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Statement by Senator Mike Mansfield - Far East and Japanese Mandates in Pacific

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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Mr. Speaker:

On December 21st, 1946, I completed an investigation trip, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, with a sub-committee of the House Naval Affairs Committee which covered the Far East and the Japanese Mandates in the Pacific. During the month of our investigations we stopped at Pearl Harbor, Midway, Wake, Guam, Tokyo and Yokosuka in Japan; Tsingtao, Peiping and Shanghai in China; Yonanaru in the Ryukyus; Manila in the Philippines; Peleliu, Anguar, Koror and Babluthuap in the Palaus; Nocos, Komolun, Dublon, Uman and Udot in the Truk Group, and Kwajalein in the Marshalls.

Every courtesy was extended to us by members of the Army and Navy in these areas and also by officials of the State Department with whom we came in contact in Tokyo, Tsingtao, Peiping and Shanghai. To all of them personally and as a group, I wish to extend my sincere thanks for their cooperation and helpfulness.

My purpose in making this report is to give to the Congress the results of my views on American policy in the areas covered. As many of you know, I undertook a six week survey of Burma and China for the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt in November and December, 1944, and I would like to suggest that you check my remarks now regarding China with the report I made to Congress on January 16, 1945, which can be found in full in the Congressional Record of that date.

On my trip I covered approximately 25,000 miles over a 31 day period. During that time I kept a personal day-to-day diary, interviewed as many people as I could, both in official circles and on the street, and also made use of every bit of information which I thought would be of value in assessing my views and making them known to the Congress.
There were a number of questions in my mind which I tried to find answers to during the course of my trip, and, while I could reach no definite conclusions on some of them, I will set them down. They are as follows:
Where are America's frontiers in the Pacific and the Far East? What are our interests in these areas? What is our present policy toward these areas?
Are our present holdings there assets or liabilities? What is the future of Japan's Mandates in the Pacific?

I left Washington on November 21st and arrived at Pearl Harbor on November 23rd and Midway Island on the morning of the 26th. Midway, an island one mile by one and one-half miles in area, housed 12,000 men during the war but its present complement is down to around 800. This includes the personnel of one Marine air squadron of 26 planes. In my opinion, Midway is one of the most important strategic islands in the North Pacific. It is only 1600 miles from Adak in the Aleutians, 2400 miles from Tokyo and 1500 miles from Pearl Harbor. A constant battle with the sea must be waged to keep the island together. Storms raise havoc with our main air field there, because the constant action of the waves is washing its underpinnings away. No matter what the expense may be, this island should be kept up because of its strategic position and importance. Probably the most decisive naval battle of the Pacific War—the Battle of Midway—was fought off its shores. At the present time Midway has fine airstrips, a good submarine base and harbor, and a roadstead big enough for cruisers and carriers if they draw no more than 28 feet.

Midway belongs to the Leeward Island group of the Hawaiian Archipelago. This group stretches away in a long line for 1300 miles northwest of the inhabited Hawaiian Islands. All of them are very small and some are merely reefs. The ocean in their vicinity is notorious for uncertain and dangerous
currents and for abrupt changes in the depth of the water. They were set aside as a bird reservation in 1909 and are now tenanted by thousands of sea-birds of various kinds. Some fishing operations are now being carried on in this group but they are seldom visited and, with the exception of Midway, have no inhabitants. Incidentally, Midway was discovered and claimed for the United States in 1859 when Hawaii was still an independent country.

From Midway I went to Wake, an atoll occupying an area four and one-half by two miles. Its three islets, separated by shallow water, have a maximum altitude of about 20 feet. I left Wake on Thursday, November 28, (Thanksgiving Day) and on our way to Guam we flew low and circled Saipan, Tinian, and Rota in the Mariannas. These were a part of the former Japanese mandates. Saipan and Tinian were dotted with air strips and concentrations of material.

Guam is the southernmost, largest and most populous of the fifteen islands comprising the Marianna group. It is about 30 miles long, varies in width from 4 to 8 miles and has a total area of 225 square miles. The island is the top of a great volcanic cone built up from the Pacific Ocean and its highest elevation is 1334 feet. Apra, on the west coast, has an excellent harbor, is well protected and has a large enough anchorage at all seasons for almost all classes of ships.

Guam is an extremely important link in the east-west chain of islands belonging to the United States. On the present airplane route to the Orient the distance from Guam to Wake is 1310 miles; to Manila, 1384 miles, to Truk, 555 miles; to Peleliu, 690 miles; and to Kwajalein, 1550 miles.

The work of the naval government in Guam since the Washington Conference of 1921-22 has resolved itself largely into carrying out a constructive program for the benefit of the Guamanians. During the 250 years that Spain
had administered Guam, its population decreased tremendously. Under the Navy, it had become one of the cleanest and most wholesome islands in the tropics. The population has more than doubled since 1898, proper sanitary and medical care has been provided, and a free public educational system has been instituted.

The loyalty and gratitude of the Guamanians to the U.S. is unquestioned. On a number of occasions they have petitioned for American citizenship—the latest in December, 1946, when the Guamanian Congress passed such a resolution—but nothing as yet has been done. They do not want independence as they realize they lack experience and financial resources to continue their government without the support which comes to them directly and indirectly from federal appropriations and from service personnel on the island.

There is still a small number of Japanese soldiers at large on the island. They live in the jungle and subsist on what nature provides or they can steal. However, the number is gradually being whittled down and it will not be long before they will all be accounted for. The war trials of a number of captured and accused Japanese are being conducted there and sentences are being meted out.

I visited the hospital there and the School of Tropical Medicine which has extremely good equipment but very little in the way of personnel to carry on the medical work necessary in Guam and the other Pacific islands now under our control. I believe that it would be a good and necessary policy for us to appropriate sufficient funds to operate this school on a first-class basis, to provide sufficient personnel to man it and to use it as a training school for native medical practitioners so that they could take care of the health needs in our islands. This has been done very successfully by the British who
have established such a training center on Suva in the Fiji Island group and the results have been extremely gratifying. This type of education is necessary due to the fact that civilian American doctors will not go to the islands because of inadequate salaries and because very few of them would be willing to make a career of a life such as this would call for.

Guam, at the present time, is our real western line of defense. At present there are 12,000 Navy and Marine personnel and 18,000 Army personnel on the island. While this large number crowds the island now we had as many as 210,000 service personnel on Guam during the war.

From Guam I went to Tokyo. We had hoped to go to Marcus Island but did not when we found out it had, in effect, been "rolled up" and that it had only the one air-strip with a sea-air rescue unit stationed there.

Tokyo is in a very dillapidated state but the Japanese are cooperating very well with the Americans and conditions are, on the whole, good. The economy of Japan is coming back gradually and most of the people seem to like the Americans. During a three hour luncheon with General Douglas McArthur many pertinent questions were discussed. He stated that the occupation of Japan was going along very well and that in order to keep the situation under control he had about 80,000 American soldiers plus some New Zealanders, Australian and Sikh troops to assist him. He stated that the Japanese people liked us. When asked about the U.S.S.R., he said that she was trying to make her influence felt in Japan, and that, while she had no troops there, she did have a mission numbering in excess of 500 which was entirely too many for the amount of work it had to do.

McArthur stated that the Communist Party had little influence in Japan, that it was small but vocal and well organized; that it had only six members
in the Diet. Women have 38 of their sex as Representatives in the Diet.

He pointed out that Japan will come back economically much sooner than the Philippines because of the way the Japanese will work. Tokyo and other ruined cities in Japan will not be too long getting rebuilt whereas Manila will take much longer.

McArthur stated that the Japanese are now the world's greatest pacifists. They have gone from one extreme to the other because they were at their peak when they went to war and they lost. Hence their system failed them and they have now become pacifists.

In contrast to Germany, McArthur said that the occupation of Japan has cost nothing to the United States except for the payment of wages to our service personnel and their clothes, medical attention and food.

When questioned, McArthur stated our stay in Japan is indeterminate. Much will depend on the action of Congress and the reparations issue. He expressed general agreement with Ed Pauley's report on reparations but was opposed to some of it because it was not based on the fact that Japan had been stripped by bombing of much of her industry and therefore was not in a position to pay what the report would require her to. In his opinion, Japan must be made self-sustaining or it will cost the U. $ billions of dollars and millions of lives in the future. He favored the Japanese mandated islands being made military reservations with all the rights of American citizens granted to the natives except the franchise. This, in effect, would be a continuation of the Guam type of government.

He is introducing land reforms to make it possible for the peasants to
buy and own their own farms. He has taken away pensions and honors from all retired Japanese Army and Navy officers and he is determined to break the Japanese military caste. About 400 Japanese have already been tried and executed and about 1000 still remain to be tried. It is his contention that if he had not jailed the war criminals, the Japanese people would have killed them.

Relations between American service personnel and the Japanese people seem to be good. I am wondering, though, if our boys are not too young for the "police" type of duty which is their main job. While the Japanese women and youngsters seemed friendly, there was a certain surliness on the part of some of the men. The Japanese people look with distaste upon their returned soldiers. Japanese policemen, minus swords, seem to have a difficult time handling Koreans and Formosans who cause much trouble. It has become necessary for the Japanese police to call on American N. P.'s for assistance in some quarters of Tokyo because the Koreans and Formosans are so difficult to handle.

From Tokyo I went to Yokosuka, the great Japanese naval base 40 miles south of the capitol. This base was a remarkable one with its floating and stationary cranes, its six large drydocks—one of which can accommodate the biggest ship afloat—its caves dug into the mountains which, as far as can be ascertained, run for more than 20 miles and were honey combed with machine shops, radar equipment, chartrooms, munitions, etc. These caves are cut into the soapstone and they represent a well thought out job. One wonders at the Japanese mentality because I was informed on reliable authority that with the way they inducted their machine tool operators into the army and replaced them with farmers who had to be forced to work by guards armed with machine guns.
Yokosuke Navy Yard used to be surrounded by a high fence and no foreigners were ever allowed inside. 70,000 Japanese were employed at this base. No American ship had visited Yokosuke—except for a brief stop of an American fleet on a round the world tour in 1908—until after VJ Day. It was as much of a secret base as it was humanly possible to achieve. Even today the old Navy Yard workers and their townspeople are not too friendly but under the able administration of the U.S. Navy, much progress is being made and a major base for the repair of American ships in the Far Pacific will soon be in the making.

On VJ Day the Japanese did not have a battleship afloat although the Nagoya—riddled in the Battle of Leyte—was being repaired. On that date, the Japanese had 3,000 planes left but they did not have the gas necessary to get them off the ground. From 1940 to 1945, Japan built 60,000 planes of all types compared with our yearly production of approximately that same number during each of the war years.

In Japan's schools we are changing the contents of their textbooks to coincide with our views but we are doing nothing to further the health of the school children. The schools are cold, and have no heat, the students still wear uniforms and girls are, even yet, not allowed to go to the universities.

At Nagasaki I saw the results of the first atom bomb—16 months after. The shells or outsides of some 10 or 12 modern buildings were left standing and some wooden houses were going up in the devastated city. There was no sign of a garden in the 4 square mile bombed area. The damage here was unbelievable and the sight of what man's terrible destructive genius can accomplish is enough to make one shudder.
I believe that Japan must be allowed to maintain a self-sustaining economy, otherwise it will be necessary for us to export foodstuffs to her and thereby create a kind of dependency which would bring disastrous consequences for us.

It is my strong belief that General McArthur and his political adviser, George Atcheson, are doing a remarkably efficient job in carrying out the occupation of Japan and administering the affairs of its people. My recommendation is that we follow our their suggestions about our policy, must be continued there and that the Japanese people continue to be informed as to our aims in their behalf.

From Hiroshima I went to Tsingtao in Shantung Province in north China. We do not have a naval base here or anywhere else in China. The Russians have a base at Port Arthur based on the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1945. Tsingtao is the logical place for the Chinese navy to build itself and we have furnished them with ships and, at present, are supplying them with American naval instructions.

Our policy in China, according to Admiral Cooke, Commander of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, has been to assist the movement of Central Government armies to northwest China; to repatriate Japanese to their homeland; to help move supplies into famine districts; and to help repair damaged Chinese ports.

Our Marine Corps activities have been reduced so that Marine guards have been taken off the coal trains from Tientsin to Chingwaotao. Marine personnel is being constantly cut down in numbers and their only duty now is to support Executive Headquarters in Peiping. Executive Headquarters is composed of members of the Kuomintang, the Communists, and the U.S. Army and its main purpose seems to be to send out truce teams to help bring about a...
cessation of hostilities between the Kuomintang and the Communists. As a matter of fact, the U. S. Army is the real Executive Headquarters and the Marines supply the logistics support. The Marines have been used to protect the coal mines and the railroads but these functions have now been taken over by the Nationalist troops.

During my China visit the Chinese National Assembly was in session at Nanking but the Communists have refused to join it stating they were not being given enough voice in the government.

While in Tsingtao I saw some "volunteers" for the Central Government's Army. They were tied together with ropes and being driven to their barracks. This is really nothing new as China's armies have been getting this type of recruit for many years past.

After leaving Tsingtao I went to Tientsin and Peiping. In the latter city I talked with General Gillam, the American Commissioner at Executive Headquarters. He stated that while the situation between the Communists and the Kuomintang was tense that the door was not entirely closed to further negotiations. At that time there were very few truce teams out in the field and negotiations between the two opposing factions had developed into a stalemate.

The Chinese are beginning to indicate their dislike of foreigners of all kinds and they are showing evidences of an anti-American spirit based, in a large part, I believe, on the presence of our service personnel in their country.

In the Chinese cities I visited I noticed the beginnings of youth movements among boys and girls. They wear uniforms, march in step and have distinctive slogans. These movements can be channeled into democratic lines like our Boy Scouts or they can become vehicles for dictatorship as the youth movements in Italy and Germany were. Only time will tell what their ultimate effect will be.
From information I gathered in north China the Russians did a very thorough job of looting Manchuria and pillaging that area and its people. Now, in retaliation, the Chinese are going the same things to the Russians in the parts of Manchuria they control.

In their dealings with the Central Government the Russians have been, as far as I could find out, scrupulously correct. No Russian material, as such, is going to the Communists but the Russians did leave captured Japanese war supplies—as they withdrew from Manchuria—where it would be convenient for the Chinese Communists to take it over. The Kuomintang armies are well equipped and supplied by us; the Communist armies steal or take whatever they can. The Communists are very anti-American and they have put out very defamatory posters in Yenan and elsewhere, showing American marines in a very unfavorable light.

The bitterness between the Kuomintang and the Communists is great and the groups in between—who do not trust the two main antagonists—are in a very weak position. The Kuomintang is organized from the top down while the Communists have organized the people in their areas from the bottom up. This does not mean that the Communist leadership is more democratic, but it does indicate that they are more aware of China’s basic economic ills—high land rates, high taxes, high rates of interest—and are using reform in these lines to further their own interests. It must be borne in mind that the Communist leadership is, and always has been, dominated by the ideal of Marxian Socialism and that this is their ultimate and final goal. The democratic and needed reforms which they have promulgated has strengthened their position in the agrarian areas they occupy.

Secretary of State Marshall made an honest appraisal of the situation
in his personal statement before assuming his present position. He pointed out that certain elements within the Kuomintang have counted on American support regardless of their actions and that the Communists, on the other hand, are counting on economic collapse, guerrilla warfare, and the cutting of communications to achieve their ends. He believes a middle course between these two extremes should be adopted so that a greater representation of the Chinese people in their government could be achieved and thereby a real basis for unity within the country established. He recommends that this be brought about under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek which I agree with and which I think could be done if the Chinese leaders really set their hearts to it. Unity in China will never be achieved permanently by outside pressures but will have to come from the Chinese themselves.

At the present time our forces have been reduced from a peak of 10,113,000 men to less than 50,000. As I pointed out earlier in this speech, the tasks for which they had been sent to China have been accomplished and their only excuse for remaining in that country lies in the logistics support they furnish our Executive Headquarters in Peiping.

With the coming home of Marshall, his Nanking headquarters have been deactivated and Executive Headquarters is, on the basis of the State Department's report, going out of business. The status of the U. S. Army Advisory Group at Nanking, numbering 750, is, interesting to say the least. This group has the job of training the Chinese army and navy in the use of lend-lease weapons and in modern military tactics. The American Advisory Group is not performing this service by Congressional authorization and it seems
probable, that if this is not granted, it likewise will be disbanded.

In view of the State Department's statement on January 29th that we are withdrawing from China, it appears that further negotiations will be carried on at the diplomatic and economic rather than the military level and this, I think, is the wisest procedure. I would suggest, also, that an international conference of interested powers be called by President Truman to consider the problem of China to see if some workable arrangement in China's behalf could be achieved. I have in mind the Washington Conference of 1922, which was called primarily in China's interest and from which much good resulted. A Four-Power Conference, including the United States, the U.S.S.R., China, and Great Britain could consider the complicated Chinese picture and, perhaps, be able to work out a solution which would both strengthen and unify China and thus help her to assume her position as one of the great powers. What we need is a summit conference to determine the fundamental policies toward China in an effort to solve the long-standing problem of how to secure and maintain peace and the world order.

(1) The Great Powers should once again agree "to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China" and "to provide the fullest opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself a stable government."

Make no mistake about it: we face a dilemma in China which will have to be solved if the peace of the world is to be maintained. Both President Truman's and Secretary Marshall's statements give assurances that the United States will support Chiang Kai-Shek if an agreement can be worked out which will achieve unity and strength for China and give to the Chinese people a voice in their own affairs. As long as we, or any other great power, will underwrite a victory for one side or the other, so long will civil war continue in China and so long will the peace of the world be imperilled. (2)

(2) Our policy in China is one based on national welfare. We want expanding opportunities for trade; we want to prevent China from becoming a political or military satellite of Russia; and we want to see China become the bastion for peace in the Far East.
It is my belief that in Secretary of State Marshall we have a man with profound understanding of the intricacies of the Chinese puzzle. His forthrightness, his honesty, and his lack of bias will give to our foreign affairs a guide steeped in knowledge of this particular situation and his statements and decisions to date bear out the trust and confidence the people of the United States have placed in him. He will—as he has already indicated—appraise the field of foreign affairs realistically and do what he can to achieve practical results in our dealings with other nations.

My greatest desire is to see peace maintained in a troubled world so that nations can live with one another; so that trade can be carried on in a mutually profitable manner; and so that peoples the world over will be able to live not in fear and misery but in hope and understanding.

From Peiping I went to Shanghai and from there to Yonabaru on Okinawa. Okinawa is an island in the Ryukyus 67 miles long by 10 miles wide. Well over 100 ships of all types are beached or on their sides, mute evidence to the effectiveness of the great typhoon of last year.

At present, Okinawa is manned by 12,000 American soldiers but only a few in excess of 1000 soldiers. From a naval point of view this base is in the "caretaker" status and opinion is very divided as to what its future disposition should be. Due to its vulnerability to severe types of weather plus the availability of a big modern base at Yokusuke it would appear that except for its use as an "eye" on our defense perimeter it would not be a worthwhile, permanent installation.

On December 10, I arrived at Peleliu in the Palaus and immediately went by seaplane to the island of Anguar to look into the disposition of the phosphate deposits there. We have a million tons of this valuable commodity...
in Anguara and a contract has been let to an American concern -- The Pomercy Company -- to get it out. It is being sent to Japan, in Japanese ships, to help rehabilitate the soil there and thus to make that country become more self-supporting. The natives are being paid $5 a day, and Japanese sent from Japan, $3.50 a day. The American workers are paid at prevailing state-side wages. The phosphate is to be mined at the rate of 300,000 tons a year.

The phosphate at Anguara is extremely rich and valuable for medicinal purposes as well as for use as fertilizer. This phosphate could be used in Hawaii, where it is needed badly, or by nations like the Philippines and China allied with us in the war. There are approximately 200 American civil employees here and the contract is on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis which I'd bear looking into. Furthermore, according to the Great Falls, Montana, Tribune of December 19th, 500,000 tons of Montana Idaho phosphate have also been scheduled to go to Japan and Korea immediately.

From Anguara I went to Koror which used to be the seat of the Japanese South Seas Government and which directly ruled all the Mandated Islands. There was much permanent building done here and all indications pointed to the Japanese being there to stay. In the back of the Governor's Mansion there was a grass inlaid map of the Palaus which was remarkable for its intricate detail. The Japanese had 35,000 troops on Koror but we never did attempt to take the island.

From Koror I went by boat to Babelthuap the largest island in the group and visited some native villages and schools. In the Palaus the children are being taught English which they have to learn from Japanese characters. They seem to be learning our language fairly rapidly.
We have a lot of surplus equipment in the Palau which we might as well forget because it is either useless or will be soon. Many of our Pacific island holdings are now Quonset hut affairs. The U. S. Commercial Company, a subsidiary of the R.F.C., has a monopoly on trading with the natives in our newly acquired possessions. This organization encourages the native handicrafts and buys what the natives produce and then sends it to the U. S. for sale. Much that the natives produce is crude but, with a market, their handicraft can be improved and their subsistence, in part at least, can be taken care of.

The Japanese built up strong defenses, not as complete as those at Truk, but more powerful than those normally built at an outlying base. The Palauan fortifications suffered the first attack when the 31st Army Infantry Division stormed the shores of Anguar about a week previous to the assault on Peleliu by the 1st Marine Division (Reinforced) on 15 September, 1944. The Army supported the Peleliu invasion with artillery fire from Anguar during the early stages of the attack, and two weeks later the Army joined the Marines on Peleliu to aid in the fight. By November, 1944, Peleliu was secured.

No attempt was made to invade the major islands north of Peleliu, but, with the two bases, Peleliu and Anguar, being operated mainly as air bases, our planes were able to keep the other islands in the Palauas constantly harrassed and subdued. These islands capitulated after V-J Day.

The Palau islands lie in a chain 20 miles wide running roughly north-north-east to south-southwest for 77 miles. Most northerly is Babelthuap, which is also the biggest, while at the south is Anguar, rich in phosphate deposits. The islands are very irregular in shape and, in general, hilly
with the exception of those at the northern and southern extremes. Through the center of the group there is a distinct geological division between islands on the north which are volcanic basalt and islands to the south which are limestone. There is an overlapping of geological types near the center. Western Koror, Malakal, Arakabesan, and isolated portions of Aurapushekaru are volcanic in composition, while the south appendages of Babelthuap, eastern Koror, Ngargol, and almost all of Aurapushekaru are limestone.

The topographical differences between the volcanic and limestone portions of Palau has considerable effect on the importance and usefulness of the islands. While basaltic Babelthuap is hilly and has the highest peaks of the chain, 790 feet at its northwest tip, it and the other volcanic islands in central Palau are steep, hogbacked, narrow, and generally cliff-bordered. Although their characteristics discourage settlement, they form excellent windbreaks and breakwaters for the harbors and anchorages of Palau, such as Shonian Harbor. The two southernmost of the limestone formations, Peleliu, and Anguar, are generally level and useful for settlement.

Babelthuap is volcanic with bauxite, manganese, and lignite (coal) deposits. About 23 miles long and four to eight miles wide, its northern section where the bauxite mines are worked is rather bare; its southern section is hilly, crossed by many ridges, and not too heavily wooded. Its coast is lined with mangrove swamps with a few sandy beaches at intervals. Six small rivers which are navigable for a distance of a mile or more from their mouths by shallow-draft boats are channeled across the island; Babelthuap also boasts a small spring-fed lake.
Koror's coast is devoid of beaches and to the west is mangrove, to the east limestone cliffs. It is about three miles long and covers an area of less than three square miles. Ferry service unites it with Babelthuap. Koror was the center for Japanese military, naval, and political activity and a sizeable modern town was built on its western side. Now Koror is the center of Military Government for the Palaus and a large hospital functions there.

Peleliu is approximately 5 miles long with a maximum width of a little over two miles. Mangrove swamps, sandy beaches, and coral ledges alternately surround the island. The island is a limestone foundation, flat except for a northeast-southwest ridge north of the airfield. The ridge has abrupt cliffs and is pitted with about five hundred caves which vary in size from mere holes in the rock to large caves partially excavated by the Japanese for use as storage or for hospitals. Caves are known to extend under the north end of the airstrip and cause portions of the roadway to sink. The Japanese built a good airfield and air arsenal on Peleliu. Just off the western reef, near what is called Orange Beach, is an anchorage suitable for large vessels.

Palau has great military and commercial importance and has been for years the center of Japanese political control of all her Pacific mandated Islands. In this island group the Japanese operated a major military base, a fleet anchorage and supply base, an airfield, and seaplane bases (near Koror).

Palau's location gives it considerable strategic importance. One thousand miles west of Truk and only 530 miles from Davao in the southern Philippines, it commands the sea and air routes from China and Japan to New Guinea and the western Dutch East Indies. For this reason it was an impor-
tant trans-shipment point for movements of enemy ships, troops, planes, and supplies to the southwest Pacific theater of operations.

From the Palaus I went to the Truk group in the Eastern Carolines. Our Military Government headquarters are located on Noen island. This island—and all the others in this group—are beautiful. Noen has many things as waterfalls, dense vegetation and a heavy precipitation. I also visited the islands of Rosumul, Udot, Dublon and Uman.

The people here are light brown in appearance, very docile, and easy to handle. We were entertained on all the islands by singing and dancing. There are about 10,000 inhabitants in the Truk group compared to 5900 in the Palaus. Both the Trukese and the Palausans impressed me as a happy but bewildered people. They do not look upon us with enthusiasm but only as the successors to the Spaniards, Germans, and Japanese—all of whom have ruled over them in the last 50 years.

The diseases of greatest prevalence in both groups are tuberculosis and intestinal parasites. Due to the use of penicillin, yaws—which used to be quite prevalent—have been cleared up; there is no indication of syphilis and very little gonorrhea. Sanitary habits are being introduced by the Navy and outdoor toilets are much in use.

Neither the Palausans nor the Trukese care to work too much as they have all the necessities of life—except tobacco—and in this respect they are rationed at the rate of 4 cartons a month. The standard rate of pay in both groups is 40¢ a day.

Truk was not a Japanese "Pearl Harbor" the American public had been let to believe it. The Japanese had a battery of eight 8-inch guns on Noen and a system of caves on all the islands similar to those in use in Japan.
Dublon island was their headquarters and from there the movements of their 4th Fleet and 31st Army Division were directed. Fortifications were of a very weak character and kind. There was no sign of permanency here as was indicated at Koror in the Palauas. Truk lagoon is large enough to take care of the entire U. S. Fleet but to make it practicable a great deal of blasting and dredging would be necessary.

From Truk I proceeded to Kwajalein in the Marshalls where a good job is being done in administering the islands and their people. Here — as elsewhere in the Mandates — there is a lack of personnel and of shipping. However, the situation in these respects is better in the Marshalls than elsewhere because of our earlier occupation. Soil conservation and re-vegetation programs are in effect, medical services are good and more than one-half of all able bodies Marshallese are working for the Military Government or the U.S.C.C. The natives are a likeable and cooperative people who, in time, can again become self-supporting.

A special word should be said about the natives removed from Bikini for the Atom Bomb tests. They are located on the island of Rongerik, number about 170 and 60% of them are women. They are very unhappy in their new location and desire to return to Bikini. Because of the infertility of Rongerik they will very likely have to be moved again to a more fertile island or, as an alternative, we must be prepared to subsidize them indefinitely.

Insofar as my own personal views on the Mandates are concerned I covered them completely in a speech on the Floor of the House on April 16, 1945. I would prefer to have the United States assume complete and undisputed control of the Mandates. We need these islands for our future defense.
and they should be fortified wherever we deem it necessary. We have no concealed motives because we want these islands for one purpose only and that is national security. Economically, they will be a liability; socially, they will present problems; and politically, we will have to work out a policy of administration.

No other nation has any kind of a claim to the Mandates. No other nation has paid the price we have. No other people have a responsibility to the United States except ourselves. These views of mine are not new nor are they the results only of my recent investigative trip to the Pacific. Rather, my stand has been accentuated by what I have seen and I am more firmly convinced than ever of our great need for control of the Mandates.

If, however, it does become necessary to create a trusteeship for these islands I would favor the proposals made by our State Department and President Truman which would place the ex-Japanese Mandates under the United Nations with the consideration that they should be catalogued as a "strategic area" outside the control of the Trusteeship Council. On this basis, supervision would be exercised by the Security Council which has jurisdiction over such strategic areas in the interests of collective security. But, and this is important, the United States has a veto over the Security Council should it ever want to assert effective control.

If the Security Council blocked acceptance of America's terms for taking over the Mandates as a strategic area then they would remain under our control to do with as we saw fit. It is worth remembering, also that until a treaty of peace is signed with Japan that we have no legal title to the Mandates.

The question of government is bound to be an important consideration.
For a long time I have studied the possibility of civil government for the Mandates but, desirable though that would be, I have come to the conclusion that the only way they could be governed for the present, would be by the Navy on the same basis as Guam and Saipan are administered. Personally, I would rather have a civil administration over the Mandates but in view of practical and realistic considerations I am forced to the conclusion that the Navy would be the best administrator. It would have the best and only means of maintaining liaison between the various islands and it would have the only trained personnel to carry out the job of administration. Stanford University, which has the task of training Military Government men for administration of the islands has done an outstanding job in this respect and both it and the Navy are to be complimented for the initiative shown and the progress already made. I should suggest, though, that the Navy give to its Military Government personnel a special status apart from its regular sea-going personnel so that they could be given the recognition they deserve and so that they could develop the esprit d’corps necessary to carry out the functions assigned to them. This, I think would do away with the dissatisfaction I noted on my trip and give to these specialists the status they are entitled to.

I should like to repeat, in conclusion, that my own personal opinion is that civil administration would be best for the Mandates. This, however, is impractical at this time due to the circumstances mentioned. It is necessary though, that the eventual change over to civilian control be given a thorough study by the Navy Department so that recommendations can be made at the appropriate time to achieve this goal. When and if that time comes, the graduates of the Stanford University Military Government course would
be the logical people to be put in positions of responsibility in these areas.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted to me, I am inserting at this point in my remarks the results of an investigation dealing with the present and future status of trusteeships for the Mandates and also some research material dealing with the geography, population, history, Mandate administration, industry and commerce, communications and transportation, and the war in Micronesia, the collective name of the areas covered by the Mandates.