской Делегации обсуждение этого пункта было прекращено и вопрос снят с повестки дня Совещания."

В протоколе Совещания № 12 за 1 февраля 1946 года по пункту № 12 об'единенной повестки дня "Об установлении регулярной связи между портами торговых организаций" принято следующее решение: " 3. Вопрос № 12 об'единенной повестки дня с обсуждения на настоящем Совещании снять, так как он перекрывается вопросом № 8 об'единенной повестки дня".

По пункту № 11 - "Об установлении телефонной и телеграфной связи между Южной и Северной зонами Кореи", предложение Американского Командования будет изучаться Советским Военным Командованием и решение будет сообщено Американскому Военному Командованию в Южной зоне Кореи в письменной форме.

По пункту № 14 - "О частичном и местном исправлении границы между двумя зонами Советско-Американского Командования вдоль 38-ой параллели" принято следующее решение:

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"Американская Делегация принимает к сведению заявление Представителей Советского Военного Командования, что предложения Американского Военного Командования по вопросу о частичном и местном изменении границы между двумя зонами военной ответственности, доведено до сведения Советского Военного Командования в Северной Корее, и что ответ Советского Военного Командования по этому вопросу будет сообщен Американскому Военному Командованию генералом Чистяковым письмом на имя генерала Хадж".

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S E C R E T

HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

JOINT AGENDA ITEM #13.

1. The American and Soviet Military Commands agree to distribute radio frequencies on which radio broadcasting stations operate according to the attached scheme of distribution of radio frequencies and their power output, marked enclosure number one.

2. In order to regulate radio broadcasting in Korea, it is agreed by the representatives of the Soviet and U.S. Commands that if one of the Commands wishes to make a change in established wavelengths or power output in one or another radio station in its own zone, then for each individual case it will confer with the other Command and come to a decision regarding the change.

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

30 January 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 30 JANUARY 1946
#10

Colonel General Shtikov, as chairman, opened the meeting at 1300.

Present at the Conference from the Soviet Delegation were: Colonel General Shtikov, Minister Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, Major General Romanyenko, Advisor Balasanov, Engr-Colonel Butusov, Advisor Manukian, Advisor Lavrov, Advisor Lt.Colonel Markulyenko, Secretary Maslov.

Present from the American Delegation were: Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Political Advisor Benninghoff, Colonel Booth, Colonel Britton, Colonel Underwood, Colonel Herlihy, Lt.Colonel Cornelson.

As a result of discussion of item 3 of the Joint Agenda, "Concerning Railroad and motor transportation between the two zones and also coastwise shipping between the ports of Northern and Southern Korea", and on the basis of the report of the Subcommittee on Transportation (reported by Major General Romanyenko and Lt.Colonel Cornelson), the following decisions were reached:

"Point 10. In order to insure the production of major and medium repair of locomotives and the production of spare parts for their repair, the Soviet and American military Commands in Korea, each in its zone, will take all possible measures to bring about the maximum standards which existed on 1 August 1945 in a period not later than 1 April 1946 in the locomotive repair shops in: Wonsan, Heijo, Ryuzan (Seoul), Fusan and Inchon; and to renew:

a. The repair of locomotives of the railroads of North and South Korea in the proportion which existed on the schedules of 1 August 1945.

b. The Soviet and United States Commands will have as an objective the manufacture of the required number of spare parts for the repair of locomotives of the railroads of both zones of Korea and will distribute them between the shops of the two zones in the proportion that existed on 1 August 1945.

Point 11. Within 30 days after the approval of the present agreement by both Commands, the American Command in South Korea agrees to deliver one hundred passenger cars to the Soviet Military Command in North Korea."

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By FWE/BAm NARS, Date 3/31/77

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In addition there were accepted the two following decisions:

1. To ask the American Military Command in Japan concerning the delivery of spare parts and materials for the repair of locomotives, cars, and special communications for the railroads of Korea.

2. To request by letter from UNRRA aid to the railroads of Korea by the shipment of locomotives and cars and also different size tubes and other spare parts, extrmely necessary for the repair of locomotives.

Before acceptance of Point 10b., there arose differences of opinion regarding the amount of manufacture of spare parts which existed on 1 August 1945, and Col.General Shtikov made the following statement: "I agree to include this point in a wording proposed by the representative of the American Command, but I issue a warning, that this wording, which we accept, does not obligate us to anything and will bring about the ruin of Korean railroads because of our fault."

Major General Arnold, in turn, made the following statement: "We have both agreed to put our shops in the best possible condition. We will both work honestly and earnestly to that end. We have both agreed to the most efficient repair schedules possible for the locomotives of both zones. We will do this earnestly and honestly, in a similar manner we both agree to manufacture as far as we can the required spare parts for the repair of locomotives. Both Commands with honest and earnest efforts will do all possible to improve the condition of the railroads. If both Commands will do the best that they can, that will give us the greatest results."

Col.General Shtikov adjourned the meeting at 1645.

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chairman

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chief of U.S. Delegation

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

11 Item 11 # 11

SUBJECT: Reestablishment of Telecommunications between the Soviet and United States Zones of Responsibility.

1. The primary considerations necessary for the reestablishing of telecommunications between the Soviet and United States Zones of responsibility are the resumption of service between; Seoul and Pyangyang, Seoul and Wonsan, Seoul and Chinnampo, and Kangnung and Wonsan.

2. The following circuits existed formerly and should be reestablished as soon as practicable:

a. Seoul to Pyangyang

(1)- Open Wire

4 Telephone, voice frequency*

3 Telephone, carrier

1 Simplex Telegraph

1 Telephone and Telegraph, Simplex

(2)- Cable (International Telecommunications)

6 Telephone, carrier

b. Seoul to Chinnampo

(1)- Open Wire

1 Telephone, voice frequency

1 Telephone, carrier

1 Telegraph, duplex

1 Telegraph, simplex

c. Seoul to Wonsan

(1)- Open Wire

3 Telephone, voice frequency

1 Telephone, carrier

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1 Teletype, duplex

1 Telegraph, Boehme automatic

(2)- Cable (International Telecommunications)

7 Telephone, carrier

d. Kangnung to Wonsan

(1)- Open Wire

1 Telephone, voice frequency

1 Telegraph, simplex

2 Telephone, voice frequency (via Changjon)

1 Telegraph, simplex (via Changjon)

*Note: These circuits, now in service for Military use exclusively, will continue to be used as such. All other circuits to be used for civilian communications.

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2. Communication between other ~~Towns~~ places in North Korea and South Korea will be established by arrangement between the U.S. Command and USSR Commands. (Air mail)

3. This agreement by the American command will exclude the communication of other towns of North Korea with other towns of South Korea.

PQR

#11

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HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Seoul, Korea
APO 235

4 February 1946

Dear General Shtikov,

In order to expedite the completion of the conference and to complete as many items of the agenda as possible, I would greatly appreciate your sending the following dispatch to General Chistiakov:

To General Chistiakov, Commanding the Soviet Forces in North Korea.

As the Conference between our representatives is nearing completion and in order to complete as many items of the agenda as possible, I would greatly appreciate your furnishing the conference, ~~a statement of your approval of the proposed~~ changes of boundary along the 38° parallel, or of any modifications of the proposal that you may desire.

With many thanks for your courtesy in forwarding this dispatch, I am

Yours sincerely,

JOHN R. HODGE
Lieutenant General, U.S.A.
Commanding.

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

US 1

THE PRINCIPAL ITEMS NEEDED BY SOUTH KOREA FROM NORTH KOREA TO PERMIT THE SOUTH KOREANS TO EXIST AND PRODUCE, TO BUILD UP AN ECONOMY WHICH WILL BE FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL OF KOREA AS A WHOLE AND WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN COVERED BY THE EXCHANGE AGREED UPON IN SUBCOMMITTEE ARE ELECTRIC POWER, FERTILIZER AND COAL.

LET US EXAMINE THESE ITEMS TO DETERMINE WHAT THE SOUTH KOREANS SHOULD LOGICALLY GIVE TO NORTH KOREA IN RETURN.

TAKE ELECTRIC POWER. THE REAL COST OF ELECTRIC POWER IS MADE UP OF THREE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS:

A. LABOR

B. PLANT INVESTMENT

C. THE NATIONAL RESOURCE OF WATER POWER.

LABOR:

THE SOUTH KOREANS SHOULD IN THE WAY OF FOOD GIVE IN RETURN FOR THE POWER OBTAINED, FOOD FOR THE WORKERS ENGAGED IN THE PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF THE POWER NORTH OF 38° AND FOR THEIR FAMILIES, IN PROPORTION TO THE AMOUNT OF POWER EXPORTED TO SOUTH KOREA. IT IS ROUGHLY ESTIMATED THAT 600 PEOPLE ARE EMPLOYED IN NORTH KOREA IN THIS WORK, WITH AN AVERAGE OF 5 PEOPLE IN EACH OF THE WORKERS' FAMILIES. THESE PEOPLE WILL REQUIRE AN AVERAGE OF ONE KOKU PER YEAR IN RICE. ONE HALF OF THIS WORKER LABOR WILL BE FOR SOUTH KOREA. NORTH KOREA IS THEREFORE ENTITLED TO $(\frac{600}{2} \times 5 \bullet 12)$ KOKUS OF RICE PER MONTH. THIS IS THE AMOUNT OF FOOD DUE NORTH KOREA

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BY SOUTH KOREA FOR ELECTRIC POWER.

B. PLANT INVESTMENT:

THE PLANTS IN THE NORTH WERE, IN GENERAL, BUILT WITH THE SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOR FROM ALL KOREA, WITH EQUIPMENT AND SUPERVISION PAID FOR IN THE FINAL ANAIYSIS BY JAPANESE EXTORTION FROM THE OPPRESSED AND SUFFERING KOREANS, SOUTH AND NORTH ALIKE. THERE SHOULD THEREFORE BE NOTHING PAID FOR PLANT COST BY THE SOUTH KOREANS FOR THIS ELEMENT IN THE COST OF ELECTRIC POWER EXPORTED TO THEM FROM NORTH KOREA.

C. WATER POWER:

THE WATER POWER OF NORTH KOREA, A NATURAL RESOURCE, BELONGS TO THE KOREAN NATION AS A WHOLE, NORTH AND SOUTH ALIKE. OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS BY THE MOSCOW COMMUNIQUE HAVE COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE UNIFIED KOREA. CERTAINLY THE SOUTH KOREANS SHOULD NOT BE REQUIRED TO PAY FOR THE WATER POWER WHICH BELONGS TO THEM AS PART OF THE KOREAN NATION.

TAKE AS ANALOGY THE GREAT DNIEPRSTROY DAM IN THE U.S.S.R. DO THE PEOPLE WHO PULL THE SWITCHES, WHO MAINTAIN THE LINES, GET ALL THE PROCEEDS FROM THE SALE OF POWER? DO THE PEOPLE WHO HAPPEN TO LIVE IN THE VICINITY OF THE DAM GET ALL THE BENEFIT FROM THE DAM? NO, IT IS A RESOURCE THAT BELONGS TO THE NATION AS A WHOLE.

IN LIKE MANNER, THE COST OF FERTILIZER SHOULD BE ANALYZED, AND FOR THE PURPOSES OF TRANSFER TO SOUTH KOREA, THAT PORTION WHICH SHOULD LOGICALLY BE CHARGED AGAINST THE SOUTH

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KOREAN SHOULD BE DETERMINED. HERE AGAIN, ALTHOUGH PROBABLY GREATER PROPORTIONALLY, THE LABOR COST SHOULD BE CHARGED AGAINST THE SOUTH KOREAN. THE PRODUCTION COST INCLUDES THAT OF A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF ELECTRIC POWER, WHICH SHOULD BE CHARGED AGAINST THE SOUTH KOREA ONLY ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES STATED UNDER THE FOREGOING ANALYSIS OF LOGICAL PRICE DETERMINATION FOR EXPORT OF ELECTRIC POWER TO SOUTH KOREA. THE COST OF THE RAW MATERIALS, NATIONAL RESOURCES WHICH BELONG TO THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, SHOULD NOT, EXCEPT FOR ANY LABOR ELEMENT, BE CHARGED AT ALL AGAINST THE SOUTH KOREAN.

THE SAME PRINCIPLES APPLY TO THE DETERMINATION OF THE RETURN THAT SHOULD BE MADE BY THE SOUTH KOREAN FOR COAL EXPORTED TO SOUTH KOREA.

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

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[illegible]

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NND 760090
By _____ NARS, Date _____

HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES IN N. KOREA

TO: THE COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN ARMED FORCES IN S. KOREA,
LT GEN JOHN R. HODGE.

My dear General Hodge,

Your letter, dated 23 Jan 46 has been received. Concerning the questions touched upon in it, I communicate to you the following:

1. The conference of the representatives of the American Commands in Korea, now taking place in Seoul, organized in accordance with point 4 of the Moscow Communique of the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers, has as its task the following:

a. The deciding of unpostponable administrative-economic questions which effect both South and North Korea. The most important questions can be reckoned:

The opening of R.R. communication between N. and S. Korea, the passage into S. Korea from the North of the elected members of the Assembly, the delivery of coal from N. Korea into S. Korea, the delivery of food, industrial goods from S. to N. Korea, and other such urgent questions, mentioned in your letter to me.

b. The working out of measures for the establishment of permanent coordination (agreement) in the administrative-economic field between the American command in S. Korea and the Soviet command in N. Korea. As it is known, the above mentioned conference of representatives of our two commands has set up a Commission in accordance with this and has already progressed up to the point of considering these unpostponable questions.

2. Considering that the next unpostponable task flowing from the decision of the Moscow Conference concerns the formation of a Provisional Korean democratic government, which will be called to take all necessary steps in the field of the economic development of the country, the Soviet Command considers it essential that at the present conference be considered the question of the creation of a joint Soviet-American commission for the formation of a Korean government, as anticipated by point two of the Communique of the Moscow Conference.

Yours respectfully,

Col. General CHISTIAKOV

30 January 1946

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

DECISION CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT COMMISSION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN COMMAND IN SOUTHERN KOREA AND THE SOVIET COMMAND IN NORTHERN KOREA.

1. The Soviet and American Military Commands, in accordance with paragraph 2, section III, of the decision concerning Korea of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the U.S.A., and the United Kingdom, have agreed:

A. To establish a 10-man Commission - 5 members from the Soviet Command and 5 members from the American Command. The number of members of the Commission may be changed by mutual agreement of the Commands.

B. To bring in the necessary number of advisors, experts and technical workers for the work of the Commission.

C. Seoul, the capitol city, is chosen as the permanent seat of the Joint Commission. When necessary, the Commission will travel to the city of Pengyang. The Commission will consult with political parties and social organizations of both South and North Korea. The Commission, when necessary for consultation, will travel to any point in Korea.

D. The Joint Commission will start its work not later than one month after the work of the present Conference of representatives of the Soviet and American Military Commands is completed.

E. The Soviet and American Military Commands will submit to each other lists naming their members of this Commission.

F. The order of the work of this Commission will be established at its first meeting.

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

1 February 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 31 JANUARY 1946
#11

The meeting was called to order by Major General Arnold, chairman, at 0900 hours.

Present were Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Mr. H.W.Benninghoff, Colonel R.H.Booth, Colonel F.H.Britton, Colonel J.C.Underwood, Colonel W.H. Herlihy, Lt.Colonel A.J.Cornelson, Lt.Colonel Enders representing the American Delegation and Colonel General Shtikov, Extraordinary Minister Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, advisor Balasanov, Engr.-Colonel Butusov, Advisor Manukian, and Advisor Lt. Colonel Parkulyenko representing the Soviet Delegation.

General Arnold opened the meeting by proposing discussion of Joint Agenda items 9, 6, and 8. Discussion was opened on item 9 and the following agreements were reached:

1. To permit the postal authorities of both zones to bring about exchange of ordinary first class mail (letters in envelopes and postcards) and of registered mail.

2. In exchange of mail each party is to present a list showing the number and type of pieces. Both parties agree to classify their respective mail exchanges according to the proper provinces.

3. Until the introduction of common types of postage stamps in Korea in exchanges of mail, both parties are to recognize payment by postal symbols existing in either zone and any other such symbols as may be put into use.

4. To effect the exchange of mail at the following point: Kaesong (Kaijo).

5. Each mail shipment is to be accompanied by each party to the point of exchange by representatives of the Military Command and of the postal authorities, together with a suitable armed guard.

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By FOB/Bmn NARS, Date 3/31/77

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6. To effect the first exchange of mail as soon as possible; to effect later exchanges as needed, upon depositions of the corresponding postal authorities.

7. There will be a mutual settlement of accounts.

This completed discussion on Joint Agenda item #9 and General Arnold moved to the discussion of item #6. Decision on this item was deferred to permit General Arnold to get additional information from General Hodge.

General Arnold began the discussion of Joint Agenda item 8. The following was approved:

1. a. To agree in principle to permit return of Korean civilians to former places of residence under control of the Soviet and U.S. Commands. Within a period of sixty (60) days after publication, Korean citizens wishing to move from one zone to the other will be required to file with the local authorities depositions giving the necessary information.

b. The movement of Korean civilians from one zone to the other will be permitted within the transportation capacities of the two zones on the basis of a list of those making application for travel in accordance with schedules established by the Soviet and U.S. Commands. Besides transportation by railway, in accordance with the above, movement of Korean civilians will be permitted by means of any transport or on foot. any

General Arnold recessed the meeting at 1215 to be reconvened at 1330.

Gen. Arnold reconvened the meeting at 1330. Discussion was resumed on point 1c of item 8 of the Joint Agenda and the following agreements were reached:

1. c. The movement of Korean citizens from the Southern zone to the Northern zone and from the Northern zone to the Southern zone to their former permanent places of dwelling, the Soviet and American Commands will respectively hand over to each other an amount of foodstuffs for a period up to 1 August 1946 according to the existing rations for the number of replaced citizens. The foodstuffs which are being handed over must be distributed by the Commands of each zone to provinces in proportion to the number of replaced citizens. Actual delivery of food will be made monthly and in the amount to provide for the difference in the number of citizens moving from one zone to the other.

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2. To also permit movement from one zone to the other zone of those Korean citizens engaged in all kinds of trading and commercial activities and those goods which are the object of this business. These movements will be authorized by issuing Commands of those zones from which people or goods originate, provided that this movement (of people or goods) meets with the approval of the Command of that zone to which the Korean citizens intend to move either with or without goods.

3. To mutually permit movements from one zone to the other zone of students of universities, middle and special schools in the vicinity of the boundary of the zones of military responsibility, and also of other Korean civilians whose trips are necessary for pressing personal and family needs. These special trips to be in each case permitted by the mutual approval of the Soviet and U.S. Commands.

This concluded the discussion of Joint Agenda item 8. General Arnold adjourned the meeting, time 1617 hours.

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chairman

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

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FOR RELEASE ON FEB 6.

HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

THE CONFERENCE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN COMMANDS IN KOREA CALLED BY PARAGRAPH 4, SECTION III, KOREA, OF THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, STUDIED THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING THE JOINT COMMISSION UNDER PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE MOSCOW COMMUNIQUE. THIS COMMISSION IS TO HELP IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROVISIONAL KOREAN GOVERNMENT. IT WAS DECIDED THAT THE JOINT COMMISSION WILL START ITS WORK NOT LATER THAN ONE MONTH AFTER THE END OF THE WORK OF THE PRESENT CONFERENCE

THE COMMISSION WILL CONSIST OF 10 MEMBERS, 5 FROM THE SOVIET COMMAND AND FIVE FROM THE UNITED STATES COMMAND, WITH THE NECESSARY ADVISERS AND ASSISTANTS.

THE PERMANENT SEAT FOR THE WORK OF THIS COMMISSION WILL BE SEOUL. THE COMMISSION WILL VISIT PYENG YANG AND WILL TRAVEL TO OTHER PARTS OF KOREA.

THE COMMISSION WILL CONSULT WITH POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF BOTH SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA.

A.V. ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chief of U.S. Delegation

T.F. SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

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NND 760090
By _____ NARS, Date _____

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G-2 Amold

EXTRACT FROM SIAM NEWS SERVICE BULLETIN 23 Jan 46

MOSCOW

[illegible]viet News Agency, Tass, as reported by Associated Press, yes[illegible] accused the American Military Command in South Korea of [illegible]'s "reactionary" protests against the dismissal of [illegible] Ministers. In dispatches from Seijo (in the [illegible] area), [illegible] the "reactionary" [illegible] of Japanese origin [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] said that Korean reactionaries on January [illegible] demonstration at which they deemed all Koreans patriots. They outspokenly called for the murder of [illegible] of the (Korean) Communist Party, Yuoue Iong, and picture

-1-

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By _____ NARS, Date _____

Soviet Union as a foe of the Korean people, seeking with their slander to stimulate TSILITS toward the Soviet Union. All reactionaries press in Southern Korea is carrying on similar propaganda from day to day, completely unpunished".

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174.

JOINT AGENDA #1

Col. Finn suggests the following Gun boundaries:

(from East to west. Northern Gun is named first).

1. Yangyan ; Kingjung
2. Inje ; Pyongchang
3. Inje ; Hongchon
4. Yanggu; Chunchon
5. Hwachon; Chunchon
6. ~~Kumwha; Pochon~~
7. Chowon; Yonchon
8. Kumchon; Yonchon
9. Kumchon; Changdan
10. Kumchon; Kaesong
11. Yonbaek; Kaesong
12. Yonbaek; Kangwha.

exact coord.
Hwachon [illegible] 1066-1708
Substation 1058-1707

Since most of the Gun within Kangwon Do are extremely long, North to South, it will be better to go a little south of 38, as suggested above. This will allow him to reduce his outposts from 20 to 11. (The Russians the same - as a "selling point").

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NND 760090
By _____ NARS, Date _____

To over

SECRET

It is proposed by the Commanding General United St. Army Forces in Korea that the existing boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility be adjusted to conform to the following boundary:

Beginning on the west coast of Korea, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between HWANGHAE Province and KONGGI Province to the junction with the boundary of KANGWON Province. The new boundary shall then follow the present boundary between KONGGI Province and KANGWON Province to the junction with the North boundary of CH'UNCHON-Gun in KANGWON Province. Within KANGWON Province, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HONGCH'ON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and YANGYANG-Gun; thence along the present boundary between KIMGINUNG-Gun and YANGYANG-Gun to the east coast of Korea. The province and Gun boundaries referred to above shall be the administrative sub-division boundaries which existed on 15 August 1945.

The above new boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(1) All of HWANGHAE Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility.

(2) All of KONGGI Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(3) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility:

KOSONG-GUN	HOENGSONG-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN	ICHON-GUN
CH'ORWON-GUN	KUMHWA-GUN
KOSONG-GUN	YANGGU-GUN
INJE-GUN	YANGYANG-GUN

(4) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

HWACH'ON-GUN	CH'UNCH'ON-GUN
HONGCH'ON-GUN	HOENGSONG-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN	KIMGINUNG-GUN
SAMCH'OK-GUN	ULCHIN-GUN
CH'ONGSON-GUN	YONGWOL-GUN
WONJU-GUN	

For the CG USAFIK

SECRET

P. V. Arnold
Vice
Chief, U.S. Mil. Delegation

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NND 760090
By _____ NARS, Date _____

Effective _____, the existing boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility will be adjusted to conform to the following boundary:

Beginning on the west coast of Korea, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between HWANGHAE Province and KONGGI Province to the junction with the boundary of KANGWON Province. The new boundary shall then follow the present boundary between KONGGI Province and KANGWON Province to the junction with the North boundary of CH'UNCHON-Gun in KANGWON Province. Within KANGWON Province, the new boundary shall follow the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and KUMHWA-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HWACH'ON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and YANGGU-Gun; thence along the present boundary between CH'UNCHON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between HONGCH'ON-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and INJE-Gun; thence along the present boundary between P'YONGCHANG-Gun and YANGYANG-Gun; thence along the present boundary between KINGINUNG-Gun and YANGYANG-Gun to the east coast of Korea. The province and Gun boundaries referred to above shall be the administrative sub-division boundaries which existed on 15 August 1945.

The above new boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(1) All of HWANGHAE Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility.

(2) All of KONGGI Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(3) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility:

TONGCH'ON-GUN
P'YONGGANG-GUN
CH'ORWON-GUN
KOSONG-GUN
INJE-GUN
HOEYANG-GUN
ICHON-GUN
KUMHWA-GUN
YANGGU-GUN
YANGYANG-GUN

(4) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

HWACH'ON-GUN
HONGCH'ON-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN
SAMCH'OK-GUN
CH'ONGSON-GUN
CH'UNCH'ON-GUN
HOENGSONG-GUN
KINGINUNG-GUN
ULCHIN-GUN
YONGWOL-GUN
WONJU-GUN

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The above new boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(1) All of HWANGHAE Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility.

(2) All of KONGGI Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(3) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility:

TONGCH'ON-GUN
P'YONGGANG-GUN
CH'ORWON-GUN
[redacted]
INJE-GUN
HOEYANG-GUN
ICHON-GUN
KUMHWA-GUN
YANGGU-GUN
YANGYANG-GUN

(4) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

HWACH'ON-GUN
HONGCH'ON-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN
SAMCH'OK-GUN
CH'ONGSON-GUN
CH'UNCH'ON-GUN
HOENGSONG-GUN
KINGINUNG-GUN
ULCHIN-GUN
YONGWOL-GUN
WONJU-GUN

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The above new boundary between the US and USSR Zones of Military Responsibility is such that:

(1) All of KWANGHAE Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility.

(2) All of KONGGI Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility.

(3) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the USSR Zone of Military Responsibility:

KWACH'ON-GUN
P'YONGCHANG-GUN
HONGCH'ON-GUN
KOSONG-GUN
INJE-GUN
HOENGSONG-GUN
ICHON-GUN
KUMHWA-GUN
YANGGU-GUN
YANGYANG-GUN

(4) All of the following Guns of KANGWON Province shall be within the US Zone of Military Responsibility:

[illegible]'ON-GUN
[illegible]'CHON-GUN
P'YONGWANG-GUN
[illegible]'CH'ON-GUN
[illegible]'CHON-GUN
CH'UNGSONG-GUN
KIMHWA-GUN
ULCHIN-GUN
YONGWOL-GUN
WONJU-GUN

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HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Seoul, Korea
APO 235

4 February 1946

Dear General Shtikov,

In order to expedite the completion of the conference and to complete as many items of the agenda as possible, I would greatly appreciate your sending the following dispatch to General Chistiakov:

To General Chistiakov, Commanding the Soviet Forces in North Korea.

As the Conference between our representatives is nearing completion and in order to complete as many items of the agenda as possible, I would greatly appreciate your furnishing the conference, a statement of your approval of the proposed changes of boundary along the 38° parallel, or of any modifications of the proposal that you may desire.

With many thanks for your courtesy in forwarding this dispatch, I am

Yours sincerely,

JOHN R. HODGE
Lieutenant General, U.S.A.
Commanding.

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

1. WE HAVE STUDIED GENERAL SHTIKOV'S STATEMENT AND AGREE THAT IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE ECONOMIC SUB-COMMITTEE SERIOUS DIVERGENCES OF OPINION HAVE ARISEN.

2. THE MAIN POINT OF GENERAL SHTIKOV'S STATEMENT IS THAT THE AMOUNT OF GOODS AND COMMODITIES OFFERED BY THE U.S. COMMAND IS GREATLY BELOW THAT OFFERED BY THE SOVIET COMMAND, AND THAT MOST OF THIS DIFFERENCE IS MADE UP OF FOODSTUFFS WHICH THE SOVIET COMMAND FEELS SHOULD BE SUPPLIED FROM THE SOUTH BECAUSE OF SUPPOSED SURPLUSES. GENERAL SHTIKOV STATES THAT THE U.S. COMMAND HAS REFUSED TO SUPPLY FOOD NEEDED FOR THE WORKERS OF THE NORTH.

3. THE POSITION OF THE U.S. COMMAND, AS HAS BEEN STATED ON MANY OCCASIONS BOTH BY MYSELF IN THESE MEETINGS AND BY THE U.S. MEMBERS OF THE ECONOMIC SUB-COMMITTEE IS THAT WE CANNOT PROMISE TO DELIVER ANYTHING WHICH WE DO NOT HAVE. ~~AS GENERAL SHTIKOV HIMSELF HAS SAID~~, A FOOD SHORTAGE EXISTS IN BOTH ZONES OF KOREA, AND WE FEEL THAT WE CANNOT ~~AT THIS TIME~~ MAKE COMMITTMENTS REGARDING FOODSTUFFS WHICH WE DO NOT HAVE, AND CANNOT BE CERTAIN OF OBTAINING IN THE FORSEEABLE FUTURE.

4. I HAVE ALSO ENDEAVORED TO POINT OUT, ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, THAT FROM THE RECORDS AND STATISTICS AT OUR DISPOSAL COMPILED ON A NATIONAL SCALE BY THE JAPANESE DURING THEIR OCCUPATION OF THE COUNTRY, THE PRODUCTION OF GRAINS

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AND CEREALS, WHEN CONSIDERED ON A PER CAPITA BASIS, WAS ALMOST THE SAME FOR NORTH AS FOR SOUTH KOREA. WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT CROP CONDITIONS WERE ANY DIFFERENT THIS YEAR FROM OTHER YEARS. IN ADDITION, I SHOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT THE SOVIET COMMAND ~~HAD~~ HAS ACCESS TO THE ENORMOUS RESOURCES OF MANCHURIA, AN AREA FROM WHICH KOREA HAS FOR MANY YEARS ACQUIRED A LARGE VOLUME OF ITS FOOD.

5. GENERAL SHTIKOV HAS BY HIS STATEMENT OF YESTERDAY, CREATED A SERIOUS SITUATION WHICH DEMANDS THAT MOST CAREFUL STUDY. IT INVOLVES IMPORTANT PROBLEMS REGARDING THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF KOREA. THEREFORE, I DESIRE TO DEFER FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS PROBLEM UNTIL THIS STUDY CAN BE PRESENTED.

~~WITH GENERAL SHTIKOV'S~~ WITH PERMISSION WE WILL ~~PROCEED~~ WITH OTHER BUSINESS OF THE CONFERENCE.

x x x

Add in that Americans are making no demands for food supplies from South Korea, but have brought in all their own food from Japan, occupancy.

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

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State Dept Instr. 12 Apr and 8 July 1975
By Eutb Bdm NARS, Date 3/31/77

2 February 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 1 FEBRUARY 1946
#12

Colonel General Shtikov, as chairman, opened the meeting at 1300.

Present at the conference from the Soviet Delegation were: Col. General Shtikov, Minister Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, Advisor Balasanov, Lt.-Col. Butusov, Advisor Manukian, Advisor Lavrov, Advisor Lt. Col. Kurbalyenko, Sec. Maslov.

Present from the American Delegation were: Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Political Advisor Benninghoff, Col. Booth, Col. Britton, Col. Underwood, Col. Herlihy, Lt. Col. Cornelson, Lt. Col. Enders.

The conference accepted the following decisions:

1. Since question #4 of the Joint Agenda, "Establish uniform regulation of the ports of Northern and Southern Korea", is not urgent and is covered by question #3, it is to be taken off the present conference.

2. Because the representatives of the American Military Command did not consider it possible to take on themselves the specific responsibilities in regard to measures connected with evacuation of Japanese nationals from Northern Korea to Japan, as this question enters the jurisdiction of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers in Japan, on the proposal of the Soviet Delegation the discussion of this question was stopped and was taken off the Joint Agenda of the conference.

3. Question #12 of the Joint Agenda: "In regard to the establishment of regular communications between the offices of trading organizations" is to be deleted from the discussion of the present conference because it is covered by question #8 of the Joint Agenda.

4. Question #7 of the Joint Agenda: "Establishment of Joint U.S.-USSR control posts along the boundary of zones of U.S. - USSR military responsibility," was discussed and as a result of reports by the representatives of the subcommittee for administrative questions - Advisor Balasanov and Colonel Herlihy - the following points of the proposals of this subcommittee were approved:

a). Control posts for the regulation of the movement of Korean citizens and goods from one zone to the other will be established.

2). The Soviet and American Military Commands will establish control posts in their respective zones of military responsibility. American and Soviet Control posts will be located as near as possible to each other and in no case

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more than two (2) kilometers apart. Communications between joint control posts will be maintained by telephone or messenger.

b). The location of these posts and the regulations for their operation will be established by special agreement between the two commands after the question of change of boundary between the two (2) zones has been decided.

4). Question #13 of the Joint Agenda was discussed: "To verify the distribution of frequencies and wave lengths for broadcasting stations in Northern and Southern Korea;" as a result of the reports of the subcommittee for administrative questions, the following points of the proposals of this committee were approved:

a). The American and Soviet Military Commands agreed to distribute the radio waves, on which the radio stations are operating, in accordance with enclosure #1.

b). In order to regulate radio broadcasting in Korea, the representatives of the American and Soviet Military Command agreed that if either command desires to change the established wavelength or power output of one or the other radio station in its zone, it will in each case get the consent about such a change with the other command.

5). It was decided to delegate Major General Shanin and Colonel Booth to formulate proposals on Question #15 of the Joint Agenda: "To work out measures for the future coordination between the Commander of Soviet Troops in Northern Korea and the Commander of American Troops in Southern Korea (on the administrative-economic questions)".

Before the end of the meeting, the head of the Soviet Delegation, Col. Gen. Shtikov, made the following statement:

"In the process of discussion of questions by the Economic Subcommittee, as well as on general meetings of our Conference, a serious divergence of points of view of American and Soviet representatives on the question of exchange of goods as a whole became evident. In raising and discussing this question, the representatives of the Soviet Command took into consideration interests and requirements of the population of Southern and Northern Korea. With this point in view, the following most necessary goods which North Korea can supply Southern Korea were listed by the Economic Subcommittee: Electric power, coal, chemical fertilizers, steel, copper and other metals, and also salt, with a total value of 89,000,000 yen. The Soviet Command did not stop at any difficulties which could arise by reestablishing of work in industrial

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establishments, mines, and other establishments for production of goods and materials which were necessary to deliver to South Korea. We did not fear these difficulties because we considered that all this is going for the benefit and interest of the Korean population of North Korea, and in the interest of the population of South Korea. For all these goods and materials the Soviet Command counted on receiving necessary industrial goods and parts which are manufactured in South Korea, as well as food, which is so necessary for the population of North Korea. Instead, the American Command during the meetings of the Subcommittee and meetings of the present Conference named an unsatisfactory amount of goods and materials for the sum of just 10,000,000 yen, and absolutely refused to deliver food for North Korea in exchange of goods which were to be delivered.

If we were to accept the proposals of the American Command on the exchange of goods, the Soviet Command will have to credit South Korea for the resources and labor of Korean citizens working in the industry of North Korea for the sum of 79,000,000 yen.

The representatives of the Soviet Command do not feel that they have the right to harm the interests of the citizens of North Korea and to credit Southern Korea at their expense.

I consider it expedient and necessary to exclude the following questions which were included in the agenda of the present conference:

a. The conditions of releasing electric power from Northern to Southern Korea.

b. About the exchange between North and South Korea of foodstuffs [illegible], raw materials, fuel, industrial equipment and chemical products.

c. About mutual settlement of accounts for the deliveries from Southern to Northern Korea and vice-versa.

The representatives of the Soviet Command consider it possible to return to the study of this question only when the American Command will be able to guarantee the delivery from South Korea to Northern Korea parts necessary for the industry and foodstuffs for the workers engaged in the industry (rice, barley, soy beans, beans etc.). At the same time the amount of mutual deliveries should be approximately equal.

After Col.General Shtikov's statement, General Arnold said that contents of this statement would be studied and an answer given at the next meeting.

The Soviet Delegates agreed to General Arnold's request.

Col.General Shtikov adjourned the meeting at 1650.

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chairman

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chief of U.S. Delegation

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RADIO BROADCASTING STATIONS WITHIN THE SOVIET ZONE OF MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY

LOCATION	FREQUENCY	POWER
CHONJIN	1100 kc	300 watts
CHONJIN	850	10 kilowatts
SONGJIN	1000	50 watts
SONGJIN	1000	50 "
HAMHUNG	1050	250 "
HAMHUNG	780	250 "
KOGEN	860	30 "
WONSAN	660	50 "
WONSAN	600	50 "
SINUIJU	900	50 "
PYONGYANG	1090	500 "
PYONGYANG	820	500 "
CHINNAMPO	530	350 "
CHINNAMPO	580	350 "
HAEJU	800	50 "

RADIO BROADCASTING STATIONS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES ZONE OF MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY

SEOUL	970 kc	50 Kilowatts
SEOUL	2510	3 "
CHONJU	600	50 watts
TAEJON	880	50 "
IRI	570	.5 kilowatts
KWANGJU	780	.3 "
PUSAN	650	.3 "
TAEGU	800	.3 "
MASAN	600	50 watts
YONGAM	600	30 "
KANGNUNG	650	30 "
CHUNCHON	600	50 "

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

2 February 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 2 FEBRUARY 1946
#13

The meeting was called to order by Major General Arnold, chairman, at 1300 hours.

Present were: Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Mr. H.W. Benninghoff, Colonel R.H. Booth, Colonel R.H. Britton, Colonel J.C.Underwood, Colonel W.J. Herlihy, Lt.Colonel A.J.Cornelson, and Lt. ColonelG.B. Enders representing the American Delegation, and Colonel General Shtikov, Extraordinary Minister Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, Advisor Balasanov, Engr-Colonel Butusov, Advisor Manukian, Advisor Lt.Colonel Karkulyenko, Secretary Maslov and Interpreter O.E.Maslova representing the Soviet Delegation.

General Arnold opened the meeting by requesting information as to the status of Item 14 of the Joint Agenda. General Shtikov replied that no answer had yet been received from the Soviet Command.

On Item 11 of the Joint Agenda, the proposal of the American Delegation was accepted for further study by the Soviet Command of North Korea. The decision of the Soviet Command will be forwarded by letter to the American Command.

Proposal of the American Delegation on Item 11:

"1. The primary considerations necessary for the reestablishing of the communications between the Soviet and United States zones of responsibility are the resumption of service between: Seoul and Pyongyang, Seoul and Wonsan, Seoul and Chinnampo and Kangnung and Wonsan.

"2. The following circuits existed formerly and should be reestablished as soon as practicable:

a. Seoul to Pyongyang
   (1) Open wire
       4 telephone, voice frequency*
       3 telephone, carrier
       1 simplex telegraph
       1 telephone and telegraph, simplex
   (2) Cable (international telecommunications)
       6 telephone, carrier
b. Seoul to Chinnampo
   (1) Open wire

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1 telephone voice frequency
1 telephone, carrier
1 telegraph, duplex
1 telegraph, simplex

c. Seoul to Wonsan
(1) Open wire
3 telephone, voice frequency
1 telephone, carrier
1 teletype, duplex
1 telegraph, Boehme automatic
(2) Cable (international telecommunications)
7 telephone carrier

d. Kangnung to Wonsan
(1) Oper wire
1 telephone, voice frequency
1 telegraph, simplex
2 telephone, voice frequency(via Changjon)
1 telegraph, simplex (via Changjon)

* Note: These circuits, now in service for military use exclusively, will continue to be used as such. All other circuits to be used for civilian communications.

"3. This proposal of the American Command does not exclude the establishing of communications between other towns of North Korea with other towns of South Korea."

Item 15 of the Joint Agenda was then discussed, and the following agreements reached:

1. For the purpose of establishing permanent coordinationbetween Soviet and U.S. Military Commands in Korea concerning administrative and economic problems in the future, as deemed necessary by the request of either side, special meetings by the representatives of both commands (Soviet and U.S.) in regard to the problems of their interest will be held.

2. In regard to the submission of problems for discussion during the special meetings by the Military Commands of either side, competent representatives and the necessary number of advisors and experts will be appointed.

3. Recommendations of special meetings will be in force after the approval of the Soviet Military Command in North Korea, and the U.S. Military Command in South Korea.

4. Place and time of special meetings will be established upon agreement between the Soviet and U.S. Military

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Commands in Korea, in Seoul or Heijo respectively.

7. For permanent coordination of the Soviet Military Command in Heijo (Pyongyang) with the U.S. Military Command in Seoul, Soviet and American Military Commands agree to keep in good order the telephone communications Pyongyang-Seoul (to appoint and establish a Communications Officer on duty daily from 0900 to 1200 and from 1300 to 1700).

8. Both Commanders will exchange small liaison groups of two or three men to assist the Commanders in the coordination of matters which may arise.

General Arnold read the following preliminary statement concerning Joint Agenda Items 1, 2, and 5a:

"1. We have studied General Shtikov's statement and agree that in the discussions of the economic sub-committee serious divergences of opinion have arisen.

"2. The main point of General Shtikov's statement is that the amount of goods and commodities offered by the U.S. Command is greatly below that offered by the Soviet Command, and that most of this difference is made up of foodstuffs which the Soviet Command feels should be supplied from the South because of supposed surpluses. General Shtikov states that the U.S. Command has refused to supply food needed for the workers of the North.

"3. The position of the U.S. Command, as has been stated on many occasions both by myself in these meetings and by the U.S. Members of the economic sub-committee is that we cannot promise to deliver anything which we do not have. A food shortage exists in both zones of Korea, and we feel that we cannot make commitments regarding foodstuffs which we do not have, and cannot be certain of obtaining in the forseeable future.

"4. I have also endeavored to point out, on a number of occasions, that from the records and statistics at our disposal compiled on a national scale by the Japanese during their occupation of the country, the production of grains and cereals, when considered on a per capita basis, was almost the same for North as for South Korea. We have no reason to believe that crop conditions were any different this year from other years. In addition, I should like to point out that the Soviet Command has access to the enormous resources of Manchuria, an area from which Korea has for many years acquired a large volume of its food.

"5. General Shtikov has by his statement of yesterday, created a serious situation which demands the most careful study. It involves important problems regarding the present

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and future of Korea. Therefore, I desire to defer further discussion of this problem until this study can be presented.

"With General Shtikov's permission we will proceed with other business of this conference."

General Arnold as chairman, officially adjourned the meeting at 1510 hours.

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chairman

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

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Dept Instr. 12 Apr and 8 July 1976
FUBIAm NARS, Date 3/31/77

4 February 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 4 FEBRUARY 1946
#14

The meeting was opened at 1300 by the chairman, Col. General Shtikov.

Present from the Soviet delegation: Colonel General Shtikov, Minister Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, Major General Romanyenko, Advisor Balasanov, Engr-Colonel Butusov, Advisor Manukian, Advisor Lt. Colonel Korkulenko, Secretary Maslov.

Present from the American delegation: Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Political Advisor Benninghoff, Colonel Booth, Colonel Britten, Colonel Underwood, Colonel Herlihy, Lt. Colonel Cornelson, Lt. Colonel Enders.

At the meeting the points of the joint agenda for which, as yet no final decision had been reached, were discussed.

1. Points 5 and 6 "regarding establishment of a unified financial system for all of Korea." Decision: Leave for last studies of materials, which will be presented to the American Command in the name of the Soviet Military Command in North Korea.

2. Point 10 " regarding transportation of coal and farm products from Manchuria to Southern Korea through Northern Korea. The Soviet delegation puts aside the presented point, as not having relation to the present conference and not inherent in point 4 of paragraph III of the Moscow Communique concerning Korea.

3. At the present conference it was decided to include a new point in the joint agenda: "Concerning formation of a Joint Commission of Representatives of the American Military Command in South Korea and the Soviet Military Command in North Korea."

After the discussion of the presented point there were accepted with minor changes the following proposals of the Soviet delegation:

1. The Soviet and American Military Commands, in accordance with Paragraph 2, Section III, of the decision concerning Korea of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom, have agreed:

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A. To establish a 10-man Commission - 5 members from the Soviet Command and 5 members from the American Command The number of members of the Commission may be changed by mutual agreement of the Commands.

B. To bring in the necessary number of advisors, experts and technical workers for the work of the Commission.

C. Seoul, the capitol city, is chosen as the permanent seat of the Joint Commission. When necessary the Commission will visit Pyongyang. The Commission will consult with Democratic political parties and social organizations of both South and North Korea. When necessary the Commission will visit any other place in Korea.

D. The Joint Commission will start its work not later than one month after the work of the present Conference of representatives of the Soviet and American Military Commands is completed.

. The Soviet and American Military Commands will submit to each other lists naming their members of this Commission.

F. The order of the work of this Commission will be established at its first meeting.

At this meeting in answer to the statement of Colonel General Shtikov of 1 February 1946, Arnold made his own second statement and requested to include his in the minutes of the meeting (see enclosure).

In answer to the statement by General Arnold, Colonel General Shtikov said that in as much as the American Delegation makes a second statement and by it enters a series of new questions, the Soviet delegation will study this statement and will give its answer at the current meeting 5 February 1946.

At 1730 Colonel General Shtikov officially closed the meeting.

T.F.SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation
Chairman

A.V.ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chief of U. S. Delegation

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

5 February 1946

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 5 FEBRUARY 1946

The meeting was called to order by Major General Arnold, chairman, at 1400 hours.

Present were: Major General Arnold, Major General Spalding, Mr. H.W. Benninghoff, Colonel R.H. Booth, Colonel F.H. Britton, Colonel J.C. Underwood, Colonel W.J. Herlihy, Lt. Colonel A.J. Cornelson, and Lt. Colonel G.B. Enders representing the American Delegation, and Colonel General Shtikov, Extraordinary Minister Tsarapkin, Major General Shanin, Major General Romanyenko, Advisor Balasanov, Engr-Colonel Butusov, Advisor Manukian, Advisor Lavrov, Advisor Lt. Colonel Karkulyenko, Secretary Maslov, and Interpreter O.Z. Maslova representing the Soviet Delegation.

General Shtikov stated that the proposal concerning item 14 of the Joint Agenda had been presented by General Chistiakov to higher authority and that General Chistiakov is presently expecting a reply.

General Arnold offered the assistance of the American Command in the problem of repatriation of Japanese nationals in North Korea as presented under Joint Agenda Item 6. General Shtikov replied that, since this item had been previously removed from the Agenda and considering the facts that the Soviet Command had been so notified and the new aspects of the question, discussion on this matter should not be resumed.

General Shtikov then made a statement concerning Joint Agenda Items 1, 2, and 5a in reply to General Arnold's statement of the preceeding meeting. (For General Shtikov's statement, see inclosure A, attached.)

General Arnold replied to the statement by General Shtikov. (For General Arnold's statement, see inclosure B, attached.)

General Shtikov replied that the responsibility for failure to solve the present economic questions, Joint Agenda Items 1, 2, and 5a, will be seen from those statements attached to the minutes of the meetings.

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This concluded discussion on all items of the Joint Agenda and the Joint U.S. - Soviet Conference was officially closed.

General Arnold adjourned the meeting at 1730 hours.

A.V. ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chairman

T.F. SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

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HEADQUARTERS
U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE
Seoul, Korea

6 February 1946

PRESS RELEASE REGARDING THE U.S. - SOVIET JOINT CONFERENCE

The Conference of representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea which met in accordance with Paragraph 4 of Section III (Korea) of the Moscow Communique, held fifteen (15) meetings in Seoul between 16 January and 5 February 1946.

A Joint Agenda was agreed upon and subcommittees were appointed; the principal ones being the Economic, Administrative and Transportation Subcommittees.

The Soviet and United States Delegations presented their views and proposals on the items of the Joint Agenda and agreements were reached on the following items :

1. Railroad, motor and coastwise waterborne transportation.

2. Movement of Korean citizens between the two zones.

3. Exchange of mail between the two zones.

4. Radio broadcasting frequencies within Korea.

5. The future coordination between the two commands in regard to economic and administrative matters.

The United States and Soviet Delegations exchanged viewpoints on the following questions:

1. Supplying electric power to South Korea from North Korea.

2. Exchange of commodities such as rice, raw materials, fuel, industrial equipment and chemicals between North and South Korea.

All the meetings took place in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere.

A.V. ARNOLD
Major General, U.S.A.
Chief of U.S. Delegation

T.F. SHTIKOV
Colonel General
Chief of Soviet Delegation

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SECRET

5 Feb 46

U. S. PROPOSALS ON THE QUESTION OF EVACUATION OF JAPANESE SUBJECTS FROM NORTH KOREA AND THE REPATRIATION OF NORTH KOREANS FROM JAPAN

1. The evacuation of Japanese subjects from North Korea to Japan and the repatriation of North Koreans citizens from Japan to North Korea will begin approximately two weeks after details are arranged.

2. Evacuation of Japanese and repatriation of North Koreans will be as follows:

(a) Through East coast ports of North Korea at an approximate rate of 700 persons daily, in ships allocated by U. S.;

(b) Through the port of Fusan at a rate not to exceed 4000 persons daily in ships allocated by U. S., with rail transportation through South Korea and in accordance with agreed upon schedules based on railroad traffic and port limitations;

(c) The Soviet Command may augment the above schedule with shipping at their disposal in accordance with a schedule agreed on with the U. S. Command.

3. The trains dispatched from North Korea to South Korea will be returned by the U. S. Command to the northern zone intact. The U. S. Command will assure as far as possible the movement of these trains to the port of Fusan and return to place of origin in accordance with schedule. The Soviet Command will supply the locomotive of each train with the necessary quantity of coal for the entire trip to Fusan and return. These trains will also be used for the repatriation of North Koreans being repatriated from Japan, and any space remaining may be used in South Korea by the U. S. Command, provided this does not result in any undue delay.

4. Feeding on Journey

Japanese

(a) The Soviet Command will supply food sufficient to provide for the journey from North Korea to Fusan and until embarkation on vessels in East coast ports of North Korea. Other food for the trip will be arranged by the U. S. Command.

Koreans

(b) The U. S. Command will arrange for feeding repatriated North Koreans to port of debarkation in North Korea, and will provide two days ration for travel within North Korea after debarkation at port. For the North Koreans from Japan repatriated through South Korea, the U. S. Command will provide food for the journey from Japan through South Korea and will provide two days ration for travel within North Korea.

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5. Innoculations
   (a) All Koreans repatriated from Japan will have been innoculated for smallpox and typhus before entering North Korea;
   (b) All Japanese will be innoculated by the Soviet Command for smallpox and typhus before leaving North Korea;
   (c) The U. S. Command will arrange to supply the necessary smallpox vaccine from Japanese sources. Typhus serum will be supplied by the U. S. Command to the extent available.

   Medical Supplies aboard vessels allocated by U. S. will be furnished by the Japanese.

6. To appoint a Joint Repatriation and Evacuation Commission to coordinate schedules and details of movement.

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#6
OUT

ADMINISTRATIVE SUB-COMMITTEE
Meeting of 19 January 46

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTION OF EVACUATION OF JAPANESE SUBJECTS FROM NORTHERN KOREA TO JAPAN.

IT IS PROPOSED:

1. To begin evacuation of Japanese subjects from North Korea to Japan on ~~15 February~~ 1 MARCH 46, and to finish by ~~30 April 46.~~ MAY 15, 1946

OK

2. That the order of evacuation of Japanese subjects will be determined by the Soviet Command in North Korea.

OK

3. To effect evacuation of Japanese subjects through the ports of Gunsan (Wonsan) and Chinnampo, ~~beginning upon receipt of Russian reports that each port is free of mines, or after 1 Mar 46.~~

OK

4. That the American Command ~~will make~~ WILL REQUEST SCAP TO MAKE available for the transportation of Japanese subjects ships in such numbers and for such periods as are called for by a schedule to be established ~~as soon as possible after approval by the two commands.~~ by the SOVIET COMMAND.

OK

5. That due to the lack of food in North Korea and in accordance with the request of the Soviet Command, the American Command will release 4,200 long tons of rice for the feeding of Japanese subjects in North

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United States and Russian Proposals (Cont'd)

Korea at the first request of the Soviet Command and will be prepared to release a further 800 long tons of rice in case of unforeseen emergencies and upon request of the Soviet Command.

5. That, in view of critical shortages in Korea of the necessary medical supplies and services for the evacuation of Japanese subjects from North Korea, it shall be recommended to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers that the Imperial Japanese Government be required to supply such necessary medicaments and medical services, including necessary typhus serum and smallpox vaccine.

6. That inoculations for typhus and smallpox will be provided by the Soviet Command for each refugee before embarkation in ~~compliance with directives of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers.~~ AT THE ORDER OF SOVIET CERTIFIED

7. That, Korean repatriates from Japan will be permitted to land at North Korean ports under control of the Soviet Command provided their former permanent homes are within the territory of Northern Korea.

8. That ships will, as far as possible, load and leave per-schedule to be established. In cases of accidents or necessity for minor repairs requiring stayover beyond schedule, the Soviet Command will afford ship's crews all possible assistance and cooperation.

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United States and Russian Proposals (Cont'd)

10. That the Soviet Command will hand to each ship's Captain a passenger list of Japanese evacuees embarked upon his ship.

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~~The Quartermaster Corps will~~ ~~Will they be satisfactory? Add to 7.~~

7. added provided that they receive anti typhus and smallpox inoculations before embarkation and that they will receive food in the port of ~~debarkation~~ DEBARKATION

$100,000 FR N. AFRICA

$80,000 FR SCAP

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#10

PERMISSION TO MOVE COAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FROM MANCHURIA ACROSS THRU NORTH KOREA INTO SOUTH KOREA.

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SECRET #9

Conference Report

[illegible] SUB-COMMITTEE
First Session Held at Bureau of Communications
19 January 1946

[illegible] THE MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF MAIL BE-
[illegible] SOUTH OF THE
[illegible]

With the object of renewing postal communications between the two zones of Korea, the Soviet and American Military Commands have agreed concerning the following:

1. To permit the postal authorities of both zones to arrange the exchange of ordinary, first-class mail (letters in envelopes of the customary) and of registered mail.
2. In exchanges of mail each party to present a list together, the number and type of pieces, both parties agreeing to classify their respective mail exchanges according to the proper rations.
3. Until the introduction of [illegible] of postage stamps in Korea in exchanges of mail, both parties are to recognize payment by postal symbols existing in either zone and any other such symbols as may be put into use.
4. To effect the exchange of mail at the following point:
   Kaesong (Kaijo)
5. Each mail shipment is to be accompanied by each party to the point of exchange by representatives of the military Command and of the postal authorities, together with a suitable armed guard.

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TRANSLATION OF RUSSIAN ANALYSIS OF QUESTION 5B OF JOINT AGENDA

"SUMMARY OF QUESTIONS"

"IN ORDER TO ELABORATE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS-CREDITS AND MONETARY EXCHANGE OF KOREA."

Point 1. Budget of Korea for 1938 and 1944, including budgets for provinces and cities.

Point 2. Tax collections, by type, for 1938 and 1944.

Point 3. Official text and translations of laws in regard to separate (each) taxes, in Russian and English.

Point 4. Money collected as tax on separate types of incomes (salaries, profits from industrial and commercial organizations, and incomes for tillage of land.) (for 1944)

Point 5. Costs (sale price?) of separate types of properties which are taxable (industrial equipment, land properties, etc.) for 1944.

Point 6. Sums received from turnover of industrial and commercial organizations (costs of taxable production, by branches of industries, receivable from commercial organizations and others.) (for 1944)

Point 7. Number of stock exchange companies and scale of their capital, with remarks of industrial, commercial, credit and insurance companies, separately, for Japanese and Korean companies.

Point 8. Number of banks and moneys left over of deposits in current accounts of those banks for 1944. For 1945, such information is necessary for the period 1 August 1945 to 31 December 1945, giving facts of current accounts which were opened to Japanese and Koreans.

Point 9. The remainder of deposits in savings accounts on January 1, 1945.

Point 10. The amounts of money of the turnover received for 1938 and 1944 and also on 1 August 1945, emphasizing amounts of Japanese and Korean Yen.

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Point 11. Value of valuable papers (securities?) of the Japanese government and Japanese stock exchange companies shown on balance sheets in Korean Banks on 1 January, 1 August and 31 December 1945.

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